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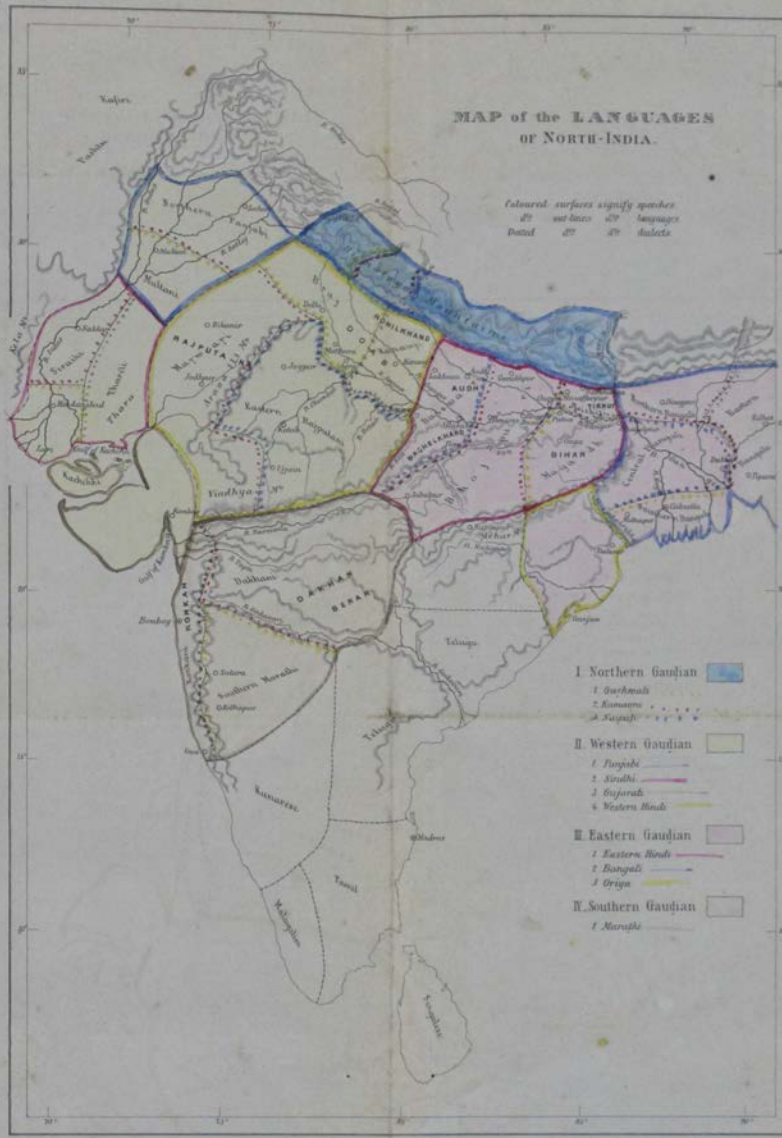
MAP of the LANGUAGES
OF NORTH-INDIA.
Coloured surfaces signify speeches
Ist out-lines 2d languages
Dotted 3d 4th dialects
I. Northern Gaudian
1. Gurkhmali
2. Kumaoni
3. Nepali
II. Western Gaudian
1. Panjabi
2. Sindhi
3. Gujarati
4. Western Hindi
III. Eastern Gaudian
1. Eastern Hindi
2. Bengali
3. Oriya
IV. Southern Gaudian
1. Marathi

A GRAMMAR

OF THE

EASTERN HINDI

COMPARED WITH THE OTHER

GAUDIAN LANGUAGES

Accompanied by a Language-Map and Table of Alphabets.

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BY

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OF BENGAL, etc., etc.

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1880.

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TO

KARL STEFFENSEN

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN BASEL

IN

GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

OF THE

YEARS OF STUDY PASSED UNDER HIS GUIDANCE

This Volume

IS

DEDICATED.

CALCUTTA, Spring 1880.

PREFACE.

In order to account for the perhaps somewhat unusual arrangement of this book, I must explain, that my original plan was merely to write a Grammar of the Eastern Hindí accompanied by short notes, pointing out its Gaudian affinities. Gradually these notes grew to such an extent as to change almost entirely the character of the book, which in its present state is rather a comparative grammar of the Gaudian languages than a simple grammar of the Eastern Hindí. The two subjects have been kept apart as much as possible, so as to enable the reader to use the book ad libitum for the study of either, the Eastern Hindí only, or the Gaudian generally. For this purpose the comparative matter has been mainly distributed in the paragraphs headed „Affinities" and „Derivation"; the others refer to Eastern Hindí. To further increase the usefulness of the book an index of such Gaudian words as are explained in the Grammar is in course of preparation and will shortly be published.

The amount of information contained within this volume, is very much more than may appear at first sight. An idea of its extent may be gained by a glance over the index of subjects. Putting aside the information about the Eastern Hindí most of which is original, the book not only goes over nearly the entire

ground, covered by the volumes of Mr. Beames' Comparative Grammar, but also adds a not inconsiderable quantity of additional matter, especially in regard to the derivation of Gaudian grammatical forms from the Prákrits. It was not easy to compress all this mass of information within one comparatively small volume to which, for various reasons, it was necessary to confine the work. This necessity will account for the perhaps excessive conciseness of diction and the extensive use of abbreviations; an inconvenience for which, I feel, I must crave the indulgence of the reader, but which, by the help of the prefixed list of abbreviations, I hope will prove no serious difficulty.

As regards the sources of my materials for the grammar of Eastern Hindi, in the absence of all literature (except in the Baiswárí), I had to rely almost entirely on the information, partly obtained through long personal intercourse with the people, but especially supplied by native scholars or (in a few cases) by Europeans intimately acquainted with the country people. Among the former it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the very efficient help rendered me by the kindness of Pandit Gopál Bhatta, Professor of Sanskrit at the Jay Narain's College in Benares, who to a scholarly knowledge of Sanskrit adds an intimate acquaintance of the Vernaculars as spoken by the people, representatives of whom, from every part of India, may be met with in Benares.

As regards the comparative portion of the book, every work that I could think of as bearing on the subject has been consulted. Most of these will be found mentioned in the list of abbreviations. A few works, such as E. Müller on the Jaina Prákrit, Jacobi's edition of the Kalpasútra, A. Grierson's Maithilí Grammar, unfortunately came into my hands too late to be turned to account. Most of the Prákrit Grammarians (such as Már-

kaṇḍeya, Śubhachandra, Kramadiśvara, Trivikrama, Siṃharāja etc.) are quoted from MSS. in my possession; but Vararuchi and Hemachandra are generally cited from the excellent editions of Cowell and Pischel respectively.

The publication of this volume, begun in Germany in 1878, has been so long delayed through my absence from Europe, which necessitated the sending out of the proofsheets to India. I fear this had the further evil consequence of many misprints remaining undetected, for which I hope the kind reader will make allowance. I do not think any serious misprint has escaped correction.

R. H.

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Map of the Languages of North India; opp. Title page.
Table of Alphabets; opp. page. 2.

Note: See also „Affinities“ and „Derivation“ in the Index of Subjects, p. 407.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

A. Gr. = Translation of the Âdi Granth by Trumpp.
A. Mg. = Ardha Mâgadhi Prákṛit.
Ap. or *Ap. Pr.* = Apabhraṃsa Prákṛit.
Ap. Mg. = Apabhraṃsa Mâgadhi Prákṛit.
Ap. Sr. = Apabhraṃsa Śauraseni Prákṛit.

B. = Bengáli.
B. H. Dy. = Bate's Hindi Dictionary.
Bh. = Bhojpuri.
Bhag. or *Bh.* = Bhagavatí.
Br. = Braj.
Bs. = Beames' Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages.
Bs. or *Bw.* = Baiswári.

Cw. = Cowell's edition of Vararuchi's Prákṛita Prakáśa.

Dk. = Dakshinátya Prákṛit.
Dl. = Delius' Radices Pracriticæ.

E., in conjunction with other initials, = Eastern; e. g. *E. H.* = Eastern Hindi, *E. Gd.* = E. Gaudian, *E. Rj.* = Eastern Rájpútáni.
Eth. = Etherington's Hindi Grammar.

G. = Gujaráti.
Gd. = Gaudian.
Gh. or *Gw.* = Garhwáli.
Gl. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

H. = Hindi; or, in conjunction with other initials, = High; as *H. H.* = High Hindí, *H. B.* = High Bengáli.
H. C. = Hema Chandra's Prákṛit Grammar (ed. Pischel).

J. A. S. B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. G. O. S. = Journal of the German Oriental Society.

K. I. = Kramadíśvara's Prákṛit Grammar.
Kf. = Kafiri.
Kl. = Kellogg's Hindí Grammar.
Km. = Kumaoni.
Kn. = Kanauji.
Ksh. = Kashmíri.
Kth. = Kaithí.

Ld. = Panjábí Grammar printed in Loodiana.
L. Dh. = Lakshmí Dhara's Shaḍbhásháchandriká.
Ls. = Lassen's Institutiones Linguæ Pracriticæ.

M. = Maráthi; or, in conjunction

with other initials, = Modern; as *M. Gd.* = Modern Gaudian, *M. M.* = Modern Maráthi.

M. M. = Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar.

M. W. = Moniers William's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Man. = Student's Manual of Maráthi Grammar.

Mcch. = Mrchchhakatiká (ed. Stenzler).

Md. = Márkandeya's Prákṛit Grammar.

Mg. = Mágadhi Prákṛit.

Mh. = Máháráshṭri Prákṛit.

Mh. Sr. = Maháráshṭrí-Śaurasení Prákṛit.

Mr. or *Mw.* = Márwárí.

Ms. = Mason's Páli Grammar.

Mth. = Maithili.

N. = Naipálí.

N. Gd. = Northern Gaudian.

O. = Oriyá; or, in conjunction with other initials, = Old; as *O. H.* = Old Hindi, *O. W. H.* = Old Western Hindi, *O. P.* = Old Panjábi; *O. S.* = Old Sindhí, *O. Gd.* = Old Gaudian.

P. = Panjábí.

Pl. = Pischel's Dissertatio Inauguralis.

Pr. = Prákṛit.

Pr. or *Pers.* = Persian.

Pr. R. = Prithiráj Rasau by Chand Bardái.

Ps. = Paiśáchí Prákṛit.

Psh. = Pashtú.

Rj. = Rájpútání.

R. T. = Ráma Tarkavágíśa Prákṛit Grammar.

S. = Sindhí.

S. C. = Śubha Chandra's Prákṛit Grammar.

S. Ch. = Shama Charan's Bangálí Grammar.

S. D. = Sahitya Darpana.

S. Gd. = Southern Gaudian.

S. Gdt. = Sg. Goldschmidt.

S. L. = St. Luke translated into Naipálí.

S. R. = Siṁha Rája's Prákṛit Grammar.

Skr. = Saṁskṛit.

Sn. = Sutton's Oriyá Grammar.

Spt. = Sapta Śataka (ed. Weber).

Sr. = Śaurasení Prákṛit.

St. G. = Stanislas Guyard's Grammaire Palie.

T. D. or *T. Das.* = Tulsí Dás' Rámáyan.

T. V. = Trivikrama's Prákṛit Gramm.

Tr. = Trumpp's Sindhí Grammar.

Ved. = Vedic.

Vr. = Vararuchi's Prákṛit Grammar (ed. Cowell).

W., in conjunction with other initials, = Western; as *W. Gd.* = Western Gaudian, *W. H.* = Western Hindí, *W. Rj.* = Western Rájpútání.

Wb. = Weber's edition of the Sapta Śataka (*Spt.*) and of the Bhagavatí (*Bh.*).

GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

abl. = ablative.
acc. = accusative.
act. = active (case or voice or verb).
adj. = adjective.
adv. = adverb or adverbial.
aff. = affix.
auxil. = auxiliary.

c. g. or com. gen. = common gender.
C. R. = Causal Roots.
C. V. = Causal Verb,
cl. = class.
comp. = compound.
Cp. R. = Compound Roots.
cond. = conditional.
conj. = conjunct or conjunction or conjunctive mood.
conj. cons. = conjunct consonant.
cons. = consonant.
constr. = construction.
contr. = contracted or contraction.

D. R. or Dm. R. = Denominative Roots.
dat. = dative.
Db. C. V. = Double Causal Verb.
dem. = demonstrative pronoun.
der. or deriv. = derivative.
dir. = direct.
Dr. R. = Derivative Roots.
du. = dual.

emph. = emphatic.
euph. = euphonic.
exc. = except or exception.

f. or fem. = feminine.
fut. = future.

gen. = genitive or general.

imp. or imper. = imperative mood.
ind. or indic. = indicative mood.
indef. = indefinite or indefinitive.
inf. = infinitive.
instr. = instrumentalis.
inter. or interrog. = interrogative pronoun.
intr. = intransitive.
intr. V. = intransitive Verb.

lg. f. = long form.
loc. = locative.

m. or masc. = masculine.

N. = noun.
n. or neut. = neuter.
nom. = nominative.
num. = numeral.

obl. = oblique.
orig. = original.

P. P. = past participle.
P. R. = Primitive Roots.
part. = participle.
pass. = passive.
pers. = person or personal.
pl. or plur. = plural.
pleon. = pleonastic.
postpos. = postposition.
prec. = precative.
pret. = preterite.
pron. = pronoun or pronominal.

qual. = quality.
qual. pron. = qualitative pronoun.
quant. = quantity.
quant. pron. = quantitative pronoun.

R. = root.
red. f. = redundant form.
refl. = reflexive pronoun.
rel. = relative pronoun.
resp. = respectively.

S. = suffix.
S. R. = Simple Roots.
S. V. = Simple Verb.
sg. or sing. = singular.
sh. f. = short form.
st. f. = strong form.
subst. = Substantive.
suff. = suffix.

tbh. or tadbh. = tadbhava.
term. or termin. = termination.
tr. = transitive.
Tr. V. = Transitive Verb.
ts. = tats. or tatsama.

voc. = vocative.

wk. f. = weak form.

An asterisk (*) prefixed to a word means a conjectural or theoretical form of a word.

INTRODUCTION.

THE LOCAL DISTRIBUTION AND MUTUAL AFFINITIES OF THE GAUḌIAN[1]) LANGUAGES.

Seven languages of the Sanskrit stock are usually enumerated as spoken in North India, viz. Sindhí, Gujarátí, Panjábí, Hindí, Bangálí, Oṛíya, Maráṭhí. Of these H. is commonly said to be spoken over an area of more than 248000 square miles and to be the language of between 60 and 70 millions or fully $^1/_4$ of the inhabitants of India. This statement is true only in a very limited and special sense. It is true if by H. we understand the literary or High-Hindí (including under this term Hindústání or Urdú); but it is quite incorrect if it be understood to imply that only one language is spoken generally by the people inhabiting that area. It is, a priori, extremely improbable and contrary to general experience that one and the same language should be spoken by such large numbers of people over a tract of country so widely extended. As a matter of fact, two entirely different languages are spoken in the so-called Hindí area; one in the western, the other in the eastern half. For the sake of convenience, these two languages will be called in this treatise Western Hindí and Eastern Hindí; but the terms are not altogether good ones, as they give too much of an impression that Western and Eastern Hindí are merely two different dialects of

1) I have adopted the term Gauḍian to designate collectively all North-Indian vernaculars of Sanskrit affinity, for want of a better word; not as being the least objectionable, but as being the most convenient one.

the same (Hindí) language. In reality, they are as distinct from one another, as B. in the east and P. in the west are supposed to be distinct from what is commonly called Hindí. Indeed the likeness between E. H. and B. is much closer than between E. H. and W. H.; and on the other hand, the affinity between W. H. and P. is much greater than between W. H. and E. H. In short W. H. and E. H. have as much right to be classed as distinct languages rather than different dialects, as P., H., and B.

It is impossible at present, accurately to define the limits of the various Gaudian languages and dialects. It is a subject to which little attention has been paid hitherto. Moreover, it seems probable, that in most cases adjoining languages and dialects pass into each other so imperceptibly, that the determinatiou of the limits of each will always remain more or less a matter of doubt and dispute. At present, we can only fix with certainty the centres of their respective areas. The following remarks and the accompanying map which attempts to show their local distribution, must be understood with this proviso. The area in which H. (commonly so called, i. e. E. H. and W. H.) is spoken, occupies the central portion of North India. It extents in the north to the lower ranges of the Himálaya mountains; in the west to a line drawn from the head of the gulf of Kachchh in a north-easterly direction to the upper Satlaj near Simla; in the south to the Narmadá river or the Vindhyá range of mountains; in the east to a line following the course of the Sankhassí river to its junction with the Ganges and thence in a south-westerly direction to the Narmadá. The H. area is bounded on the north by those of Gw., K., and N.; on the west by P., S., and G.; on the south by the M. area, and on the east by O. and B.

The Garhwálí, Kumaoní and Naipálí are apparently dialects of one great language, the area of which is bounded on the south by that of Hindí, on the east by the upper Satlaj, on the west by the upper Sankhassí, and on the north by the higher ranges of the Himálaya. The Garhwálí is spoken between the Satlaj and

Ganges, the Kumaoní between the Ganges and Gogarí, the Naipálí between the Gogarí and Sankhassí. In the following pages these three dialects will be designated by the collective name of *Northern Gauḍian*.

The area of the Panjábí nearly covers the province from which it derives its name, extending from the Hindí area in the east to the Indus in the west, and from the lower ranges of the Himálaya in the north to the junction of the five rivers in the south. There are apparently two principal dialects of this language; viz. the Multání spoken in the Southern Panjáb about Multán, and the dialect of the Northern Panjáb. P. is spoken by about 12 millions of people distributed over 60000 square miles.

The Sindhí area lies on both sides of the lower Indus. It meets the Hindí area on the east, and that of the Panjábí on the north, and is bounded by the Kela mountains on the west. The language comprises three principal dialects; the Siráikí spoken in the upper Sindh, north of Haiderábád; the Lárí or dialect of the lower Sindh spoken in the Indus delta and on the sea-coasts; and the Tharelí spoken in the Tharu or desert of Eastern Sindh (see Tr. II). It is spoken by about 2 millions of people and over 90000 square miles.

The Gujarátí area comprises the provinces of Kacch and Gujarát or the country around the gulf of Kambay. The Kacchí is a distinct dialect, and its true affiliation, whether to Sindhí or Gujarátí appears to be still doubtful. Gujarátí has seemingly no marked dialectic divisions. It is spoken over 50000 square miles by about 6 millions of people.

The Maráṭhí area is bounded by the Vindhyá mountains on the north, where it joins that of Western Hindí. At their eastern extremity it meets the Eastern Hindí area, whence the line of demarcation runs in a south-westerly direction to the sea-coast near the city of Goa. There are two principal dialects: the Konkaní and Dakhaní. The former is spoken in the west, in the Konkan or narrow strip of country between the mountains and the sea;

the latter in the north-east in the (so-called) Dakhan or Central India. In the south-east, about Satara and Kolhapur, there is apparently a third variety (Bs. I, 104). Maráṭhí is spoken by about 13 millions of people and over 113000 square miles. It should be observed, that in the neighbourhood of the upper Narmadá Maráṭhí is contiguous to Eastern Hindí. One gradually merges into the other, and it is impossible, at present, to say exactly where one begins and the other ends. It is certain, however, that E. H. is spoken about Jabalpur. On its south and south-east, respectively, Maráṭhí has the Drávidian languages, the Kanarese and Telugu.

The Oríya área is bounded on the north by the Subanarekhá river and in the west by a line drawn from the sources of that river in a southerly direction to about Ganjam on the east-coast of India. According to Beames (I, 118, 106) it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects, spoken in the vast tract of mountains, lying between its western boundary-line and the eastern limits of the Maráṭhí area. It is spoken by about 5 millions of people over 66000 square miles.

The Bangálí area ist nearly coterminous with the province of Bangál, being bounded by the Eastern Hindí area on the West. Four principal varieties of the language are said to exist (Bs. I, 106); one in Eastern Bangál about Silhet and Tipara, an other in Northern Bangál about Dinajpur; one in Southern Bangál about Midnapur and Calcutta, and the principal one in Central Bangál. It is spoken by about 36 millions of people over 90000 square miles.

Within the area of Hindí, as previously defined, many differing dialects are spoken. Their exact number is, at present, uncertain. Eight principal dialectic varieties, however, may be distinguished. Namely, beginning in the West; *first*, the dialects of Western Rájpútáná as far as the Aravalli mountains. The principal one is the Márwárí or the dialect of the country of the Márs, a Rájpút tribe, spoken about Jodhpur and Jaynagar. *Secondly*, the dialects of Eastern Rájpútáná, spoken about Jaypúr and Kotah, on

the high lands between the Aravalli mountains and the river Betwá. *Thirdly*, the Braj Bháshá or the dialect of the upper Doáb, spoken on the plains of the Jamná and Ganges, about Agrá, Mathurá, Delhi, etc. It is so called from Vraj „cow-pen", the name of the district round Brindában and Mathurá, the birth-place of Krishna. *Fourthly*, the Kanaují spoken in the lower Doáb and Rohilkhand. It takes its name from the old city of Kanauj on the Ganges. *Fifthly*, the Baiswárí or dialect of the country of the Bais, a Rájpút tribe; spoken to the north of Allahábád. Its district is nearly coterminous with the province of Audh, whence it is also called Avadhí. In a slightly modified form it is also spoken to the south of Allahábád, in Baghelkhand, the country of the Baghels, an other Rájpút tribe. *Sixthly*, the dialects of the country lying north and south of Banáras, and spoken to beyond Gorakhpúr and Bettiah in the North and to about Jabalpúr in the South, where their area is contiguous with that of the Maráthí. The principal one is the Bhojpúrí, which is current in the central portion of this tract on both sides of the Ganges between Banáras and Chaprá. It takes its name from the ancient town of Bhojpúr, now a small village, near Buxar, and a few miles south of the Ganges[1]). *Seventhly*, the Maithilí or the dialect of the district of Tirhút, spoken about Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. It is called

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1) „It was formerly a place of great importance, as the head-quarters of the large and powerful clan of Rajpoots whose head is the present Maharaja of Doomraon and who rallied round the standard of the grand old chief Kuñwar Singh in the mutiny of 1857. Readers of the entertaining »Sair-ul Mutakherin« will remember how often the Mahomedan Soubas of Azimabad (Patna) found it necessary to chastise the turbulent Zemindars of Bhojpur, and how little the latter seemed to profit by the lesson. It is remarkable that throughout the area of the Bhojpurí language a spirit of bigoted devotion to the old Hindu faith still exists, and that the proportion of Mahomedans to Hindus is very small. Rajpoots everywhere predominate, together with a caste called Bábhans (बाभन) or Bhuinhárs (भूँइहार = landleute) who appear to be a sort of bastard Brahmins, and concerning whose origin many curious legends are told." Beames J. R. A. S. vol. III, p. 484 (new series).

so after the ancient city of Mithilá, the capital of Videha or modern Tirhút (Tírabhukti). *Eighthly*, the Mágadh or the dialect spoken to the south of the Ganges between Gayá, Patná and Bhágalpúr. It has its name from the old district of Magadh, now better known as Bihár.

These dialects naturally divide themselves into two great groups, according to some very marked peculiarities of pronunciation and inflexion, etc., which will be noted presently. The first group comprises the western dialects; viz. those of W. and E. Rájpútáná, of the Braj and of Kanauj. The second group includes the dialects of Banáras, Tirhút and Bihár. The central dialect of Audh and Baghelkhand is of uncertain affiliation. In some points it agrees with the western group (e. g., in having the W. H. past part. in *á* or *ia*, see § 302); but as in most others (e. g., the E. H. future in *ab*) it exhibits the same peculiarities as the eastern dialects, it appears more appropriate to class it, for the present, with the latter. The eastern group of dialects constitutes, what I have called, the Eastern Hindí language; the western group the Western Hindí. The latter language is that which most nearly resembles what is commonly known as Hindí, namely the literary or High-Hindí. This latter is merely a modified form of the Braj dialect, which was first transmuted into the Urdú by curtailing the amplitude of its inflexional forms and admitting a few of those peculiar to Panjábí and Marwárí; afterwards Urdú was changed into High-Hindí. The H. H., as distinguished from the Urdú or Hindústáni, is a very modern language; but Urdú itself is comparatively modern. It originated during the twelfth century[1]) in the country around Delhi, the centre of the Muhammedan power. In that spot the Braj dialect comes into contact with the Márwárí and Panjábí; and there among the great camps (*urdú*) of the Muhammedan soldiery in their

1) The great battle of Pánipat near Delhi was fought A. D. 1192. It put an end to the Hindú and established the Muhammedan empire of Delhi. The last Hindú ruler (*Prithirâj*) fell in the battle.

intercourse with the surrounding populations a mixed language grew up, which, as regards grammar, is, in the main, Braj, though intermixed with Panjábí and Márwárí forms, while as regards vocabulary, it is partly indigenous Hindí, partly foreign (Persian and Arabic). For example, the final long *á* of strong masculine nouns, where the Braj has *au* and the Márwárí *o*, is a bit of Panjábí; again the affix *ne* of the active case is a contribution from Márwárí [1]). Where the Braj has alternative forms, one only was adopted by the Urdú. Thus Braj forms the future either in *ihaum* or in *aumgau* (1st pers. sg.); Urdú has retained only the latter in the form *úṃgá*, on account (no doubt) of its similarity to the Panjábí *áṃgá*. It was only in the sixteenth century, chiefly in the reign of Akbar, that Urdú was reduced to a cultivated form. With the extension of the Muhammedan power, its use spread over the whole of the Hindí area; but it remained the language of those exclusively who were more immediately connected with that power, either in the army or court or the pursuit of learning; it never became the vernacular of the people. The High-Hindí dates only from the present century. It is an outcome of the Hindú revival under the influence of English Missions and Education. Naturally enough, Urdú, the dominant and official dialect, came to hand in this movement and was *Hinduised* or turned into High-Hindí by exchanging its Persian and Arabic elements for words of native origin (more or less purely Sanskrit). Hence Urdú and High-Hindí are really the same language; they have an identical grammar and differ merely in the vocabulary, the former using as many foreign words, the latter as few as possible.

It appears, then, that there are three different forms of speech current in the Hindí area; viz. the H. Hindí or Urdú, the W. Hindí, and the E. Hindí. The first of these is nowhere the vernacular of the people, but it is the language of literature, of

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1) The affix of the active case was originally a dative affix, which is in Mr. *ṇe*, in P. *ṇúṃ*, in Br. *kaum*, see § 371.

the towns, and of the higher classes of the population; and it takes the form of Urdú among Muhammedans and of Hindí among Hindús; though the difference between these two forms is less marked in the mouth of the people than in the books of the learned. On the other hand, both the W. H. and E. H. are vernaculars of the people generally. Their boundary line may be roughly set down at about the 80th degree of E. Longitude. In the area lying to the west of that line and containing about 150000 square miles W. H. is spoken by about 40 millions of people, in some one or other of its above mentioned dialectic forms. Among these the Braj Bhásha is the most important, as it is the best known variety. It is not only the source of the Urdú and, through it, of the modern literary Hindí, but it has itself received some measure of literary cultivation (see pg. XXXV). In this respect, indeed, the Braj occupies an unique position not only in the W. H., but amongst Hindí dialects generally. In the following pages, whenever W. H. simply is spoken of, the Braj, as being its typical form, is especially intended.

The E. H. area, lying to the east of the 80th degree, contains about 100000 square miles and a population of about 20 millions. Among the various E. H. dialects spoken by these people, that of the Banáras district or the Bhojpúrí is the most important. It is the one which is especially referred to in this work by the term Eastern Hindí, and the grammar of which forms more prominently my subject. It must be considered the typical dialect of the E. H.; for it exhibits all the peculiar features of that language in their fullest number and most marked form. This is much less the case with the other E. H. dialects. The more westerly, the Baiswárí, in some not unimportant points shows the distinctive marks of the W. H. (see pg. VI). On the other hand the easterly, the Maithilí especially, exhibit unmistakeable similarities to the neighbouring Bangálí and Naipálí. Indeed, I am doubtful, whether it is not more correct to class the Maithilí as a Bangálí dialect rather than as an E. H. one. Thus in the

formation of the past tense, Maithilí agrees very closely with Bangálí, while it differs widely from the E. H., see § 503.

Taking, then, the Braj and the Bhojpúrí as the two typical dialects of the two great W. H. and E. H. groups respectively, and comparing them with each other, without entirely excluding from consideration the others; a number of very marked peculiarities present themselves. These, it will be seen, are so important, especially when considered in their relation to the non-Hindí (i. e., other Gaudian) languages, that it appears perfectly justifiable to consider the W. H. and E. H. as being as completely distinct languages as the other North-Indian languages are universally allowed to be. The following enumeration of differences is not an exhaustive one. I shall only mention the most important. There are many others which the reader will not fail to note for himself, as he goes through the grammar. I shall arrange them under the following heads: 1) pronunciation, 2) derivation, 3) inflexion, 4) construction, 5) vocables.

Firstly; as to pronunciation: 1) E. H. has a tendency to dentalise cerebral semivowels; thus E. H. often has *r* and *rh* for W. H. *ṛ* or *ṛh*; it has also *r* and sometimes *n* for W. H. *l* (see §§ 16. 29. 30. 31). 2) While sometimes W. H. omits medial *h*, E. H. inserts an euphonic *h* [1]). 3) While E. H. never tolerates, W. H. sometimes adds euphonically an initial *y* or *v* [2]). 4) E. H. has the short vowels *ĕ*, *aĭ*, *ŏ*, *aŭ* which are unknown to W. H. (see §§ 5. 6). 5) E. H. generally prefers to retain the hiatus *aï* and *aü*, while W. H. always contracts them to *ai* and *au* [3]) (see § 68).

Secondly; as to derivation: 1) the strong form of masc. nouns of the *a-base* has in E. H. a final *á*, and of the short form of pronouns a final *é*, but in W. H. a final *au* or *o* (see §§ 47.

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1) e. g., E. H., *dihal* he gave, but W. H. *diá* or *diyá*.

2) e. g., E. H., *é me* in this, *o me* in that, but W. H. *yá meṃ*, *vá meṃ*.

3) e. g., E. H., *baiṭhai* he sits, W. H. *baiṭhe*; E. H. *aür* and, W. H. *aur*.

48. 433. 437, 4)[1]). 2) The singular possessive pronoun has in E. H. a medial *o*, but in W. H. *e* or *á* (see §§ 449. 450)[2]). 3) E. H. prefers the weak form in (quiescent) *a* of masculine nouns with an *a-base*, W. H. the strong form in *au* or *o*[3]) (see § 205). 4) E. H. prefers the long form (of subst.) in *avá* or *au*, W. H. that in *ayá* or *ai* (see § 202)[4]). (5.) While W. H. uses, as a rule, only the short form of the pronouns, E. H. has generally also a long form in *na* (see §§ 436. 437, 3)[5]).

Thirdly; as to inflexion; and here both as regards declension and conjugation. *As to declension:* 1) E. H. does not possess the active case of the W. H. formed with the affix *ne* (see §§ 370. 371)[6]). 2) The oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* has in E. H. a final *á*, but in W. H. *e* (see §§ 363, 5. 365, 3. 6)[7]). *Next as to conjugation:* 1) the present tense is made in E. H. by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient (Sanskrit) present; in W. H. by adding *gá* or *hai* or *chhai* (see §§ 500. 501)[8]). 2) The past tense is formed in E. H. by means of the suffix *al* or *il*, in W. H. by the suffix *yau* or *yo* (see §§ 502. 505)[9]). 3) The future tense is made in E. H. by means of the suffix *ab* or *ib*, in W. H. by the suffixes *ih* or *as* (or, what need not concern us here, by adding the auxiliary participles *gau* or *go* to the ancient present) (see §§ 508. 509)[10]). 4) While E. H.

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1) E. H. *bhalá* good, W. H. *bhalau* or *bhalo*; E. H. *je* which, W. H. *jau* or *jo*.

2) E. H. *morí* (fem.) mine, but W. H. *merí* or *márí*.

3) e. g., E. H. *baṛ* great, W. H. *baṛau;* E. H. *mor* mine, W. H. *merau;* E. H. *det* giving, W. H. (Mw.) *deto*, E. H. *paṛhal* read, W. H. *paṛhyau*.

4) e. g., E. H. *ram'vá* or *ramau* Rám, W. H. *ramayá* or *ramai*.

5) e. g., E. H. *se* or *tavan* he, W. H. only *so*.

6) e. g., E. H. *ú kaiĩs* he did, W. H. *vá ne kiyau*.

7) e. g., E. H. gen. *ghoṛá kai*, W. H. *ghoṛe kau* of nom. *ghoṛá* horse.

8) e. g., E. H. *holá* he becomes, W. H. *haigá* or *hwaihai* or *hvaichhai*.

9) e. g., E. H. *rahal* he remained, W. H. *rahyau*.

10) e. g., E. H. *karabom* I shall do, W. H. *karihaum* or *karasum* (or *karaumgau*).

possesses the infinitive in *ab* or *ib* in common with W. H., it does not share with it that in *an* (see § 261) [1]).

Fourthly; as regards construction, there is one great difference, that, in the case of the past tense of transitive verbs, E. H. possesses a regular active construction with a proper active past tense, whereas W. H. uses a passive construction with the help of the active case (*in ne*) of the subject; (see §§ 371. 487).

Fifthly; as regards the vocabulary, some of the commonest and most important vocables are altogether different. Thus the (so-called) substantive verb is in E. H. 3. sing. present *bâṭai* he is, past *rahal* he was, in W. H. pres. *hai* (or *chhai*), past *tho* (or *ho* or *chho*); again the prohibitive particle is in E. H. *jin*, in W. H. *mat*; again the causative post-position is in E. H. *bade* or *bare for the sake of*, in W. H. *liye*.

These differences are sufficiently radical in themselves, to establish the claim of the E. H. to be considered a distinct language from W. H. But their importance will be seen still more clearly, if we now examine them in their relation to the eastern and western Gaudian languages; setting aside, for the present those of the north (Naipálí) and south (Maráṭhí). To the east of the combined E. H. and W. H. area are Bangálí and Oriya; to the west Panjábí, Gujarátí and Sindhí. On comparing these languages with W. H. and E. H., it appears that B. and O. have in common with the latter all those peculiarities in which it differs from the former; and that P., G. and S. share with the former all (or nearly all) those peculiarities in which it differs from the latter. Thus all the languages of the former class (i. e. E. H., B., O.) show a preference for *n* over *l*; and of *aï* and *aû* over *ai* and *au*; they do not tolerate an initial *y* or *v*; and possess the short *ĕ* and *ŏ*; their short pronouns have a final *e* and their possessive pronouns a medial *o*; most of their pronouns have an alternative long form in *na*, and their masculine nouns of the *a-base*, gene-

1) e. g., E. H. *karab* doing, W. H. *karabaun* or *karanaun*.

rally, the weak form in *ă*; they have no active case; their oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns in *á* ends in *á*; their past tense is made with *il* and their future tense and infinitive with *ib*; and lastly they construct actively the past tense of transitive verbs. Only in the present tense do B. and O. differ from E. H. in that they form no compound tense like it, but only use the simple ancient present tense; a form which they have in common not only with E. H., but (as will be shown further on, pg. XXXII) with all Gd. languages.

The case of W H. in respect to P., G. and S. is precisely similar. They all prefer *r̥*, *l*, to *r* and *n*; and *ai* and *au* to *aĭ* and *aŭ*; in certain cases they make use of initial *y* and *v*, but have no short *ĕ* and *ŏ*; their strong masculine nouns and short pronouns end in *o*[1]); their pronouns have no long form in *na*[2]), and, as a rule, their masculine nouns have the strong form in *o* or *au*; they have an active case made with *ne*[3]), and an oblique form singular in *e*[4]) of strong masculine nouns in *o* (or P. *á*); they make their past tense with the suffix *ya* or *ia*, and an infinitive with *an*; lastly they all construct passively the past tense of transitive verbs. Besides, G. and P., like W. H., form the present tense by adding the auxiliary verb *chhai* or *hai*, and the future by the suffixes *ih* or *as*; and their singular possessive pronouns have, as in W. H., a medial *e* or *á*. In these three points S. follows a way of its own, different, however, from both the others.

Although, therefore, the agreement is not quite perfect within each of the two groups[5]), yet it is complete in the most

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1) Exc., P. strong masc. nouns end in *á*; G. short pron. end in *e*, exc. *so* who.

2) Exc. relat. pron. *kon* in W. H., P., G., but not in S.

3) Exc., S. and Mw. use no affix with the active case.

4) Exc., G. and Mw. and partially Br. and Kn. in *á*.

5) The agreement is much more complete in the E. than in the W. group. This circumstance is significant, on account of its bearing on the probable history of their respective immigration into and occupation of North-India (see pg. XXXII).

important points. These are the six following, of which the five first are morphological and the sixth syntactical; viz. 1) the form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*, whether weak or strong; 2) the termination of such strong masculine nouns, whether in *á* or *o*; 3) their oblique form singular, whether ending in *á* or *e*; 4) the suffix of the past tense, whether *al* or *ya*; 5) the suffix of the future, whether *ab* or *ih* (or *as*); 6) the construction of the past tense, whether actively or passively. Even in regard to the minor points, the divergences are mostly confined to S., which is the most outlying of the Gaudian languages.

There are two conclusions which are obviously suggested by that agreement. In the first place; E. H. has evidently a much closer resemblance to B. and O., than to W. H.; and on the other hand, W. H. is much more nearly allied to P., G. and S., than to E. H. Whence it follows, that since B. and O. are accounted separate languages from E. H., and P., G. and S. from W. H., a fortiori E. H. and W. H. must be considered as distinct languages, and not merely as dialects of one and the same. Indeed, the only two points of any importance, in which E. H. agrees with W. H. rather than with B. and O. are; 1) the oblique form singular in *e* of strong masculine adjectives in *á* (see § 386), which adjectives the latter do not possess at all; and 2) the first preterite tense made with the past participle in *ya* or *ia* (see 502. 503), which they form a little differently[1]), but which, strictly, belongs not so much to E. H., as to the intermediate dialect, the Baiswárí.

The second conclusion is, that the languages whose affinities have been hitherto discussed, divide themselves into two large groups or two great forms of speech; the one extending over the eastern half of North-India and comprising E. H., B. and O.; the other covering its western half and including W. H., P., G. and S.

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1) e. g., E. H. *paṛhyoṃ* I read, B. *paṛhiyáchhi*, O. *paṛhiachhum*, but W. H. *paṛhyau*.

These two great forms of speech I designate in this treatise the *Eastern Gaudiau* and the *Western Gaudian speeches* or groups of languages. The close resemblance of the various members of these two groups among themselves clearly points to a time, when those two forms of speech were nothing more than distinct languages, and what we now know as separate languages, were merely their different dialects.

We have now to consider, what relation the two remaining Gaudian languages, viz. Maráṭhí and Naipálí, bear to those two great forms of speech, the E. Gd. and the W. Gd. On examining their affinities with respect to the points discussed above, it will be found, that they each occupy a distinct position, yet so that Maráṭhí is rather more nearly allied to E. Gd.; and Naipálí to W. Gd. Their position as forms of speech distinct from both E. Gd. and W. Gd., is founded chiefly on these two facts: 1) that with respect to some of the points, in which E. and W. Gd. differ from one another, M. and N. sometimes agree with one, sometimes with the other; and 2) that in some other points they agree with neither, but follow a line of their own.

Thus as regards Maráṭhí, it agrees with E. Gd. in the following points: 1) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *á* of their oblique form singular [1]); 3) the formation of the past tense by the suffix *al* (see § 505); and 4) the formation of the future by the addition of the auxiliary participle *la* to the ancient present (see § 509). This last point requires a word of explanation. It will be remembered (see pg. X and VII) that this compound form, which serves in M. as a future, is used in E. H. as a present, and that a similar compound form, made up of the auxiliary participle *ga* and the ancient present, is used in W. H. as a present tense, and in P. (and H. H.) as a future (see § 501). Now these circum-

1) e. g., gen. *ghoḍyá chá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá chá* of *vichú* scorpion; *páṇyá chá* of *páṇí* water.

stances show, that the compound form in *ga* is W. Gd., and the other in *la* E. Gd.

On the other hand, M. agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the pronunciation generally (see §§ 11. 16. 18); 2) the *o* termination of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the absence of the pronouns of a long form in *na*; exc. the interog. pron. *koṇ* who; 4) the strong form, generally, of masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 205); 5) the long form in *ayá* of the same nouns (see § 202); 6) the active case formed with *ne* (see § 371); 7) an infinitive made with the suffix *an* (see § 320); and lastly 8) the passive construction of the past tense (see § 487). It will be observed that of those six characteristics which have been noted as being the most important points of difference between the E. Gd. and W. Gd., M. agrees with the former in *four*, and with the latter only in *two*. Having regard to this circumstance, M. must be considered to rank with the E. Gd. rather than with the W. Gd. group. Moreover, of the two points in which M. agrees with W. Gd., one is syntactical, while all four points which it has in common with E. Gd., are morphological. This shows still more clearly the E. Gd. character of M.; for languages are classified according to their morphological characteristics[1]).

Further, the points which are peculiar to M. are the following: 1) its pronunciation of the palatals, as *ts*, *dz*, etc. (see § 11), and its disaspiration of a medial aspirate (see § 145. exc. 2., e. g., *vichú* scorpion for *vichhú*); 2) its possession of a peculiar form of the singular possessive pronoun (see §§ 450. 430, 5)[2]);

1) This is illustrated by an observation which Bs. I, 102 quotes from a native author (Shastri Vrajlal Kalidas in his History of the Gujarati Language pg. 50): „If a native from the North (speaking W. Hindí) comes into Gujarat, the Gujarati people find no difficulty in understanding his language; but when people from the South (speaking Maráṭhí) come to Gujarat, the Gujarati people do not in the least comprehend what they say." The reason simply is, that although syntacticelly G. does not differ either from M. or W. H., yet in its morphological characters it differs widely from M., while it agrees very closely with W. H.

2) e. g., M. *máṛhá* mine, but E. Gd. *mor*, W. Gd. *merau* or *máro*.

3) of a distinct oblique form singular of all nouns (see § 363)[1]; 4) of a peculiar present resembling closely in form that tense which, in common with all other Gd. languages, it uses as a preterite subjunctive (see § 501); and 5) of a peculiar conjunctive participle in *ún* (see § 491). For these reasons, as well as because, with respect to the points before referred to, M. is neither decidedly E. Gd. nor W. Gd., it must be considered to constitute a group by itself. This third group will be called in this treatise, the *Southern Gaudian speech.*

The case of Naipálí (including Garhwálí and Kumáoní) very much resembles that of Maráṭhí. It agrees with W. Gd. in the following points: 1) the final *o* of the strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 48); 2) the final *o* of the short pronouns (see § 437, 3. 4); 3) the medial *e* of the singular possessive pronouns (see § 450); 4) the preference of the strong form in nouns of the *a-base*; 5) the possession of an active case made the affix *le* (= *ne* of the W. Gd., see § 371); 6) the formation of the present by adding the auxiliary verb *chha* to the ancient tense (see § 501); 7) of the past by the suffix *yo* or *iyo* (see §§ 305. 503); and 8) of the infinitive by the suffix *an* (see § 320).

On the other hand, N. agrees with E. Gd. in the following points; 1) the pronunciation generally[2]; 2) the final *á* of the oblique form singular of strong masculine nouns of the *a-base* (see § 363)[3]; and 3) the formation of the future by adding the auxiliary participle *lá* to the ancient present tense (as in the M. future and the E. H. present, see pg. X, XIV and § 509); and 4) the active construction of the past tense of transitive verbs (see § 487). Here again it will be observed that of the six important points before mentioned, N. agrees with the W. Gd. in *three*, and with the E. Gd. in *three;* but while of the former all three, of the

1) e. g., *ghará* of *ghar* house; *kaví* of *kavi* poët; *gurú* of *guru* teacher; *ghoḍyá* of *ghoḍá* horse; *vichvá* of *vichú* scorpion; *páṇyá* of *páṇí* water.

2) e. g., often *n* for *l*; short *ĕ* and *ŏ*.

3) e. g., gen. sg. *kurá ko* of *kuṛo* word.

latter only two are morphological characters. It follows accordingly that N. is more closely allied to the W. Gḍ. than to the E. Gḍ. group of languages.

Further, N. stands by itself in the following points: 1) the aspiration, in certain cases, of a medial consonant[1]); 2) the softening, occasionally, of an initial hard consonant[2]); 3) the active affix *le*. These are not very important matters; but taken together with the other fact, that in the six main points N. is divided in its affinity between the W. and E. Gḍ., they show that it must be looked upon as constituting a separate group of its own, which I shall call in this treatise the *Northern Gaudian speech*. Perhaps the circumstance which brings out most clearly that both M. and N. are really separate forms of speech as well as the W. and E. Gḍ. is this: that, as regards the past tense of transitive verbs, M. agrees morphologically (suffix *al*) with E. Gḍ., but syntactically (passive constr.) with W. Gḍ., while on the other hand N. agrees morphologically (suff. *ya* or *ia*) with W. Gḍ., but syntactically (active constr.) with E. Gḍ.

The result, then, so far arrived at is, that there are *four* great forms of speech, occupying the whole of North-India (viz. N. Gḍ., W. Gḍ., S. Gḍ., and E. Gḍ.). At a former period each constituted a single language. They have gradually broken up into varieties which in the W. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. have already become distinct languages, while in the N. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ. they are as yet no more than dialects. Further, it has appeared that these *four* great forms of speech naturally divide themselves into *two* greater groups; one comprising the N. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ., the other the S. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. This circumstance, then, points to a still more remote period in the glottic history of India, when there

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1) Apparently only when there was originally a double consonant; e. g., N. *dphu* self, for H. *dp*, Pr. *appá*; N. *dghi* before, for H. *ágɛ*, Pr. *agge*; N. *bdlakh* child, for H. *bdlak*, Pr. *valakko*; N. *májhad* for H. *májat*, Pr. *majjanto*, etc.; see S. Luke 1, 17. 24. 41. 11, 39.

2) e. g., root *gar* to do for *kar*.

were only two great varieties of speech current in North India, which divided that country diagonally between them; the one occupying the north-western, the other the south-eastern half. These two greater glottic divisions I shall designate, for reasons to be explained presently, the *Śaurasení Prákrit tongue* and the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue* respectively.

The oldest Prákrit grammar, which we possess (that of Vararuchi, 1st cent. B. C.) enumerates four varieties of Prákrit; viz. the Prákrit proper, the Śaurasení, the Mágadhí and the Paiśáchí. The first of these is commonly called the Mahárâshṭrí (now Maráṭhí); the Śaurasení (now Braj) and Mágadhí (now Bihárí) take their names from the provinces which form the centres of the W. Gd. and E. Gd. areas respectively; the Paiśáchí is ascribed by some later Pr. grammarians [1]) to Nepál among other places. Hence it might be thought, that those four ancient Prákrit varieties are coördinate forms of speech and correspond to the four Gaudian speeches. This view, however plausible at first sight, is certainly erroneous. The whole subject of the relation of the Prákrits, as learned from the old native writers, to the Gaudians, as known to us by actual experience, is involved in much confusion and obscurity, partly because of the sometimes uncertain, sometimes (seemingly) contradictory statements of those authors, partly on account of the apparent discrepancy in phonological and morphological characters between the Prákrits and the Gaudians. The most probable account of the matter seems to be the following.

There are in reality only two varieties of Prákrit. One includes the Śaurasení and the (so-called) Mahárâshṭrí. These are said to be the prose and poëtic phases of the same variety, and even this distinction is, probably, artificial. The other is the Mágadhí. The relation of Paiśáchí to these two varieties may be roughly described as that of Low or Vulgar to High-Prákrit. The latter

1) e. g., by Lakshmídhara in his Shaḍbhásháchandriká, see Ls. 13.

was used in literature, and never strictly a *spoken* language; it was more or less artificial from the very beginning, and became still more so in course of time. On the other hand, the Low-Prákrit (or Paiśáchí) was the spoken language of the people; that *is*, probably in the beginning, of those aborigines, who fell under the domination and influence of the Aryan immigrants, and in whose mouth the Aryan vernacular was distorted into Paiśáchí. For that name is a term of contempt; the uncouth dialect of the *savages* or *cannibals*, as the Aryans called it. It is ascribed by the native grammarians to the tribes, bordering on the Aryan area in the north (Himálaya, Nepál) and south (Paṇḍya, Dakhan)[1]. Again the most striking feature of the Paiśáchí is its change of the Aryan *ṇ*, *l* and the sonants into *n*, *l* and the surds respectively, which latter are peculiar to the Drávidian languages. According to Caldwell (Cp. Gr. p. 102—105) those languages had originally no sonant mutes. The Drávidians, therefore, when adopting Aryan speech, would naturally mispronounce its sonants as surds. All this time, of course, the Aryan immigrants had their own *vernacular*, understanding by that term the spoken language of the people as distinguished from its literary form. Gradually as the aboriginal population were amalgamated by the Aryan immigrants, the peculiarities of its Paiśáchí speech would naturally die out[2]; and the Aryan vernacular, incorporating whatever in the Drávidian speech was capable of assimilation, would remain the sole occupant of the field. This Aryan vernacular is called by the Pr. grammarians the *Apabhraṃśa* Prákrit, as being in their opinion a corrupted language in comparison with what they considered the purer, the

1) e. g., Lakshmídhara in the Shaḍbhásháchandriká says: piśáchadeśás tu vṛddhair uktáḥ, páṇḍya kekaya váhlíka sahya nepála kuntaláḥ, sudesha bhota gándhára haiva kanojanás tathá. Ls. 13.

2) None of the Gauḍians show any trace of the Paiśáchí change of sonants into surds though some have the *n* and *l*; nor is any specimen of Paiśáchí found in the Pr. plays (Ls. 388); the ancient Bṛhatkathá of Gunádhya is supposed to have been written in a Paiśáchí dialect (see Pischel Diss. inaug. 32. 33). Pais. clearly died out at a very early period.

literary Prákrit (i. e., the Mh.-Ṣr. and the Mg.). In reality it was merely the illiterate vernacular of the people spoken by the side of the literary Ṣaurasení and Mágadhí, and certainly more ancient than the literary Mahárâshṭrí [1]). It follows, then, that the vernacular of the Aryans when spoken by themselves is the Apabhraṃsa, and when spoken by the aborigines, the Paiṣáchí. The Apabhraṃsa, however, of the Pr. grammarians exhibits the Aryan vernacular, as it was at a rather later period than that in which it became Paiṣáchí in the mouth of the aborigines [2]). Of the oldest Aryan vernacular (the *Ancient Apabhraṃsa*, as I may call it) which was the contemporary of Paiṣáchí and probably not greatly different from it, we have no record; unless, indeed, it be the Pálí. In order of time, therefore, Pṣ. comes first, next the Ap. Pr., lastly Gḍ.; but in order of descent the series is: Anc. Ap. (or Pálí), Ap. Pr., Gḍ. [3]).

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1) Compare e. g. the past part. pass. Ṣr. and early Ap. *kadhido* or *kahido*, Mg. *kadhide* or *kahide*, Mh. *kahio*, later Ap. *kahiu* „said".

2) In the time of the later Pr. gramm., at all events, the knowledge of what Pṣ. really was, had become lost. Though, following old tradition, they all give the rules of Pṣ.; yet when they treat of its relation to the Ap., they are constantly confounding the two, and sometimes even invent an altogether new signification for Pṣ., making it equivalent to certain (more or less pure Skr.) styles of Ap. (e. g., R. T. in Ls. 23. & Exc. 6). — The chronological succession of the Pr. gramm. is still far from settled (see Pl. Diss.), but Hemachandra in the 12th century A. D., is probably the earliest grammarian, who mentions the Ap., while the first who notices the Pṣ. is Vararuchi in the 1st cent. B. C. (see Cw. VI), if not earlier. From this fact, however, it must not be concluded, that no Ap. existed in the time of Vararuchi. For the Ap. Pr. (even as known by H. C.) has some older forms than the Mh. Pr., and the latter is already treated of by Vararuchi. The reason of his omitting all mention of any Ap. was probably, that he intended to treat merely of the high or literary Pr. varieties; and, of course, there would be a literary Pṣ. Pr. variety, whenever the aborigines had to deal with High-Prákrit.

3) Paiṣ. or Pál. or Anc. Ap. *kathito*, Ap. Pr. *kadhido* or *kahido*, W. Gḍ. *kahio* or *kahyo said*; Pṣ. *rutito*, Anc. Ap. *rudito*, Ap. *roïdo*, W. Gḍ. *roio* or *royo wept*; Pál. *gamito*, Ap. Mg. *gamide* or Ap. Ṣr. *gamido*, E. Gḍ. *gaïl* or *geld* or W. Gḍ. *gaio* or *gayo*.

I have spoken of the Apabhraṃsa or Aryan vernacular. But it must not be supposed that it was everywhere identical. The Aryan immigration gradually extended over an area, too wide to remain the home of one single form of speech. Accordingly the term Apabhraṃsa must be understood to be the collective name of several Aryan vernaculars, spoken in various parts of North India. It is invariably used in this sense by Pr. grammarians. They always define it to mean the language of *„the Abhíras and other similar people"*[1]), i. e., briefly, of the lower orders, which constitute the mass of the population everywhere. In their enumeration of the various Ap., each of the provincial *languages* (as we now call them) occurs; e. g., Abhírí (Sindhí, Marwárí), Âvantí (E. Rájpútání), Gaurjarí (Gujarátí), Báhlíká (Panjábí), Ṣaurasení (W. Hindí), Mágadhí or Práchyá (E. Hindí), Odrí (Oṛíyá), Gauḍí (Bangálí), Dákshiṇátyá or Vaidarbhiká (Maráṭhí) and Saippalí (Naipálí?)[2]).

It will be noticed that in the above list the same Ṣaurasení and Mágadhí Prákrits are enumerated by the Pr. grammarians as Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars, which they elsewhere treat of as literary or High-Prákrits. On the other hand, it will be noted that the (so-called) Mahárâshṭrí Prákrit does not occur in this list at all; nor, indeed, is it found in any list of Apabhraṃsas or vernaculars. This shows plainly that the Mh. Pr. was not looked upon as the *vernacular* of any people, and that it did not take its name from the Mahárâshṭra (or Maráṭha) country. Indeed, it is doubtful, by what right that name is given to the particular form of Pr., which commonly bears it. In the oldest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi it is never so called, except once in-

1) Thus L. Dh. in the Sh. Ch.: *apabhraṃsas tu bhâshâ syâd abhirâdigirâṃ chayaḥ* (Ls. 12). The Abhíra, or Ahíra as they are now called, are a tribe, members of which are found in every part of North-India. They are cowherds by profession, but are considered by the natives to be a „good" (Aryan) caste, a sort of inferior Rájpúts.

2) See the lists of K. I. and R. T. in Ls. 18. & Exc. 5. 7.

cidentally at the end of the chapter on Śaurasení [1]). Again it is to be remarked that the great grammarians of the West and South, Hemachandra, Trivikrama and Śubhachandra, who must have been familiar with the living Maráṭhí vernacular, avoid the name altogether. The dialect in question is called by them simply *the* Prákrit. They, probably, felt that the name was misleading. It is only in the Pr. grammarians of the East, Kramadeśvara, Márkaṇḍeya, Lakshmídhara, Rámatarkavágíśa, etc., that the name Mahárâshṭrí is distinctly given to the dialect and connected with the Mahárâshṭra country [2]). This goes far beyond what is justified by Vararuchi's incidental use of the term. The probability is that they misunderstood his meaning. For he seems to use the term not as a *proper name*, but as a laudatory or descriptive expression, meaning „the Prákrit of the great kingdom" (i. e., of the famed country of the Doáb and Rájpútáná, see note 1 on p. XXV) and therefore the *principal* Prákrit. According to this view the term Mahárâshṭrí is not far from synonymous with what we now call Western Hindí. At all events, whatever interpretation may be given to the term, there can be no doubt that, as a matter of fact, the dialect so called *is* Western Hindí, and has no one point in common with Maráṭhí, in which the latter differs from Western Hindí (or W. Gaudian generally). Thus the Mh. Pr. past participle is made with *ia* (or *ya*) as in W. H., not with *al* as in M., the future is made with *iha* as in W. H., not with the auxiliary participle *la* as in M.; and the same is true, as will be shown afterwards (p. XXVII), in regard to the termination of masculine nouns with an *a-base* and to the oblique form or genitive singular. Thus in

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1) After finishing his remarks on the Śr., he says: „the rest of that dialect is like the Máhárâshṭrí" (*śeshaṃ mâhârâshṭrívat* Vr. 12, 20); whence it is rightly concluded that by the name Mh. he refers to that Pr. dialect, which he had before treated of simply as *the* Prákrit.

2) Thus K. I. or rather his commentator: „the Prákrit of the Mahárâshṭra country is the principal Prákrit" (*prákṛtam mahárâshṭradeśíyaṃ prakṛshṭabhâshâyam*); in Ls. 17.

four out of the five important morphological points Mh. Pr. agrees with W. H., and not with M.; the remaining point (the strong form of masculine nouns of an *a-base*), being common to both W. H. and M., is of no account in the question. It appears, then, that the Mh. Pr. is merely a particular form of ancient W. H., or rather since W. H. has become a distinct language in more recent times, of W. Gd. And Śr. Pr., as its name indicates (Śúrasena being nearly the same as Braj), is another form of the same. Together they represent tho old W. Gd. speech. This fact is indicated by the peculiar manner of their use in the Pr. plays. For they are not employed as the languages of different peoples, but of different kinds of composition, Mh. for poetry, the Śr. for prose[1]).

It has been already remarked that Pr. grammarians enumerate among the Apabhramśas or vernaculars a Mágadhí and a Śauraseni Apabhramśa. The two great Pr. varieties, the Mágadhí and the Śauraseni-Máhárāshṭrí, are simply the high or literary forms of these two low or Apabhramśa ones. They are, probably, to some extent artificial; yet there can hardly be a doubt — as the following comparison will show — that they have retained the leading peculiarities of the two vernaculars, of which they are the refinements.

The fact that these two vernaculars, the Mg. Ap. and the Śr. Ap., have furnished both the substratum and the name for the two great High-Pr. varieties, proves that they were the two leading vernaculars of North-India, typical of all the others. Accordingly we find that Pr. grammarians (as Márkaṇḍeya, etc.) arrange the eastern dialects in a great group around the Mg. Pr. as their type. Among those which they name as its members, the following are the most important: the Mágadhí, Arddhamá-

1) Thus Viśvanátha Kavirája in the Sáhityadarpana says: „noble and educated women, speaking in prose, are to use Śr., but Mh. in speaking in verse“ (see Ls. 35).

gadhí, Dákshiṇátyá, Utkalí, and Śábarí [1]). Mágadhí is the speech of modern Bihár and (western) Bangál, and corresponds generally to the present Bangálí (incl. of the E. H. dialects, the Mágadh and Maithilí). Arddhámágadhí is described as a mixture of Mágadhi and Śaurasení (or Máhárâshṭrí)[2]); it follows that it must have been spoken to the west of Mágadhí, that is, in the Banáras district; it corresponds, therefore, to the Bhojpúrí or the E. H. *proper*. Dákshiṇátyá is the speech of Vidarbha, the modern Berár[3]) and adjoining districts. It corresponds, therefore, to the Dakhaní, one of the principal dialects of the present Maráṭhí, and thus to this language generally[4]). Utkalí is the speech of what is now called Orissa, and corresponds to the modern Oṛiyá. Śábarí is the name of the dialect spoken in the country lying between that occupied by Dákshiṇátya on the one side and Mágadhí and Utkalí on the other (about the town of Ratnapur and the Mohar mountains). It will be seen, then, that the Mg. group of the Pr. grammarians consists of what we call now the Bangálí, Eastern Hindí, Oṛiyá and Maráṭhí languages, at a time when, probably, they were still dialects only of one great speech. Or, in other words, the old Mg. group includes both (what I call) the eastern and southern Gaudian speeches. Accordingly I have given to the two combined the name of the *Mágadhí Prákrit tongue*.

In like manner, the same grammarians arrange the western dialects in a great group around the Śr.-Mh. Pr. as their type.

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1) So R. T. in the Prákrit Kalpataru; see Ls. 21.

2) Md. quotes a saying of Bharata, that it is like Sr. (*saurasenyá adûratvád iyam eva arddhamágadhí iti bharata;* 12th pada, fol. 49); and K. I. 12 (see Ls. 17. 393) connects it with the Mh. (*máhárâshṭrímiśrárddhamágadhí*). The description of E. H. as Arddhamágadhí, i. e. half mágadhí, is a very good one; for E. H. has affinities with both Bangálí (= Mágadhí) and Western Hindí (= Máhárâshṭrí-Śaurasení).

3) So in the S. D.: *dákshiṇátyá vaidarbhí* (see L. 36. 20).

4) Dákshiṇátya is used to the present day in North India as a synonym for Maráṭhí; e. g., Maráṭhí Bráhmans are generally known only as Dákshiṇátya Bráhmans.

The most important members of this group are the Máhárâshtrí, Śaurasení, Âvantí, Prâchyá, and Sakkí. The Máhárâshtrí and Śaurasení together represent W. Hindí; but as the future in *ih* is peculiar to Mh., and the fut. in *is* to Śr. (see Ls. 353, 4.), and on the other hand the Br. and Kn. have the fut. in *ih*, but Mw. the fut. in *as* (*or is*), it appears that Mh. corresponds to Br. and Kn., to which may be added Eastern Panjábí, while Śr. corresponds to Mw., and also to G. as having the same future in *as* (or *is*)[1]). Âvantí is the speech of Ujjain and Eastern Rájpútáná. Prâchyá, as its name indicates, is the most eastern member of the group and, probably, corresponds to Baiswárí[2]). Sakkí is, probably, the speech of Sindh and the Western Panjáb[3]). Thus it appears that the Mh.-Śr. group consists of what we now call Western Hindí, Gujarátí, Panjábí and Sindhí. To these, for reasons previously stated, Naipálí must be added. In other words, the Mh.-Śr. group represents the Western and Northern Gaudian speeches; and accordingly I have called the two combined the *Śaurasení Prákrit tongue.*

1) Śúrasená is the name of the country about Mathurá or of the Vraj; but it must be remembered that Śr. and Mh. are with the Pr. grammarians not exactly the names of local, but of prose and poetic dialects. Vararuchi (or Kátyáyana, the author of the Vártikas on Páṇini, see Pl. 12), in whose Pr. grammar the term Mh. first occurs, lived according to Hindú tradition about 56 B. C. at the court of the „great king" Vikramáditya (see Cw. VI), whose dominions included the whole of N. W. India. The principal „speech of that great country" or Máhárâshtrí, as Vr. calls it, was taken by him, and after him by all Pr. grammarians, as *the* standard Prákrit.

2) Prâchyá is explained in the S. D as being equivalent to Gaudí (*prâchyá gauḍiyá*, see Ls. 36) or, apparently, Bangálí. But, on the other hand, Mḍ. makes Prâchyá to be an offshoot of Śaurasení (*prâchyâvidhiḥ śaurasenyâḥ* 10th páda, fol. 47); while, according to Dandí (see Ls. 33), the Gaudí follows the Mg. type. Besides, in another place, in a list of Apabhraṃśas, both Mḍ. and R. T. (see Ls. Exc. 7) distinguish the Prâchá from the Gaudí. If, then, the Gaudí is of the Śr. type, it can hardly be anything else than the Baiswárí, the intermediate dialect between E. Gḍ. and W. Gḍ.

3) Sakkí is apparently the language of the Sakas (lat. sacae, Scythians) who overran W. India and were defeated in a great battle by Vikramáditya. In Sindh, many names of villages and towns contain the name Saka; e. g., the town Sakkar on the Indus.

Mg. Pr., then, coincides with S.-E. Gḍ. and Śr. Pr. with N.-W. Gḍ. in their geographical limits. It remains to be shown that they do so philologically also. It must be remarked *in limine*, 1) that the particulars noted by the Pr. grammarians with respect to the various Apabhraṃśas are extremely scanty and, for the most part, only phonological. From this it may be justly concluded — what, indeed, is probable a priori — that the Aps. did not materially differ from their respective High-Pr. forms in their great morphological and phonological features; 2) that the silence of the Pr. grammarians as to any particular peculiarity, now found in modern vernaculars, does not necessarily prove its non-existence in their time; for they note only those peculiarities of Pr., which they could, satisfactorily to themselves, trace to a Skr. origin; all others they simply left unnoticed as being deśya (see p. XXXVII); 3) that the dialect which is treated of by Pr. gramm., such as Hemachandra, simply as Apabhraṃśa, probably occupied in the western division a position analogous to that of the other which is spoken of simply as Prákrit; i. e., one is *the* Apabhraṃśa as the other is *the* Prákrit[1]). But, as in the case of *the* Pr., so also in the case of *the* Ap. it must, no doubt, be understood, that its rules, unless where the contrary is expressly stated, extend to all other Aps. also.

We now proceed to the examination. Of the already mentioned six important characteristics, the syntactical one (regarding the construction of the past tense) must be at once set aside. The Pr. grammarians never refer to this point at all; and from Pr. writings very little evidence is to be obtained on the subject;

1) With Mḍ. this chief Ap. is called Nágarápabhraṃśa; he expressly connects it with the Mh.-Śr., *the* Pr. of the western division (*nágaraṃ tu máháráshṭrisaurasenyoḥ pratishṭhitaṃ*); e. g., respecting conjugation: *atra cha kareḥ dhareḥ ityadau tasya svaraśeshatvaṃ maháráshṭryáśrayeṇa karedi dharedi ity ddau datvaṃ śaurasenyáśrayeṇa mantavyam* (17th páda, fol. 53. 55); its identity with W. Gḍ. is shown by the fact, that Mḍ. gives the characteristic W. Gḍ. possess. pronouns *merá, teŕá*, to the Nág. Ap. (*tvadiye teŕaṃ, madiye meraṃ* 17th páda, fol. 56).

though what little there is makes in favour of my theory (see § 371). There remain, then, the five morphological points. In regard to these, there is a striking coincidence between the evidence of Pr. gramm. and plays on the one hand, and the result of our enquiry concerning the difference of Mg. and Śr., on the other. Thus, *firstly*: Pr. gramm. state that nouns with an *a-base* end in *o* in Śr. P., but in *e* in Mg.; our enquiry shows that in W. Gḍ. and N. Gḍ. they end in *o* (or *au*), but in S. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. in *á*, which vowel appears to be a modification of the Mg. *e* (see §§ 47. 48). *Secondly:* according to the Pr. gramm., the Western (cf. note on pg. XXVI) Ap. Pr. has a genitive singular (= oblique form, § 366) in *ahe*, the Mg. Pr. in *áha*; according to our enquiry W. and N. Gḍ. have an oblique form in *e*, the S. and E. Gḍ. in *á*; here *e* is a modification of *ahe* and *á* of *áha* (see § 365, 1. 6). *Thirdly;* from our enquiry it appears that W. and N. Gḍ. use almost exclusively the strong form (in *o*) for *a-bases*, while as to S. and E. Gḍ., it is used almost exclusively in M., much less in E. H. and very little in B. and O. (see § 205). Now the existence of special rules in Pr. gramm. about the use of the strong form (in *aó* = Skr. *akaḥ*) in the Mh. and Ap. Pr., and its common occurrence in Pr. literature (see Ls. 288. 460. 475. Wb. 69) prove its extreme frequency in the great Mh.-Śr. vernacular. As to the other great vernacular, the Mg., there is only the scanty evidence of Pr. literature; and from this it would appear that the strong form was very frequent in the southern Mg. vernaculars, the Śakarí, Śabarí and, by analogy, Dákshiṇátyá (cf. Ls. 431), but rare in the northern, the Arddhamágadhí (cf. Ls. 413, 7). There is, then, a sufficiently close agreement in this case also. *Fourthly;* in Gḍ. the past participle passive is used to make the past tense active. According to our enquiry, the N. and W. Gḍ. use the past participle in *ia* or *ya*, and the E. and S. Gḍ. a past participle in *al*. Now Pr. gramm. state that the past participle in *ia* is peculiar to the Mh.-Pr. (Vr. 7, 32. Ls. 363). As to the Mg. Pr. they give no general rule; but in the few cases,

where the past participle is expressly noted, it ends in *ḍa* (see Vr. 11, 15), and from another rule on the nominative it would appear incidentally, that generally the past participle ended in *ida* (Vr. 11, 11. cf. Ls. 396, 4. 6. 400, 3 and H. C. 4; 260. 302). From Pr. literature it appears further, that in the Low-Mágadhís *d* and *ḍ* were apt to be changed into *l* (see Ls. 412. 423). Here again, considering the scanty evidence, the agreement is sufficiently striking[1]). *Fifthly*, our enquiry shows that N. and W. Gḍ. use a future in *ih* or *as*, but E. Gḍ. in *ab* or *ib*. The latter is simply the future participle passive used in an active sense, precisely as E. Gḍ. employs the participle past passive to form an active past tense (see § 487). The W. Gḍ. future in *ih*, however, is also used in E. H. (see § 509); and it is to be noted that both future forms are promiscuously used in it in the sense of the imperative (or precative) and the future (§§ 498. 508, note). Now according to the Pr. gramm., the future in *ih* or *iss* is peculiar to the Mh.-Śr. Pr. (H. C. 3, 166—170. 4, 275), and from Pr. literature it appears that the Mh. form in *ih* was used in Mg. also (see Ls. 413. 434); while the future in *ab* was confined to the lowest kinds of Mg. (Ls. 422; देव्व *you will give*). The latter future form was evidently considered very low. I know, indeed, only of that *one* instance of its admission into Pr. literature; but under the circumstances, it is sufficient to establish the agreement in question[2]).

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1) It is quite possible that while the High-Mg. had the termination *ida* (or *iḍa*) the Low-Mg. vernaculars generally changed it into *ila* (or *ala*), but that the latter was considered by the Pr. Paṇḍits (supposing that the change of *d* or *ḍ* to *l* had already taken place in their time) altogether too vulgar to be frankly admitted into literature, excepting a few rare cases, such as *kale* for *kade* or *kaḍe* „done". Though it is also possible that the universal change of the termination *ida* into *ila* may have taken place after their time.

2) The compound forms of tenses (e. g., the M. future) which constitute another morpholog. character, afford us no help here. These curious formations are neither found in the Pr. gramm. nor in Pr. liter. Either they were considered too vulgar to be noticed, or more probably

As regards the morphological characters, then, my contention that E. and S. Gḍ. together correspond to the old Mg. Pr., and W. and N. Gḍ. together to the old Śr. Pr. appears to be fully borne out, considering the kind and amount of evidence, that is available on the subject. It now remains to examine the phonological characters which, according to the Pr. grammarians, distinguish the Mg. Pr. from the Śr.-Mh. Of these the following four are the most important. Mg. changes 1) *s* into *ś* (Vr. 11, 3. H. C. 4, 288); 2) *r* into *l* (H. C. 4, 288); 3) *j* into *y* (Vr. 11, 4. H. C. 4, 292); and 4) *ksh* into *sk* (Vr. 11, 8. H. C. 4, 296). As to the change of *s, r, j* into *ś, l, y* respectively see §§ 16. 18. 20. As to the change of *ksh* into *sk*, according to the Pr. gramm., *ksh* changes in Mh.-Śr. Pr. into *kkh* (Vr. 3, 29. H. C. 2, 4), but exceptionally also into *chchh* (Vr. 3, 30. H. C. 2, 17). Now according to the analogy of all similar changes (e. g., of *st* into *tth* or *ṭṭh* Vr. 3, 11. 12), *kkh* presupposes a form *sk*, and *chchh* a form *śch*. It follows of necessity that at some period of the Indo-aryan vernacular *ksh* must have been pronounced sometimes as *sk*, sometimes as *śch*. But the link between these two forms *sk* and *śch* is *śk*; for the Mg. speaking people, according to their custom of turning *s* into *ś*, would pronounce *sk* as *śk*, and the palatal *ś* of the latter would gradually palatalize the conjoint *k* into *ch*, making *śch*; finally *śch* would change into *chchh*. Now in the change of *ksh* into *kkh* there are *two* steps; viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *kkh*; but in the change of *ksh* into *chchh* there are *four* steps, viz. 1) *ksh* into *sk*, 2) *sk* into *śk*, 3) *śk* into *śch*, 4) *śch* into *chchh*. It is plain that if these changes proceeded, on the whole, *pari passu*, the Mg. speaking people would have got only as far as *śk*, when the Mh.-Śr. speakers had already arrived at *kkh*. Now this is almost exactly what Vararuchi states

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they did not exist at all at that time, i. e. 6 or 7 centuries ago. It appears that the verb *as* „to be" was the only verb used enclitically in Pr. times, and that the employment of the verb *achh* „to be" and the participle *gá* „gone" and *lá* „come" in this manner is of later date.

to have been the case in his time; viz. Mh.-Ṣr. had *kkh*, but Mg. had *śk*. Here *śk* must be, probably, interpreted as *ṣk* by the general rule regarding the change of sibilants in Mg.[1]) (cf. Ls. 398). But the form *ṣk* was only a passing step in the phonetic evolution, the end of which has been reached long since, and now for some centuries already *ksh* is pronounced *chchh* or *chh* (see § 36). As the change of *s* into *ṣ* is general in B., partial in M., and rare in E. H. (see § 20), it is, accordingly, found that in most old tadbhava words B. and M. have *chh* for *ksh*, but E. H. has *kh* or even *h*[2]). The rule is not quite strict; nor, indeed, has it ever been so; for many instances exhibiting the Mg. change of *ksh* to *chchh* occur already in the Mh.-Ṣr. Pr. (see Vr. 3, 30).

Thus it appears from philological considerations not less than geographical ones, that, at some former period of its history, North India was divided between two great forms of speech, which I call respectively the *Śaurasenī tongue* and the *Māgadhī tongue*. Roughly speaking, their areas occupied, one the northwestern, the other the southeastern half of North-India. Their boundary line coincided with that which now divides the areas of the N. and W. Gḍ. from those of the S. and E. Gḍ. speeches. But there is reason to believe that at a still earlier period the limits of the Mg. area extended further towards the North West. For 1) the following morphological characters of the Mg. tongue are found in different parts of the Ṣr. area; a) the termination *á* of the strong masculine nouns with an *a-base* in P. and, to a certain extent, in Br. and Kn.; b) the termination *á* of the obli-

1) Pr. literature, apparently, has no example of *śk* or *ṣk* (cf. Ls. 408. 428); but it has numerous examples of *ṣṭ*, where H. C. gives *sṭ* (see Cw. 181). H. C. and T. V. have the conjunct *ḥk* with the *jihvāmūlīya visarga* for *s*, except in the case of *prekṣh „to see"*, where, curiously enough, all the steps are actually given: viz. *prekshate* and *peṣkadi* (or *peṣkadī*) in T. V. 3, 2. 34 and *peṣchadi* or *pechchhaï* in T. V. 3, 2 32 (cf. H. C. 4, 295. 297).

2) e. g., B. *kāchhe* „near", „at", E. H. *kāhi* (Skr. *kakshe*); or B. *māchhi*, M. *māśi*, E. H. *mākhi* (or *māchhi*) „fly" (Skr. *makshikā*); or B. *dachhin*, M. *daṣin*, E. H. *dakhin* (or *dachhin*) „south" or *ddhin* „right" (Skr. *dakshiṇaḥ*).

que form singular in G., M., E. R. and, again to some extent, in Br. and Kn.; c) the genitive affix, which is not only in E. Gḍ. (*kai, kar, er, ar*), but also in Br. and Kn. (*kau*) and probably in M. (*chá* or old M. *chiyá*) a modification of the Pr. *kario* (Skr. *kṛtaḥ*), while G., P. S., and, probably, Mw. use one of a different origin (see § 377); d) the compound future in *lá* (or *lo*) which is possessed by N. and E. R. by the side of the Ṣr. future in *iś* (see § 509, 4); e) the past participle in *al* which is found in E. R., in as much as it is contained in the enclitic *lá* of the compound future, which is a curtailment of the past participle *ailá* „come" (see § 509, 4). Again 2) there occur in the Ṣr. area the following phonological characters of the Mg.: a) the change of *l* to *n* is found in N. (in the compound future see § 509, 4) and in G. and P. (in the active affix *neṃ, núṃ*, see § 375); b) the change of *l* to *r* is found also in S. (see § 16, also § 14 on *ñ*). It is also worth noting that the Pr. writers themselves supply indications of the partially Mg. character of E. R. and G.; the latter (called Ábhírí), though generally classed with the Ṣr. group, is once included by R. T. in the Mg. (see Ls. Exc. 3); and as to E. R. or Âvantí see Ls. 417. 419 [1]).

Generally speaking, it will be observed, that the Mg. characteristics, beginning with a very few and isolated traces in the far West, increase in number, as we proceed towards the East, till at last at the present frontier of the E. and S. Gḍ. areas they predominate so as to constitute the Mg. tongue. These circumstances seem to disclose the fact that sometime in the remote past the Mg. must have reached up to the extreme western frontiers and been the only language of North India; but that in course of time it gradually receded more and more towards the South and East

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1) Still the general character of the Âvantí or E. R. is Śaurasení; thus Md. calls it expressly „a mixture of Mh. and Ṣr." (*dvantí syán mahárâshṭrîsaurasenyos tu saṃkarát, anayoḥ saṃkarâd avantí bhâshá siddhá syát* 11[th] pâda fol. 47[b]); and afterwards he says that Báhlikí is allied to it (*dvantyám eva vâhlikí* ibid. fol. 48[a]); see also Ls. 435. 436.

before the advancing tide of the Ṣr. tongue, leaving, however, here and there in the deserted territories traces of its former presence. What the eastern and southern frontiers of the Mg. may have been in those early times, when it reached to the far West of India, it is impossible to say. Very probably, as it receded before the Ṣr., it may have conquered fresh territories in the South and East which had not been before occupied by any Aryan tongue. The headquarters of the Ṣr. tongue, whence it gradually spread toward the North-East and East, appear to have been in western Rájpútáná. It is possible, in some measure, to trace the direction and extent of its advancing tide. Thus a) traces of its past participle in *ia* are found as far east as in B. and O. (see §§ 305. 503), but not in M.; b) traces of its oblique form in *e* are found as far east as in the Bh. and M.; c) traces of its future in *ih* are found as far east as in Bh. It will be seen, that the tide is fullest in the West (especially in Sindh, the Panjáb and Western Rájpútáná), but gradually grows weaker and narrower as it advances eastward, mainly following the course of the broad valley of the Ganges, and working itself like a wedge into the Mg. area, which overlaps it on its southern and northern banks, in the E. R., G. and N., in which the Mg. relics are most noticeable.

From these indications it would appear that the Mg. tongue is the older of the two; that is, that its occupation of North India preceded the developement and extension of the Ṣr. Perhaps this may be taken to point to the fact that two great immigrations of people of the Aryan stock into India took place at different periods, both speaking essentially the same language, though in two different varieties. For there can be no doubt that the two varieties, the Mg. and the Ṣr., whatever their differences may be, are essentially the same language, of which the Sanskrit variety, being its literary or high form, preserves on the whole the oldest phase. Thus one of the most striking points of identity is the ancient Skr. present tense active, which is preserved to the present day

in all Gḍ. languages of North-India alike (see § 474)[1]). Even in those cases where the outward shape or grammatical use of a particular form widely diverged, the original unity can be traced by easy and natural steps. Thus as to outward shape, the E. Gḍ. future in *ab* or *ib* can be traced back (see § 314) to the ancient participle future passive in *tavya* (or *itavya*), and the E. and S. Gḍ. past tense in *al* or *il* to the ancient past participle passive in *ta* (or *ita*), which, in an other direction, has given rise to the N. and W. Gḍ. participle in *ia*. These two instances are also examples of a change in grammatical use. For in E. Gḍ. the two participles, which had originally a passive sense and indeed have it still in S. and W. Gḍ., are used to form active tenses, viz. the participle future passive in *itavya* to form the future active in *ab* or *ib*, and the participle past passive in *ita* to make the past active in *al* or *il*. Here the intransitive verbs, the „passive" of which naturally becomes a „middle voice", afford the connecting link (see §§ 303, note. 309. 371. 487).

We have traced the Mg. tongue back to the extreme western frontiers of North India. Beyond that line lie the areas of the Pashtú and Káfirí languages. They immediately adjoin that of the present Panjábí. Trumpp in his essays on those two languages[2]) has called attention to their many affinities with the Gauḍians. Among these there are some with both of the principal varieties of Gḍ., the N.-W. Gḍ. or Ṣr. and the S.-E. Gḍ. or Mg. But what is, perhaps, more remarkable than the mere fact of their affinity is that, in some of the oft-mentioned great test-points, they — and more especially the Pashtú — exhibit decided Mg. characteristics. Thus a) the masculine strong form of *a-bases* ends in Pashtú with *ai*, corresponding to E. and S. Gḍ. *á*, Mg. Pr. *aè*; b) the past participle ends with *alai* (strong form) or *al* (weak form)

1) Modern M. is an exception in using this old pres. tense as a habitual past; but old M. retains it as a present tense.

2) See J. G. O. S. vol. 20 pg. 377 and vol. 21 pp. 10 ff. 23.

corresponding to (strong form) *alá* in M. and (weak form) *al* in E. H. [1]); c) the Káfirí has a compound future made with the enclitic participle *la*, just like the M. future and the E. H. present [2]); d) the auxiliary verb has in Pashtú an initial *š*, like the initial *s* of M., which is a modification of the E. Gḍ. *chh* [3]); e) Pashtú like M. has a double set of palatals, viz. *ch* and *ṭs*, *j* and *ḍz*. Lastly f) Pashtú has the dative affix *lah*, like the M. *lá*, and the dative affix *vatah*, like the E. H. *baṭe* or *bare*.

It would appear from this, that the Mg. Pr. and the Pashtú and Káfirí were once in close connection, perhaps one language; and that, at some time in the remote past, they became separated by the Ṣr. Pr. tongue, like a wedge, cleaving them asunder and gradually pushing the Mg. farther and farther away towards the east.

Accordingly four periods may be distinguished in the linguistic history of India. First, when the Mg. tongue, in some form, was the only Aryan vernacular in North India. Secondly, when the Ṣr. tongue existed there beside the Mg. Thirdly, when these were broken up, each into two speeches, the W. and N. Gḍ. and the E. and S. Gḍ. Fourthly, when these four speeches were subdivided into the several Gḍ. languages. The last period is that now prevailing. As to the date of the first period we know nothing. The earliest Pr. grammar of Vararuchi (1st cent. B. C. or earlier) already discloses, in the second period, the two great

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1) e. g., weak form Psh. *kṛal* = E. H. *kayal*, B. *karil* = Ap. Mg. **karide*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; and strong form Psh. *kaṛalai* = M. *kelá* (for *kaïlá* = *karilá*) = Ap. Mg. **kăridae*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. — The other, i. e. the Ṣr., form of the past part. also occurs in Psh. It ends in *a quiescent* (weak form) or in *ai* (strong form), precisely as in W. and N. Gḍ.; e. g., weak form Psh. *kaṛ* or *kṛah* „done", O. H. *kar* or *kari* = Ap. Pr. *kariũ*, Mh. Pr. **kario*, Skr. *kṛtaḥ*; strong form Psh. *kaṛai* = Bs. *karé* or Br. *karaw* or *karyau* = Ap. Pr. *kariaũ*, Mh. Pr. **kariao*, Skr. *kṛtakaḥ*. But it should be remembered that the E. Gḍ., too, has both part., to make the first and second preterites, see §§ 503. 505.

2) e. g., Kf. 3. sg. *baldle* „he will say" = M. *bolel*, E. H. *bolaïlá*.

3) e. g., Kf. *šé* „he is" = M. *ase*, O. *chhe* or *achhe*, B. *chhe* or *dchhe*.

divisions of the Śr. and Mg. in occupation of North India. The earliest Gḍ. literature exhibits the third period already existing; for in the Western Gauḍian poët Chand (end of 12th cent. A. D.) W. H., P. and G. are indistinguishable; in the Southern Gauḍian poëts Námdeva and Dnándeva (end of 13th cent. A. D.) M. is seemingly separate; in the Eastern Gauḍian poët Bidyápati (middle of 14th cent. A. D.[1]) B. and E. H. are as yet one language. The later Gḍ. writers of the 15th, 16th and 17th cent. (as the W. Hindí Kabír, the E. Hindí Tulsí Dás, the Bangálí Kabi Kankan, the Oriya Upendro Bhanj, the Maráṭhí Tukarám, the Gujaráti Narsingh Mehta; see Bs. I, 82—96) show the modern division of the Gḍ. languages already existing.

Note. I believe, it will be found on closer examination of the W. H. that its two dialects, the Mw. and Br., must, in reality, be classed as two different languages of the W. Gḍ. group, in the same sense as P. and G. For Mw. and Br. differ from each other in the same degree, as either of those two from P. and G. Thus in declension: 1) the termin. of the obl. form sg. of strong masc. nouns of the *a-base* is *á* in Mw., but *e* in Br.; here Mw. agrees with G., but Br. with P.; e. g., Mw. *ghoṛá' ro*, G. *ghoḍá no* „of a horse"; Br. *ghoṛe kau*, P. *ghoṛe dá*; 2) Mw., like S., uses no active case-affix; but Br. has *ne̊m*, corresponding to P. *nai*; e. g., Mw. *ghoṛai*, G. *ghoḍe*, „by a horse"; Br. *ghoṛe ne̊m*, P. *ghoṛe nai*. In conjugation: 1) Mw., like G., forms the fut. ind. with the suff. *as*, but Br. with *ih*; e. g., Mw. *karasí*, G. *karaṣe* but Br., *karihai* „he will do"; 2) the auxiliary verb has *chh* in Mw. and G., but *h* in Br. and P.; e. g., Mw. *chhai*, G. *chhe* „he is"; Br. and P. *hai*; etc.

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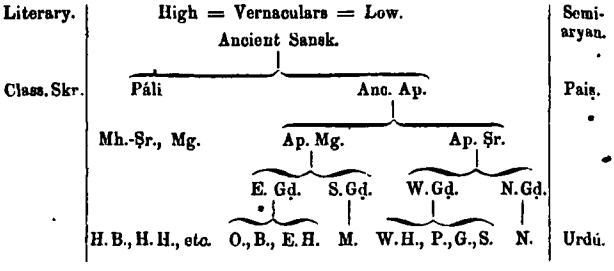
1) Or, according to Beames (Ind. Antiquary Febr. 1873), middle of the 15th cent.

Table of Affinities.



EASTERN HINDI LITERATURE.

As regards E. H. literature, there is very little to be said. In the E. H. proper or the Bhojpúrí there is, apparently, no literature whatever, either prose or poetry. All my inquiries on this subject have been alike fruitless. I have heard people say, that there are a few poems in the more easterly dialects of the E. H., as the Maithilí. But I suspect the reference was to the well known religious songs of Bidyápatí and others of the Vaishnava school. These, however, belong to the earlier period, in which E. H. was not yet separate from B. The only specimens of literature of the strictly E. H. period are the writings of Tulsí Dás, especially his great work, the Rámáyan, a Hindí version of the well known story of Ráma, though not by any means a translation of Válmíki's famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The language of Tulsí Dás, however, is not E. H. proper or Bhojpúrí, but the Baiswárí, which is a dialect *formed* by a mixture of W. and E. H. (see pp. V. VI). Tulsí Dás was a native of Hájipúr, a village near the celebrated hill of Chitrakúṭa in the state of Riwá, about 50 miles S. E. of the town of Bandá in Bandelkhand. He lived from 1541 to 1624. Once he made a journey to Brindaban (and Delhi?); but for the most part he lived in Benares as minister of the Rájá of that town. For some more, mainly legen-

dary particulars of his life, see Garcin de Tassy's histoire de la litterature Hindouie vol. 3, pp. 235—244, where also some other less known works of his are enumerated.

All the other celebrated Hindí poëts wrote in some dialect of W. H., generally Br. or Kn. The oldest of them is Chand Bardaí, who was a native of Lahore, but lived at the court of Prithiráj, the last Hindú ruler of Delhi, at the end of the 12th cent. He is the author of the Prithiráj Rasau, an epic poem recounting the exploits of that monarch. He belongs, however, strictly speaking, to the pre-Hindí period, when W. H. was not as yet separate from P. and G. Next to him come Kabír of Benares in the second half of the 15th cent., the author of the Ramainis and Ṣabdas. After him are Súr Dás of Mathurá, Nabhájí and Keshava Dás of Bijapúr, the authors respectively of the Súrságar, the Bhaktamálá and the Rámchandrika, etc. They flourished in the 16th cent., during the reigns of Akbar and Shah Jehan, the Augustan age of North India. Then follow Bihárí Lál of Ambir near Jaipúr, the author of the Satsai, and Lál Kavi from Bandelkhand, the author of the Chhatra Prakaṣ, in the 17th cent. For further particulars as to the lives and works of all these poets, see the respective articles in Garcin de Tassy's hist. de la litt. Hind. They all were natives of Western Hindústán, except Kabír, whose sect (the Kabír-panthis) still numbers most of its adherents in the E. H. area. He was born in or near Benares, and died and is buried in Magahar near Gorakhpúr in the Benares district. Yet his writings are certainly not in E. H., but in W. H. The fact is strange and has not, I think, been sufficiently noticed. Though he afterwards became a Hindú and even the founder of a Hindú sect, he was brought up originally by his Muhammedan foster-father in his own religion; and apparently he spent some part of his life in or near Delhi at the time of the emperor Sikandar Lodi. Perhaps one or both of these facts may be the reason of the peculiarity.

THE TERMS TATSAMA, TADBHAVA, etc.

The term *tatsama* means lit. „the same as it" or *Sanskritic*. It denotes properly those Gaudian words which have retained exactly the same form as they were in Sanskrit; e. g., E.H. *bhrâtâ* „brother", *râjâ* „king". But practically it includes all words which have been reintroduced into the Gḍ. directly from the Skr., though in the process they have undergone slight phonetic changes, analogous to, but not so thorough as those which have been suffered by the tadbhava words (see §§ 40 ff.); e. g., E. H. *chhamâ* „forgiveness", for Skr. *kshamâ;* E. H. *âgyâ* „command", for Skr. *âjñâ;* E. H. *bisnu* „Vishṇu", for Skr. *vishṇuḥ;* E. H. *kripâ* „mercy", for Skr. *kṛpâ;* E. H. *karam* „work", for Skr. *karma;* E. H. *putar* „son", for Skr. *putraḥ*. These might be called *semitatsamas*.

The term *tadbhava* means lit. „having the same nature as it" or *Prâkritic*[1]). It denotes those Gḍ. words which, though the same in substance as in Skr., are considerably different in form. Practically it includes all those words which have come into Gḍ. from the Prâkrit, and not from the Skr. In the E. H. these

1) Pr. Gramm. distinguish two kinds of tadbhavas; thus S. R. (fol. 1[a]) *saṃskṛtabhavâs cha dvidhâ, sâddhyamânasaṃskṛtabhavâs siddhasaṃskṛtabhavâs cheti*; i. e. „there are two kinds of words which have the same nature as in Sanskrit; viz. those which must be shown to be so, and those which are admittedly so." It is not quite clear, however, wherein the distinction exactly consists, as no examples are given. Probably such forms are referred to, as *râi* and *ṛatti* „night" (H. C. 2, 88), both for Skr. *râtriḥ*. The latter (*ratti*) is a *siddha tadbhava*, for its identity with the Skr. *râtriḥ* is *evident* and follows from the *general* rules (viz. H. C. 2, 79. 1, 84); but the former (*râi*) is a *sâddhyamâna tadbhava*, because its identity *must be established* by a *special* rule (viz. H. C. 2, 88). It will be seen that the distinction is analogous to what in Gḍ. I have a distinguished as semitatsamas from the proper tadbhavas (as *putar* and *pût* „son"), or to Beames' distinction of *late* and *early tadbhavas* (see Bs. I, 13—17). But our „semitatsamas" or „late tadbhavas" are not identical with the Pr. Gramm. *siddha tadbhavas;* for the former *ex hypothesi* have not come through the Pr. at all, but are directly resuscitated from the Skr. at various periods. For this reason, and because they are clearly nearer in form to the pure tats. than to the pure tadbh., I have preferred to class them as a subdivision of tats. rather than (as Bs.) of tadbh.

words are generally obtained from the A. Mg.; but sometimes from the Ṣr. Thus compare the following prákritic words with the above list of sanskritic ones: E. H. *bhái* „brother" for A. Mg. *bhāïe;* E. H. *ráy* „king" for A. Mg. *láyá* or *láá;* E. H. *khet* „field" for A. Mg. *khettaṃ* (Skr. *kshetram*); E. H. *dáhin* „right" for Pr. *dáhiṇaṃ* (Cw. 100. Skr. *dákshiṇam*); E. H. *án* „order" for Mg. *aññá* (H. C. 4, 293); E. H. *kánh* „krishna" for A. Mg. *kaṇhe* (Skr. *krishṇaḥ*); E. H. *kisán* „husbandman" for A. Mg. *kisáṇe* (Skr. *kṛshāṇaḥ*); E. H. *kám* „work" for A. Mg. *kamme;* E. H. *púl* „son" for A. Mg. *putte;* etc. It should be remembered that the Gḍs. are not descended from the high or literary (Mh.-Ṣr. and Mg.) Pr., but from the low vernacular or Ap. (Ṣr. and Mg.) Pr. This fact explains, why some Gḍ. tadbhava words show a higher state of preservation than that observed in the corresponding words of the High-Pr.; for, in some instances, the latter had suffered a greater amount of decay than those of the Low-Pr. Generally speaking, the Low-Pr. is more tenacious of medial consonants than High-Pr. (see Ls. 396. 457). Thus E. H. *rāti* „night", Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *latti* (cf. H. C. 4, 330), but High-Mh. Pr. *rái* (Vr. 3, 58, but also *ratti*); E. H. *khāïl* „eaten", Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *khāïda*, but Mh. Pr. *khāïo*. Sometimes the more and the less perfect forms exist side by side; as E. H. *gaïs* (= *gaï* + *s* „thou wentest"), for Ap. (Ṣr.) Pr. *gaïu si* or *gaïdo si* or *gamido si* (Páli *gamito si*, High-Mh. Pr. *gao si* or *gado si*) and E. H. *gaïlēs* or *gaïlēs* „thou wentest", for Ap. (Mg.) Pr. *gaïda si* or *gamide si*. Hence, in some cases, it will always be doubtful whether a particular form must be considered as prákritic or sanskritic. Thus E. H. has both *nair* (or *nayar*) and *nagar* „town"; the former is clearly a tadbhava for A. Mg. *ṇayalaṃ* or *ṇaalaṃ*; but the latter may be either a tatsama for Skr. *nagaram* or a tadbhava for Ap. Mg. *ṇagalaṃ*.

Native grammarians add the *deṣya*, as a third division, to the tatsama and tadbhava [1]). The term deṣya means lit. „belonging

1) Thus S. R. (fol. 1ᵃ) *iha prākṛtaśabdās tridhā, saṃskṛtasamās saṃskṛtabhavā deṣyāś cheti;* i. e. „there are three kinds of Prákrit words, viz. the same as Skr., of like nature as Skr., and provincial (or country born)."

to the country", i. e., *provincial* or perhaps *aboriginal*. They designate by this name all those words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Skr. word and, therefore, consider to have had their origin in the country (i. e., *rure* or *provincia*). In what way exactly they suppose them to have originated is not clear; namely whether borrowed from the aborigines, or invented by the rustic Aryans themselves in post-sanskritic times (Beames I, 12), or so corrupted by their common parlance from a Skr. original as to make them unrecognisable. The last seems to me the most probable, to judge from the sentiment of modern Pandits on the subject. The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these deśya words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Pr. and Skr. In so far, they make in support of the opinion of those grammarians. But the question, as to whether they are or are not Aryan, is by no means decided thereby. A word may be Prákritic or Sanskritic, and yet may not be Aryan. Whatever non-Aryan elements there may be in the Indo-aryan languages, they must have been incorporated in the earliest times; i. e., at the period, when Paiśáchí and the Ancient Apabhraṃśa were spoken by the subject aborgines and their Aryan conquerors respectively, and when old Sanskrit was the Aryan high language; a period which was anterior to that of what is now commonly called (classical) Sanskrit.

Natives distinguish between the *ṭheṭh* or *gámvárí* and the *kharí* or *nágarí bháshá*. Ṭheṭh means *genuine* or *pure* and gámvárí means *rustic* or *vulgar* (from *gdv̄* = *gráma* „village"); again kharí means *standard* and nágarí *urban* or *cultivated* (from *nagar* „town"). The relation of these two bháshás is analogous to that of English or rather of the South-German dialects as spoken in the towns or by the educated and the same as in the mouth of the village peasantry. The difference exist mainly in the pronunciation and in the vocabulary. Thus, in the ṭheṭh bháshá the auxiliary verb is pronounced *bárai* or *bárai*, but in the kharí bháshá *báṭai*. Again in the latter, tatsama and even Urdú words are much more frequently employed than in the former which is almost entirely destitute of them. The specimens of E. H. appended to this grammar, being written by a Pandit, are rather in the kharí than in the ṭheṭh bháshá.

FIRST SECTION. ON LETTERS AND SOUNDS.

1. CHAPTER. THE ALPHABET.

1. The E. H. is commonly written in the *Kaithí* (कैथी or कइथी) alphabet. Its name is derived from Káyath (Skr. कायस्थ), the designation of the writer-caste among the Hindús. Though it has a general resemblance to the modern Devanágarí, there are but few of its letters, which do not exhibit some points of difference; indeed, as will be seen by a reference to the table, all the vowels, and the consonants *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *bh*, *d*, *dh* and *r* differ entirely in the two alphabets; and the horizontal top-line is emitted by the Kaithí in all letters alike[1]). It will be further noticed, that in Kaithí the consonants *k* and *ph*, *p* and *dh*, *r* and *l* very closely resemble each other, being distinguished in each case merely by the addition of a hook or curve to the latter; again, that there is only one sign for each of the following groups of Nágarí letters: 1) ◌ं (properly = म्) for the nasals ङ *ṅ*, ञ *ñ*, ण *ṇ*, न *n*; 2) श (a combination of क and ष) for the sibilants स *s*, ष *ṣ*, श *sh*; 3) ◌ॅ for the labials ब *b* and व *v*; 4) ज (properly = *j*) for the palatals ज *j* and य *y*; and also that of the two forms of *ch* one is very much like to one of the two forms of *dh*, the other to one of the two forms of *y*. For the vowels Kaithí has only four fundamental signs: ◌ा *ă*, ◌ि *ĭ*, ◌ु *ŭ*, ◌े *e*. The others

1) Sometimes a series of lines is first ruled across the page, and the letters are afterwards hung on to them. These lines must not be confounded with the top-line of the Devanágarí, and in native writing the two are easy to distinguish.

are distinguished by diacritical marks, as shown in the table. In Manuscripts the initial *i* and *u* are rarely distinguished from *ĭ* and *ŭ* or the medial *ú* from *ŭ*. It will be seen that altogether the Kaithí alphabet has only *twenty nine* distinct signs. It is used in printing as well as in writing; but owing to the preponderance of H. H., which has adopted the Devanágarí, the latter is much more common in books. I shall adopt it in this work also, as the more generally known of the two.

2. *Affinities.* Four principal types of alphabet are used in North-India; the Kaithí, the Bangálí, the Oṛíyá and the Gurmukhí. The Kaithí is the most widely spread; it is used in writing not only in Eastern, but also, slightly modified, in Western Hindústán, Maráṭhá and Gujarát. In G. and sometimes in E. H. it is adopted also in print. The Bangálí, Oṛíyá and Gurmukhí are used in Bangál, Orissá and the Panjáb respectively, in writing and printing. The Gurmukhí probably takes its name from being originally used in committing to writing the oral traditions of the Sikh Gurus (Nának, etc.). The general likeness of these four types to one another as well as to the older Kutila and Gupta is unmistakeable, though their exact relation among themselves, their origin and age are matters not as yet fully elucidated. For some account of them see Bs. I, 54 ff. Besides these, there are two sub-types much in use in the area occupied by the Kaithí, to which they are the most nearly related. These are the Nágarí or Devanágarí and the Mahájaní or Koṭhíwál. The first is an improvement, the second a corruption of the Kaithí or of its more ancient original. The exact meaning of the term Devanágarí (divine city alphabet) is uncertain; but it suggests its being, as it certainly is, a caligraphic (polished or sacred) writing. The Mahájaní (mercantile) is, as its name implies, the shorthand writing of the merchants and bankers, their *Koṭhíwál* or *office-writing*; and is still commonly used by them. The Devanágarí, on the other hand, is the type adopted for printing in Hindí and Maráṭhí; and as it is exclusively taught in the schools, it

TABLE OF ALPHABETS.

will probably in course of time entirely supersede the Kaithí; perhaps not altogether an advantage, as it can be written with less rapidity and ease than its rival.

1. VOWELS.

3. The E. H. possesses fifteen vowels; a *neutral* and fourteen distinct ones. The latter consist of seven pairs, each containing a short and a long one. They are ◌़; *ă*, *á*; ◌ि, *í*; ◌ु, *ú*; *ĕ*, *é*; *ŏ*, *ó*; *aĭ*, *aí*; *aŭ*, *aú*. Five of these, the neutral vowel and the short *ĕ*, *ŏ*, *aĭ*, *aŭ* are, according to the usual view, unknown to the Sanskrit phonetic system, and therefore have no place in the native grammatical scheme of sounds and characters. But in order to avoid the inconvenience of two different sounds being denoted by the same sign, I have ventured to introduce into the E. H. alphabet, used in this treatise, five new characters. For the short *ĕ*, *ŏ*, *aĭ*, *aŭ* I shall adopt the Gurmukhí or Bangálí forms of the ordinary Nágarí *signs*, which differ from the latter merely in having a serpentine form (◌ॅ and ◌ॆ) instead of a slightly curved one (◌ॅ and ◌ॆ). For the neutral vowel I shall adopt a dot (·) placed after the consonant in the same manner as a stroke (।) is placed after it to denote the long *á*; in transliterating I shall use the *apostrophe*. Accordingly the signs of the fifteen E. H. vowels are as follows:

Initial: — अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ए ऐ ओ औ ऐ ऐ औ औ
Noninit.: ◌़ — ◌ा ◌ि ◌ी ◌ु ◌ू ◌े ◌ै ◌ो ◌ौ ◌ॅ ◌ॆ ◌ॉ ◌ॊ

Note: The neutral vowel requires no initial form, as it never occurs in the beginning. The short *ă* has no non-initial form, as it is inherent in the consonant, which could not be pronounced without it. When it is necessary to indicate the mere consonant, an oblique stroke, called the *viráma* or *stoppage*, is appended to the consonantal sign; thus क *kă*, but क् *k*. The manner of writing the non-initial signs may be seen from the following examples; क्' *k'*, क *kă*, का *ká*, कि *kĭ*, की *kí*, कु *ku*, कू *kú*, के *kĕ*, के *ké*, को *kŏ*, को *kó*, कै *kaĭ*, कै *kaí*, कौ *kaŭ*, कौ *kaú*.

4. The neutral vowel is the shortest possible vocal utterance, and very obscure in its character. It may be compared to the English *u* in *but*; but it is shorter and more indistinct; like the vowel in the final syllables *ble* or *tre*, as in *amiable, centre.* It resembles the Hebrew *Sh'va mobile*; just as ĕ is like the Hebrew *Khateph Segol*, and ŏ like the Hebrew *Khateph Qames.*

5. The five special E. H. vowels are principally met with in the following places:

a) the neutral vowel is pronounced: 1) often in rustic speech, at the end of a word, instead of the *quiescent* ă (see § 24), as घर् *ghar' house*, for घर *ghar*; and 2) in the penultimate of any word having more than two syllables and ending in a heavy one; as घर्‍वा *ghar'vá house*; घोड्‍वा *ghŏṛ'vá horse*; कर्‍तो" *kar'tō if I did*; पढ्‍लो" *paṛh'lō I read*, etc. A compound consisting of two polysyllabic words is treated as if the words were distinct.

b) the short ĕ, ŏ, aĭ, aŭ occur 1) always in the antepenultimate; e. g., बेटिया *bĕṭiyá daughter*; पड़ोसिया *paṛŏsiyá neighbouring*; लोट्‍वा *lŏṭ'vá vessel*; बोलावत् *bŏlávat calling*; 2) optionally in the genitive affixes के *kĕ* and कै *kaĭ* as घर् के *ghar kĕ of the house* (see § 372); 3) in the short pronominal forms in ह् (see § 433), as जेह् कर् *jĕh kar of which* (but जे कर् *jé kar*); 4) in the conjugational suffixes ऐस् *ĕs*, ऐन् *ĕn* and ऐं *aĭ̃* (see §§ 504. 506); as कर्‍तेस् *kar'tĕs* (if) *thou didst*; पढ्‍लेस् *paṛh'lĕs he read*; रह्‍लेस् *rah'lĕs thou remainedst*; कर्‍तेन् *kar'tĕn* (if) *they did*; पढ्‍लेन् *paṛh'lĕn they read*; कर्‍तैं *kar'taĭ̃* (if) *they did*; पढ्‍लैं *paṛh'laĭ̃ they read*; 5) in the suffix ए ĕ of the conjunctive participle (§ 490), as कहे के *kahĕ kĕ having said*; 6) in some frequently used words, as और् *aŭr* or औ *aŭ and* (see § 26).

6. *Affinities.* The short vowels (they are not diphthongs) ĕ and ŏ must have existed in Pr. already; thus before conjuncts, as in पोट्ठा (or पिट्ठा for निट्ठा Vr. 1, 12), पोट्ठं (for नीडं Vr. 1, 19), सेअं (for शैत्यं Vr. 1, 35), सेत्ता (for श्रेया Vr. 1, 5), सेव्वा, ऐक्कं (for सेवा, एकं Vr. 3, 58), etc.; and मोत्ता (for मुक्ता Vr. 1, 20), जोव्वणं (for यौवनं Vr. 1, 41), तेल्लोक्कं (for त्रैलोक्यं Vr. 3, 58), etc.

See Ls. 145. 149. Cw. XVIII. Their existence, however, is, I believe, nowhere distinctly noticed by Pr. Gramm., except in the Ap. Pr. by H. C. (4, 410) and T. V. (3, 4. 68), कादिस्थदोतोर् उच्चारलाघवम्। i. e., after consonants ĕ and ŏ are usually pronounced short. — Both the short vowels ĕ, ŏ, aĭ, aŭ and the neutral vowel are peculiar to E. Gd. The subject, however, has been as yet little attended to by Gd. Grammarians. As regards the short vowels, B. shows the short ĕ, e. g., in ঐক্ ĕk *one*, and short ŏ in গোম্ *gŏm wheat*, বোলে *bŏle he speaks*, etc. Oriyá, generally, follows the example of B. (see Bs. I, 69). It is usual, apparently, to substitute ă for ŏ in *writing*; thus B. নম্, বলে; the same as occasionally in E. H. (see § 26). It is probable, that originally all Gd. languages possessed ĕ and ŏ; S. has still preserved the ĕ in some cases, but ordinarily it reduces ĕ to ĭ, and always ŏ to ŭ (see Tr. X—XIII). The other W. Gd. languages always substitute ĭ and ŭ for ĕ and ŏ (as to ĕ and ŏ in P. see Ld. 4); even the E. Gds. do so occasionally, see § 26 (cf. S. Ch. 330). The Psh. has both ĕ and ŏ (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33—35). — In B. the final of the weak adjectives, is pronounced like ŏ, e. g., বড় bŏrŏ *great*; but it must not be confounded with the real ŏ which is a shortening of ো ó, while this ŏ is a modification of অ ă; as shown by O., which pronounces ă; e. g., বড় bără. E. H. agrees with the W. and S. Gds. in dropping the vowel ă at the end of all words; see § 24. On the other hand, both the Psh. and Kf. still retain it (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 33. XX, 393). — In tatsamas with a conjunct য্ or ব্ before the final অ, the latter is commonly pronounced, as যোগ্য *yogya worthy*, তত্ত্ব *tatva substance*.

Note: The elision of a medial neutral vowel produces a conjunct consonant. Consequently in H. H. and in M. a conj. cons. is sometimes written, as H. H. বিন্তী *bintí* for বিনন্তী *bin'tí petition*, H. H. দুল্হা *dulhá* for দুলন্হা *dul'há bridegroom*, M. রাম্যা *rámyá* for রামন্যা *rám'yá Rám*, or ঘোড়্যা *ghoḍyá* for ঘোড়ন্যা *ghoḍ'yá of a horse* (obl. form). It would be well, if this system of phonetic spelling were carried out uniformly.

7. The E. H. does not possess the four vowels ऋ *ṛi*, ॠ *ṛí*, ऌ *lṛi*, ॡ *lṛí* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in Skr. they occur rarely and are more or less artificial. In Pr. they had already disappeared; consequently they could not well survive in the modern Gḍ. In Hindí certainly, whether E. or W., they are never *pronounced*. In H. H. it is customary to *write* ऋ *ṛi* in tats. words; but in *speaking* the syllable रि *ri* or even रिर् *ir* is always substituted; thus Skr. अमृत् *ambrosia* is always pronounced *amrit* (अमित्) or *amirt* (अमिर्त्); Skr. कृपा *favor kripá* (किपा) or *kirpá* (किर्पा). Perhaps it would be well to follow the example of the old Prákrit Grammarians and apply their system of phonetic spelling to our modern H. H. also. In any case it is incorrect to enumerate these four vowels or any of them as parts of the Hindí phonetic system.

8. *Nasalization.* In E. H. a vowel is pronounced in many words with a nasal tone, precisely as *n* or *m* in such French words, as *compeñsatioñ*. This tone is indicated by the symbol (ँ), called the *arddhachandra* (*halfmoon*); the tone itself is called *anunásika* (*co-nasal*); see § 23. I shall transliterate it by a *circumflex*. It generally occurs with a long vowel, rarely with a short one or with the semivowels य् and व्; e. g., रह्‌नो रah'tõ, लेईं leí, कोईं koí, होंठ् hôṭh, नींद् níd, or चललाँ chalalã, कुआँर् kuār, कुआंरी kuárí, जाँयँ jāy, जाँव् jāv.

9. *Derivation and affinities.* The anunásika generally (except occasionally before ह् and स्, see § 67) indicates the elision of a consonant, i. e., of a nasal, when it occurs between two vowels (§§ 127. 128), and of the first part of a conjunct when it stands before a consonant (§ 149). The first case alone occurs in later Pr.; neither of them in earlier Pr. or in Skr.; both are common in all Gḍs.; see § 23.

2. CONSONANTS.

10. The E. H. possesses *thirty five* consonants. They consist of twenty consonants proper or *mutes*, five *nasals*, nine *semi-*

vowels and one *sibilant*. They may be further classified according to the organ of utterance into gutturals, palatals, cerebrals (or *mûrdhanya*), dentals, labials, and according to the degree of audibility into *surd* or hard and *sonant* or soft ones; as exhibited in the following table.

	Consonants proper				Nasals	Semivowels		Sibilants
	surd or hard		sonant or soft		sonant	sonant or soft		surd
	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	aspir.	unasp.	unaspirate	aspirate	unasp.
guttural	क् *k*	ख् *kh*	ग् *g*	घ् *gh*	ङ् *ṅ*	—	ह् *h*	—
palatal	च् *ch*	छ् *chh*	ज् *j*	झ् *jh*	ञ् *ñ*	य् *y*	—	—
cerebral	ट् *ṭ*	ठ् *ṭh*	ड् *ḍ*	ढ् *ḍh*	ण् *ṇ*	र् *ṛ*	ऋ *ṛh*	—
dental	त् *t*	थ् *th*	द् *d*	ध् *dh*	न् *n*	ऱ् *r* or ल् *l*	ऱ्ह *rh* or ळ्ह *lh*	स् *s*
labial	प् *p*	फ् *ph*	ब् *b*	भ् *bh*	म् *m*	व् *v*	—	—

11. The E. H. palatals are pronounced like the English. Natives, generally good judges in such matters, do not seem, as far as I could learn from them, to have observed any difference between them. I believe the same is the case in B. and O. On the other hand, it has been often observed, that the W. H. palatals are rather more dental than the English; i. e., rather more like *ts*, *dz* [1]). This is probably true of all W. Gd. palatals; excepting, perhaps, Sindhí [2]). In M. they are distinctly semidental, and are pronounced as *ts*, *ts* + *h*, *dz*, *dz* + *h* [3]). It appears, therefore, that the E. Gd. palatals are more distinctly and truly palatal than the W. and S. Gd. This seems to have been noticed already by the Pr. Grammarians. It is noticeable that both the true palatals and the semidentals occur in Psh. and Kf. [4]). In M.,

1) Thus, e. g., Kl. 11.

2) See Tr. 14. His meaning is not quite clear; he seems to identify them at the same time with the „common Indian" (that is, apparently, the W. Gd.) and with the English palatals.

3) The true palatals occur also; but apparently only in tatsamas and before palatal vowels; cf. Bs. I, 72.

4) See Tr. J. G. O. S. XX, 393. XXI, 20. 23.

ह् is almost universally pronounced and written स् or (generally before palatal vowels) श्; e. g., M. रोस् *bear*, E. H. रोह्; M. सूरी *knife*, E. H. हूरी; M. माशी *fly*, E. H. माही (see Bs. I, 218). In Mw., both च् and ह् are pronounced (but not usually written) स्; e. g., Mw. सक्की *wheel* for E. H. चक्की; Mw. सास् *buttermilk* for E. H. हाह् (see Kl. 14, 25). Also G., S., P. and B. pronounce (and write) occasionally ह् as श्; e. g., G. शो *who* for S. हा (see § 438, 6); B. काशे or काहे *near* (Bs. I, 218); S. सी for Mth. ही *we are*, P. सन् for N. हन् *they are*.

Note: Both the true reading and the true meaning of the Pr. Gramm. rule, however, are doubtful. Vr. 11, 5 (MS., see Cw. 89) has चवर्गस्य स्पष्टता तथोचारणं, which is explained by Bhámaha चवर्गो यथा स्पष्टस् तथोचारणो भवति i. e. „the palatals are so pronounced as to be *distinct*". My MS. of Md. (12th páda, fol. 48b) reads चयोरुपत्रयः स्यात् । यकारागमः । त्विरं । साच्च ॥ If the examples can be trusted, the true reading would seem to be चपयोर् उपरि यः स्यात् i. e. „*ya* is to be written above (i. e., as first part of a conjunct) the palatals and labials; this *ya* is an (inorganic) addition; e. g., *ychiram* long, *ymáa* (?)"[1]). My MS. is a Nágarí copy of one in Oriyá characters, in which य् and प् and again न् and रि would closely resemble each other. K. I. 3 (in Ls. 393) reads यपचवर्गयुक्ता मनागुचार्या, which would yield a sense similar to that of Md.'s rule: „the labials and palatals in conjunction with *ya* are slightly pronounced"; or, perhaps, rather: „*ya* in conj. with l. and p. is slightly pron." This is confirmed by the example given in the rule on the Vocative (Md. 12, 22, fol. 49a); see § 48, note.

12. The cerebrals are pronounced by striking the tip of the tongue against the centre of the hard palate, the dentals by striking it against the edge of the upper teeth. It has been a matter of much controversy, whether or not the former are originally Aryan sounds. They constitute a prominent feature of the Drávidian languages, whilst among the Aryans they are peculiar

1) *ymáa* mother (mátá) or illusion *máyá*?

to India. Hence it has been commonly assumed that they are an importation from the former. This, however, is by no means certain. I am inclined to agree with the opinion of Beames (I, 232—234), that cerebrals of some kind belong to the original stock of the Aryan phonetic system. It is a well known fact that the (so-called) dentals of all the Aryan languages of Europe, especially of England, when referred to the standard of the Indo-aryan (true) dentals are not real dentals at all, but cerebrals of more or less purity. They are formed by striking the tip of the tongue against the anterior part of the hard palate or the gum of the upper teeth; and therefore are semi-cerebrals. To natives of India, whose ears are quick in detecting differences of pronunciation, they sound like real cerebrals and in transliterating English words, they always represent our dentals by cerebrals, as डैरक्टर् *director*, सार्टिफिकेट् *certificate* (cf. § 21). The pure dentals, therefore, are as peculiar to the Indoaryan languages as the pure cerebrals and might with equal reason be adjugded non-aryan. It is far more probable that the original Aryan sound was a semicerebral (if not a pure cerebral) which has in India only, for reasons peculiar to that country, varied in two directions so as to become the true cerebral and the true dental respectively. It is deserving of notice as making for this view, that the old Indoaryan (Sanskrit) cerebral ज् and ण् have also been dentalised in various parts of India. The truth seems to be, that the whole class of original Aryan cerebrals has been undergoing in India a process of gradual decerebralisation. The first to be affected were the consonants proper and ल् which had already in Skr. times become to a great extent dentals[1]). The next was the semivowel ज् which was dentalised in the times of Mg. Pr. Finally the nasal ण् became dental in the comparatively modern times of Gd. As the dentals

1) The old (Vedic) Skr. still preserves the old Aryan cerebral ऋ. Cp. vedic मृड *gracious* with Skr. मृदु *gentle*; also R. मृड् or मृड् with मृद्; नट् with नृत्; नड् with नर्द्, etc.

are softer and smoother sounds than the cerebrals, it may be supposed that the enervating climate of the great North Indian plain was, at least, one of the causes determining that process. On the other hand, it is quite natural also, that in those forms of the Indoaryan languages which were current among the common people, i. e., the Prákrits and Gaudians, the original Aryan cerebrals should to a great extent have not only stood their ground, but even been more intensely cerebralized. For most of those people belonged to or, at all events, were most in contact with the aboriginal Drávidian population whose language, like their own, possessed the cerebrals. It is noticeable, that just as in Skr. times the old Aryan semicerebral consonants were often made fully cerebral, so in Pr. times in many cases the old (semidental) न्[1]) is cerebralized to ण्, and in Gd. times by the side of the old semicerebral ऱ् a fully cerebral ळ् has been formed. — It may be added as some evidence against the Drávidian theory of the cerebrals, that though the Gd. languages have now been for centuries under the influence of Arabic and Persian, yet none of the sounds peculiar to the latter have been imported into them (see § 21).

13. The nasal ङ् *ṅ*, I believe, never occurs in E. H., except in conjunction with a following consonant of its own class, as अङ्गिया *aṅgiyá bodice*. The others may occur by themselves. The ञ् *ñ* and ण् *ṇ*, both initial and medial, are occasionally heard in the more vulgar (*theṭh*) forms of E. H.; thus ञाहीं *ñáhí no*, ञगिआ *agiñá fire*, णरसिंघ् *ṇarsiṅgh manlion*, णारैण *ṇáraiṇ Náráyan*, पाणी *páṇí water*. But in the higher forms of E. H. they are always changed to न् *n*, as नाहीं *náhí*, नरसिंघ् *narsiṅgh*, etc.; even in tatsama words with an original ण् *ṇ*, as कारन् *káran cause* for Skr. कारण *karaṇa*. Hence the Kaithí alphabet has no special signs for ञ् *ñ* and ण् *ṇ*; and following its practise, I also shall limit myself in this work to the use of न् *n*. When any of the five

1) The Europeo-aryan *r* and *n* are semicerebral or semidental.

nasals are, used as the first part of a conjunct, they are always indicated by a dot placed over the preceding consonant; as पंक् *pank mire*, अंत् *ant end*. This dot is commonly called *anusvára*, but it must not be confounded with the real Skr. anusvára which does not exist in E. H. (see § 23).

14. *Affinities.* The two nasals ङ् and ञ् (as non-conjuncts) had already been lost in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (T. V. 1, 1. 1. H. C. 1, 1). The latter (ञ), however, is expressly mentioned by Pr. Grammarians (Vr. 10, 9. 10. T. V. 3, 2. 37. 3, 4. 61. H. C. 4, 293, 294. 392), as occurring in Mg. Pr. (and also in Ap. and Ps. Pr.), where the Skr. conjuncts न्य् *ny* and ण्य् *ṇy* change to ञ्ञ् *ññ*. Agreeably with this, ञ occurs in E. Gd. (especially in the respective *ṭheṭh bháshás*) before or after the palatal vowel (इ) or semivowel (य); thus E. H. अगिञा *fire* for अग्निया, Mg. Pr. अग्गिणिए (see Ls. 244 अग्गिणी), Skr. अग्निक:; आहो᷄ *not* for नाहो᷄ = ने + आहो᷄ (ने for न or ना, as in B., see S. Ch. 331); B. आज्ञा *order* (see S. Ch. 10) for (O. H.) आगिना (Skr. आज्ञा). So also in N. आजि *at, by* S. Lk. 10, 29. 40 (H. पे᷄) for Ap. Pr. आणि or आणे, Skr. स्थाने; लिञा *taken* (S. Lk. 19, 8) for W. H. लीना (= लिन्ना)[1]. S. which generally follows E. Gd. phonological practices (cf. §§ 16. 18) keeps even more closely to the Mg. precedents; thus S. पञ्ञ *virtue*, Mg. Pr. पुञ्ञं, Skr. पुण्यं; S. थञु *woman's milk*, Mg. Pr. थञ्ञं, Skr. स्तन्यं; S. वञे *goes*, Mg. Pr. वञ्ञइ (H. 4, 294), Skr. वन्यते (§ 18); S. मञे *heeds*, Mg. Pr. मञ्ञइ, Skr. मन्यते, etc. In these instances the E. H. follows the old Ardhamágadhí which has न्न् *nn*[2]) (see Wb. Bh. 402. 403); thus E. H. पुन् *virtue*, A. Mg. Pr. पुन्नं; E. H. बने *is made*, A. Mg. Pr. बन्नइ; E. H. माने *heeds*, A. Mg. Pr. मन्नइ. It is noticeable, that S. has also preserved the guttural nasal ङ् (Tr. XVI. XVIII), as थुङु

1) Apparently it inserts even an inorganic ञ् after ङ्; as उराञा *feared* for उराइआ (उराणा); थिञा *was* for थिआ; रुपिञा *money* for रुपिआ; see S. Lk. 19, 21. 23. 24. Such forms as रुपिञा *money*, अगिञा *order*, however, I have heard also in *ṭheṭh Panjábí*.

2) The Mh.-Sr. Pr. has ण्ण् *ṇṇ* for ण्य् *ṇy* (cf. H. C. 1, 66. 2, 159); but न्न् *nn* for न्य् *ny* (cf. H. C. 2, 25. 44. 1, 243. 3, 58—61, etc.).

ains body, मऊणु *maṇaṇu ask* (E. H. मंगब); and apparently O. too (see Sn. 18), as केऊ *keṇu who*, येऊ *jeṇu which*. This would seem to indicate, that perhaps ॒ also was not quite extinct in Mg. Pr., though I believe that it is not mentioned as present by any Pr. Gramm. I do not know of any instance of its occurrence in E. H. and B. As regards ण् and न्, every ण् changes to न् in Ps. Pr. (Vr. 10, 5. H. C. 4, 306); vice versa, every *medial* न् and optionally every *initial* न् become ण् in all other Prs. (H. C. 1, 228. 229. T. V. 1, 3. 52. 53). Agreeably to this, ण् is found as a medial in all Gd. languages, and as an initial occasionally in theṭh Hindí. It is, however, now confined more or less to the ṭheṭh or low forms of the Gds. In Urdu, H. H., H. P. and H. B., especially, ण् (even when originally existing in Skr.) has uniformly given way to न्[1]). Thus E. H., etc. पाणी, M. पाणी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्, but H. H., etc. पानी; E. H. णारैण or नारैन *Nárâyaṇ*, Mg. Pr. णाराअणे or नाराअणे, Skr. नारायणः, H. H. नारैन् or नारायन्. As regards न्, it is uniformly preserved in the earlier Pr.; in later Pr. it is in a few cases elided, nasalizing the following vowel, as ञउँणा *Jamna* for Skr. यमुना (H. C. 1, 178. T. V. 1, 3. 11). In the Gds. this practice is rather common, see §§ 23. 127.

15. E. H. possesses four new consonants, which do not exist in the Skr. phonetic system; the semivowels ॒ *r*, ॒ *rh*, ल्ह *lh* and ॒ *ṛh*. The ॒ *r* is a pure dental like ल्, which explains their facile interchange (§ 30. 110); ॒ and ल्ह are their respective aspirates, pronounced as *r* + *h* and *l* + *h*, as बर्हे *barṇaṭ grows*, कोल्हू *kolhú*

1) Ps. Pr. possesses only न्; the other Prs., as a rule, only ण्. The high Gds., then, follow the Ps. It is a curious coincidence, that the area of the modern Ps. practice is nearly coterminous with the area of direct Mohammedan, i. e., foreign influence; see Introd. — Vr. 2, 42 does not yet admit any option in the change of the initial न्; it is allowed only by the later Gramm. H. C. and T. V., who moreover do not admit the change of न् to ण् at all, if it is the resultant of a Skr. conjunct, as Pr. नाणो (not णाणो) for Skr. ज्ञानः This circumstance — unless Vr's silence as to the option be merely an oversight — would seem to indicate the commencement of the modern Ps. practice.

sugarmill. The ੜ, pronounced ṛ + *h*, as ਬੁੜ੍ਹਿਆ *buṛhiyā old woman*, is the aspirate of ੜ which is a pure cerebral, and, therefore, is equivalent to the Skr. ऋ *ṛ*. For the latter is said by Skr. Grammarians to be a cerebral, not a dental[1]). In fact, it is not, as commonly supposed, the cerebral ੜ *ṛ* which is the new letter, but the dental ਰ *r*. The old Skr. ऋ has assumed a new sound, while its old one is represented by ੜ. To avoid the inconvenience of diacritical marks, I shall adopt the Gurmukhí form ੜ for ਤ and ੜ for ਓ, and the Gurmukhí cerebral ਤ for the Skr. cerebral ਟ. The aspirates ੜ੍ *rh* and ਲ੍ਹ *lh* are single sounds in the same sense as ੜ੍ *ṛh*; all three are in certain cases interchangeable with ਢ੍ *ḍh*, precisely as ਤ੍, ਲ੍ and ੜ੍ with ਡ੍ *ḍ*.

16. *Affinities*. Vedic Skr. has a cerebral ਲ੍ *ḷ* and ਲ੍ਹ *ḷh*, which in certain schools take the place of an original medial ਤ੍ *ḍ* and ਢ੍ *ḍh* (see M. M. 4). These complete the series of the semivowels. In genealogical order they follow thus: from ਤ੍ and ਢ੍ arise (cerebral) ੜ੍ and ੜ੍ਹ, then Skr. or W. Gd. (cerebral) ਤ੍ or ੜ੍ and ੜ੍ਹ, then (dental) ਲ੍ and ਲ੍ਹ, finally E. Gd. (dental) ਰ੍ and ਰ੍ਹ. Most words which in W. H. contain a non-initial ਲ੍, have in E. H. an ਰ੍, as O. H. ਫਰ੍ *fruit* for W. H. ਫਲ੍; E. H ਉਰ੍ਹੇ *it grows up* for W. H. ਉਲ੍ਹੇ. Indeed the affinity between these two sounds is so close and the transition so easy that E. Hindús seem to be hardly conscious of saying ਰ੍ instead of ਲ੍. This proves, *firstly*, that the E. H. ਰ੍ is a pure dental sound, and *secondly* that it is more modern than ਲ੍, of which it is, in fact, a comparatively recent modification[2]). Hence it follows that wherever E. H. has its

1) The Skr. ऋ is, perhaps, not a full cerebral, but a semicerebral, like the English so-called dentals; only in so far, can the modern full cerebral ੜ be called a new sound.

2) It existed, however, already in the A. Mg. of the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 393). It may be noted, that while the Mg., treated of by H. C., has ਲ੍ for ਤ੍ (H. C. 4, 288), ਟ੍ for ਤ੍ (H. C. 4, 260. 302), and ਪ੍ or ਫ੍ for ਪ੍ (H. C. 4, 267. 302), the Mg. of the Bhag. has, precisely like E. Gd., ਤ੍ for ਲ੍, elides ਟ੍, and uses only ਫ੍ (cf. Wb. Bh. 410. 428. 429), e. g., in H C. ਕਲੇਦਿ, in Bhg. ਕਰੇਤ੍, in E. H. ਕਰੈ *he does*; in H. C. ਰਾਯਾ or ਰਾਯਾਹ, in Bhg.

dental ड्, there must have been formerly a ल्. This exactly agrees with what, the Pr. Gramms. tell us, was the case in their time. They say (see H. C. 4, 288. T. V. 3, 2. 36 and the examples in Vr. 11, 8. 10. 12. 13), that Mg. Pr. changes every Skr. ड् into ल्, that is, it turns the cerebral ड् into the dental ल्. The E. H. has gone a step further and has converted every dental ल् into dental ड्; e. g., Skr. उत्ति: *night*, Mg. Pr. लत्ती, E. H. रात्; Skr. नर: *man*, Mg. Pr. नले, E. H. नड्. There are, however, a few exceptions, as E. H. लेतुरी for Mg. Pr. *लंतुलिश्चा (with pleonastic लिश्चा = डिका) = Skr. रंड्, E. H. लरै *he quarrels*, Mg. लडइ, Skr. रटति (see § 110). These bear out the statement of the Pr. Grammarians. But further, that dentalizing process of E. H. is still at work in the present day, turning most W. H. ड् (= Skr. cerebral ड्) into dental ड्, as E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोडे; and occasionally the intermediate (Mg. Pr.) ल् is still preserved, as in the W. H. pleonastic suffix ला which is in E. H. ला and रा; e. g., W. H. ढेडो *goat*, E. H. ढेली or ढेरी (Skr. ढागो, Ap. Pr. ढायडिआ), or W. H. नाडो *watercourse*, E. H. नाली or नारी [1]). Again the very same process, by which the E. H. has already changed all *dialectic* Mg. Pr. ल् into (dental) ड्, it applies in the present day to all non-initial *original* (Skr.) ल् also; as Skr. फलं *fruit*, Mg. Pr. फलं, E. H. फड्; Skr. कट्लक:, Mg. Pr. कयलए or केलए, E. H. केरा. Initial *original* ल्, it is true, are exempted, as Skr. लंब: *long*, Mg. लंबे

जाणह, in E. H. जानड् *yon know*. It appears, then, that the change of ड् to ल् belongs to the most ancient period of Mg., and that the present phonetic state (of ड् for ल्) existed already in the Mg. period of the Bhag. In the phonological part of the present work, however, I shall generally give the *ancient* Mg. equivalents (with ल्) of E. H. words; for this reason, more than any other, to keep before the student's mind the fact of the change of the Skr. ड् to E. H. ड्, through Mg. ल्.

1) Apparently in these exceptional cases the ल् was already present in Skr.; cf. the Skr. pleon. suff. ल and र; and Skr. नड or नल, Ved. नड *tubular reed, bone, artery*, etc., whence perhaps नर *man*; and Skr. नाडो or नाली *watercourse*, whence, perhaps, नारी *water*.

or लम्बे (see § 18), E. H. लाम (W. H. लंबा), yet the tendency to the change is shown in the occasional substitution of ण् or न् in the place of ल्, as in the pleonastic suffixes णा or ना for ला (e. g., अपणा or अपना *own*, cf. M. अपला); a substitution which is still more common in B. and O. (see Bs. I, 75); for the cerebral ण् contains the sound of *r*, being somewhat like *rn*. Again the trustworthiness of the Pr. Gramms. is shown by their noting the remarkable agreement of S. with E. H., on which point see below. Thus Md. and R. T. say, that S. which is called the *pâçchâ* dialect, is distinguished by the interchange of *l* and *r*[1]). It is also noticeable that in the Kaithí alphabet, proper to E. H., the sign for the dental *r* (𑂮) is different from that originally used for the Skr. cerebral *r* (𑂰) and still preserved in the Gurmukhí for the P. cerebral *r*; it is, in fact, a slight modification of the original sign for ल (𑂭) made by omitting the semicircular stroke (𑂱), and improved into the modern Devanágarí (र). According to the Pr. Gramm. the change of र् to ल् does not obtain in the Mh.-Sr. Pr.; i. e., the latter does not change the cerebral into a dental. This agrees with the fact that to the present day in W. Gḍ. (i. e., W. H., P., G., excl. Br. and S.) ड़ is more or less distinctly cerebral; and accordingly they do not interchange their ल् and ड़्, nor have they a cerebral ड़ *ṛ*[2]), but on the other hand they possess a cerebral ळ *ḷ*. The same is true of the S. Gḍ., which like its original, the Dk. Pr. (Ls. 415), follows the W. Gḍs. (i. e., Mh.-Sr. Pr.). In fact their system of semivowels is very much the same still as in (Vedic) Skr. P. shows a tendency to change its cerebral ळ to ड़, and rarely its ल् to ड़्; hence, probably, its ड़ is not fully cerebral. S., on the other hand, agrees with E. H. in

1) Md. पाश्चाया रेफव्यत्ययेन (18ᵗʰ pâda, fol. 56); and R. T. पाश्चात्यता ख्याद् रलवर्णयेषा (Ls. Ap. 5).

2) Their ड़ is always *ḍ*, not *ṛ*; and their *r* is equivalent to ड़ *ṛ*; whence, e. g., W. H. बहेला *wild hog*, probably written for बहेला = बाहेला from Skr. वराह + pleon. ला; W. H. मंताड़ or मंताड़् for Skr. मार्ताण्ड.

every respect; it has the dental ऱ् and cerebral ळ्, the interchange of ल् and ळ्, and no ऴ्; so also Br., except that it does not usually interchange ल् and ळ्. N. and B., again, agree with E. H. in the dental ऱ् and cerebral ळ्, and the want of ऴ्; and though they do not interchange ल् and ळ्, they have the analogous change of ल् to ण् or न्. The same is the case with O., except that it possesses the ऴ्; this is strange; I suspect that its ऴ् is not a pure cerebral; for sometimes it has both ऴ् and ल्, e. g., गोल and गोऽ *ball*; sometimes it has ल्, where the W. Gds. have ऴ्, e. g., G. टऽबुँ, M. टऽपो", but O. टलिबा *to confound*. To sum up: W. Gd. (excl. S.) and S. Gd., like the Mh.-Sr. Pr., keep the cerebral ळ्; but E. Gd. and N. Gd. dentalize it, like the Mg. Pr.; S., like the old Páschá, follows the E. Gd. practice.

17. In E. H. the semivowels य् and व् are never *organic*, but always *euphonic*, i. e., either simply inserted, or produced by sandhi in order to prevent a hiatus. Thus जीवै *he lives* for जी + ऐ (Pr. जीअइ); खायल् *eaten* for खाइल् (Pr. खाइए); जाय् के *having gone* for जाइ के; जायँ *they may go* for जा + एँ; again लेवे *to take* for लेऐ; रोवल् *he wept* for रो + अल्; घोड़व्वा *horse* for घोड़अ्वा; जावँ *I may go* for जाअेँ, etc. It follows that they can never occur at the beginning of a word. It should be remembered, however, that in Kaithí, व् is always written for ब्, and य् not uncommonly for ज्. Whenever such apparently organic य् or व् occur initially, they must be pronounced ज् or ब् respectively; as योग् or जोग् *jog worthy*; संयुत or संजुत् *sanjut joined*; वात् or बात् *bát word*; वाटै or बाटै *bátai he is*; संवत् or संबत् *sambat year*. This applies even to tatsamas as यात्रा *játrá pilgrimage*, याचार्य *ácháraj preceptor*. The sound of ब् is very peculiar; it is neither distinctly *b* nor *v*; of the two it is nearer to *b*; but in many cases it is difficult to say which it is. This is especially the case in the *ṭheṭh bháshá*; in the kharí bháshá, it is, as a rule, distinctly *b*. The same remarks apply to B. and O. — Nor does an *organic* य् or व् ever occur in the middle of a word; it is always vocalized and commonly combined with the adjacent vowels, as नाऐन्

or नाराइन *Nárâyan* (Pr. नारायण); देओदार् *pine* (Pr. देवदार्.). This applies also to tatsamas, as देवता *deota* (देओता) *idol*. In tatsamas it is the usual, though not the universal practice to write व् and ब्; but the Pr. Grammarians' practice of phonetic spelling would be greatly preferable; and for clearness' sake I shall observe it in this work.

18. *Affinities.* This subject is involved in some obscurity. According to the Pr. Gramm. an initial य् always changes to ज् in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. (Vr. 2, 31. H. C. 1, 245. T. V. 1, 3. 74), but in the Mg. Pr. it not only remains unchanged, but even ज् (whether initial or medial) changes to य् (H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39. cf. Vr. 11, 4. K. I. 5 in Ls. 393); e. g., Skr. यातनम्, Sr. जोअणं, Mg. योअणं. But not only is the modern E. and S. Gd. practice precisely the reverse of that of Mg., and the same as that of Mh.-Sr.; but even in the contemporary (Mg.) Pr. literature the Sr. Pr. almost uniformly prevails; e. g., in the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 394; also Ls. 406. 411. 425). It seems impossible to admit that the Pr. Grammarians should have deliberately foisted on a language, and that in some cases probably their own vernacular, a rule the opposite of which they knew to be the truth. And it seems to be an equally impossible supposition — it is, indeed, as just stated, contradicted by the Pr. literature —, that a revolution so complete in the pronunciation of Mg. should have taken place within the last few centuries, as the accustomed interpretation of their rule would involve. Yet if the य्, which they mention, is understood in the sense of the ordinary semivowel *y*, there seems no escape from one or other of these two improbable alternatives. The solution of the diffically appears to me to be the admission of the fact, that in the old Mg. Pr. times there must have existed an obscure sound, intermediate between *y* and *j*, and doing duty for both these two; precisely analogous to the obscure sound which took the place in Pr. of the two sounds *v* and *b* and which still exists in E. H. (§ 17). These two obscure or neutral sounds I shall call the *semiconsonants* य्

and व्. The palatal semiconsonant *y* still appears to exist here and there in isolated cases. It has been noticed by Beames to occur in the Panjáb [1]). But from the Pr. Gramm.' statement, it is probable that it once universally prevailed in the Mg. Pr. The two cases, of य् and ञ् on the one side and of व् and म् on the other, are closely analogous and serve to elucidate one another. The existence of such *semiconsonants* य् and व् is, apparently, nowhere expressly noted in the Pr. Gramm.; but it follows almost of necessity from the fact, that side by side with them Pr. possesses an *euphonic* य् and व् [2]). The latter are very common in modern Gd., and are pronounced precisely like our ordinary semivowels *y* and *v*; whence it follows, that the organic य् and व् must have had in Pr. more of a real consonantal character, and are, in fact, semiconsonants, i. e., neutral sounds between the full semivowels and the full consonants [3]). It is this semiconsonant व्,

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1) „The Hindi holds fast the correct pronunciation (of ञ्), but Panjabi rather finds it a stumbling-block. When a Panjabí says मक *majh* "a buffalocow" the sound he produces is something very odd. It might be represented by *meyh*, a very palatal *y* aspirated; perhaps in German by *möch*, or rather, if it may be so expressed, with a medial sound corresponding to the tenuis *ch*" (Bs. I, 71). It is probably the sound, given to *g* (as in *lebendig*) in the Rhenish Provinces.

2) Thus K. I. 1, 45. कुचियत्वं वा ॥ गश्चपां गयपां वा ॥ 46. कुचिद् वत्वं वा। सुहेओ सुहवो वा ॥ i. e. sometimes (when a consonant is elided) an euphonic *y* or *v* is inserted, as *gayaṇam* for *gaaṇam* (Skr. *gagaṇam*), *suhavo* for *suhao* (Skr. *subhagaḥ*). Again H. C. 1, 180. श्चवर्णो यश्रुतिः; and T. V. 1, 3. 10 यश्रुतिः। नयं ॥ in the place of an elided consonant between the vowels *ă* or *á* an euphonic *y* is pronounced; as *nayaram* (Skr. *nagaram*), etc. Md. 2, 2. has श्चनादावृ ऋदितो वर्णो पठितव्यो। यकारवदिति पाठग्रिक्षा ॥ (MS. fol. 8ᵃ). — See also Wb. Bh. 399.

3) The Pr. Gramm. themselves note a distinction in the sound of the two sets; thus T. V. 1, 3. 10 calls the euphonic *y* लघुप्रयत्नतरयकार „pronounced with smaller effort"; in the same rule among the examples of the euphonic य् the Pr. पायपां *eye* for Skr. नयनं is given; this would have no sense, unless the organic (Skr.) य् was pronounced in Pr. differently from the euphonic य्. Again य् and व् are in Pr. sometimes *vocalized* and, by combination with the adjacent vowels, form ए् and ओ्; this

which according to the Pr. Gramm. is sometimes *substituted* for a single medial Skr. प् or ब्, but as a rule *elided*, both in Mh.-Sr. and in Mg. Pr.[1]). They give no rule as to the substitution of the semicons. व् for an initial or a conjunct Skr. ब्; whence it may be concluded, that in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. the latter remained unchanged. This conclusion, indeed, is indirectly supported by the fact that the Skr. conj. म्ब् *mb* does not change in the Mh.-Sr. Pr. into म्म् *mm*, as it would do according to Vr. 3, 8, if it were pronounced in Pr. म्व् *mv* with the semicons. व्[2]). Thus Skr. तम्बुँ, Pr. तम्बुँ or तंबुँ (Spt. 192); Skr. निम्ब°, Pr. णिम्ब° or णिंब° (Spt. 252); Skr. अम्बु°, Pr. अम्बु or अंबु (Spt. A. 32); Skr. बिम्बं, Pr. बिम्बं or बिंबं (Spt. 208); also Pr. अम्बं or अंबं (Vr. 3, 53, for Skr. अम्बु);

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occurs, as a rule, in declension and conjugation, and it will be observed, that the य् and व् thus treated are always the euphonic semivowels; thus Skr. तयति of ति + अति is Pr. तेदि, Skr. भवति of भू + अति is Pr. होदि, Skr. तन्वी of तनु + ई is Pr. तणुई, etc.; on the other hand, the organic semiconsonants य and व are not vocalized, but as a rule elided; thus Skr. नयनं is Pr. णाअणं (T. V. 1, 3. 8); Skr. लावण्यं is Pr. लाअण्णं (T. V. 1, 3. 8). In short, the euph. semivowels य् and व् are treated like vowels; but the semiconsonants य and व like consonants. Again note the change of Skr. हाया to Pr. छाहा (Vr. 2, 18).

1) Vr. 2, 15 पो वः *v takes the place of p*; H. C. 1, 237. T. V. 1, 3. 61 बो वः *v takes the place of b*; Vr. 2, 2 °पयवां पायां लोपः। Md. 2, 2 पायः °पवर्णवां लोपः (MS. fol. 8ᵃ) „*as a rule v etc. are elided*". These rules are given on Mh., but they apply to Sr. and Mg. too (by H. C. 3, 302. 286). It is noticeable, that they do not apply to the Ap. Pr., which possesses the full consonant ब्; thus H. C. 4, 396 अनादौ स्वराद्संयुक्तानां कखतथपफां गघद्धबभाः „*medial single p, ph etc. become b, bh etc.*".

2) While conjuncts consisting of a semivowel with an antecedent nasal are assimilated in Pr. (Vr. 3, 2. 3), those consisting of a consonant with an antecedent nasal are not. Hence the second part of the conjunct in the examples must be pronounced ब् *b*, not व् *v*; otherwise the forms ought to be तम्मु, etc.; as, indeed, they were probably in Mg. The rule Vr. 3, 3 does not apply to the consonant ब *b*, but only to neutral व्; the example लोठ्ठो for Skr. लब्धकः does not prove that it does, as ब् would be assimilated, in any case, by the analogy of the rule Vr. 3, 1.

Skr. चुम्बति *he kisses*, Pr. चुम्बइ or चुंबइ (H. C. 4, 239). On the other hand, it is very probable, that both the initial and the conjunct Skr. ब् were pronounced in the Mg. Pr. as the semiconsonant व्. For the following reasons: *firstly*, while the W. and S. Gḍ., the descendants of the Mh.-Sr. Pr., show, like the latter, the cons. ब् in the place of the Skr. conjunct म्ब्, the E. Gḍ., the descendant of the Mg. Pr. (and S. which generally follows E. Gḍ. practices, cf. § 16), shows म् which postulates in Mg. a conjunct म्म्[1]) and hence the pronunciation म्ब् for Skr. म्ब्; thus Skr. ताम्बूः, Mh.-Sr. तम्बू, M. तांबूं, G. तांबु, but E. H., B., O. ताम्, S. तामु, Mg. *तम्मूं; Skr. निम्बः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बो, W. H., M., G. नींबूं, but E. H., B., O. नीम्, Mg. *निम्मे; Skr. निम्बूकः, Mh.-Sr. णिम्बूओ, W. H., M., G. निम्बू, but E. H., B., O. नीमू, S. निमु or लिमु, Mg. *निम्मूए; Skr. लम्बः, Mh.-Sr. लम्बो, W. H. लम्बा, but E. H. लाम्, Mg. *लम्मे; Skr. षण्ढम्, Mh.-Sr. षम्ढं, W. H., P. षम्ब, M. षम्बा, G. षांढो, but E. H., B., O. षाम्, S. षामो (also षम्ढु), Mg. *षम्मं; Skr. तामम्, Mh.-Sr. तम्बं, W. H., P. तांब्रा, M. तांबें, G. तांबुं, but E. H., B., O. ताम् or तामा, S. टामो, Mg. *तम्मं (cf. Ls. 246); in Skr. कम्बलः *blanket*, Mg. *कम्मले, E. H. कम्मल् (cf. § 143 exc.) the original Mg. *म्म् is preserved? Skr. सम्बुध्यते, Mg. *सम्मुज्झइ, E. H. समुझै[2]). *Secondly*, while E. Gḍ. (and Br.) possesses the initial semiconsonant व्, the other Gḍ. languages have either the semivowel व् or the consonant ब् (see Bs. I, 252. Kl. 11. 13) at the beginning of words. *Thirdly*, while the Gurmukhí (i. e. Panjábí) and Gujarátí alphabets possess two separate signs for *v* and *b*, the Kaithí (incl. Devanágarí), Bangálí and Oṛiya have only one, namely व्, to denote both sounds *v* and *b*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot *under* (E. H. व़) or *over* (O. वं) it when it has the sound of *v*; as E. H. रावन् *Rávan*,

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1) The Mg. semicons. व् seems to have a tendency to change to म्, e. g., Mg. माहण for बाहण (Skr. ब्राह्मण); Mg. वेसमण for वेसवण (Skr. वैश्रवण); see Wb. Bh. 414. 415; also see § 134.

2) In the last instance सम्मु° the assimilation म् appears to be common to all Gḍs.; cf. Bs. II, 108. H. समझौनो, G. समजुनो, M. समजून्.

कवन् *kavan who*; but वचन् *bachan word*, वन् *ban wood* [1]). On the whole the case appears to stand thus: In Mh.-Sr. Pr. the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब् remain unchanged at the beginning of words, but become the semiconsonant व् in the middle. On the other hand, in Mg. they are pronounced as the semicons. व् in every case whether initial or medial. In E. Gd. the Mg. initial semicons. व् has a tendency to be hardened into the consonant ब्, and the Mg. medial semicons. व् has a tendency to be softened into the semivowel व् and vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. बुध्यते, Mg. बुज्झइ, E. H. बूझै *he knows*; Skr. श्रावयत्, A. Mg. सवहं, E. H. सोह. The case of य् and ञ् is precisely analogous. It is the semiconsonant य्, *to* which the Pr. Gramm. rule refers [2]). From this rule it appears, that just as the semiconsonant ब् was pronounced in Mg. Pr. for both the Skr. semivowel व् and consonant ब्, so the semicons. य् was pronounced in it for both the Skr. semivow. य् and cons. ञ्; and that, again, in every case, both in the beginning and middle of a word. Moreover, just like the Skr. conjunct म्ब् *mb* is pronounced in Mg. म्व् *mv* and changed to म्म् *mm*, so the Skr. conjunct ञ् *ñj* is in Mg. pronounced *ञ्य् *ñy* and becomes ञ्ञ *ññ* [3]). Once more: as the Bangáli and Oriyá alphabets have only one character for both *v* and *b*, so they have only one sign for both sounds *y* and *j*, and hence, for distinction's sake, they place a dot (B. য়্) or hook (O. ୟ୍) *under* the য্ when it has the sound

1) This proves, that the semicons. व् was felt to be more like *b* than *v*; for otherwise the dot would be used, when it signified *b*; as indeed it is in Devanágarí, the alphabet of W. H. and M., where ब् (i. e. ब or dot *within* ब) signifies *b*.

2) Thus Vr. 11, 4 तो यः *y takes the place of j*; H. C. 4, 292. T. V. 3, 2. 39 ज्ञपयां यः *y takes the place of j, dy and y*.

3) Thus H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37 न्यपयज्ञां ञ्ञः *ññ takes the place of ñj* etc.; as ঘञ্ঞলো for Skr. घञ्जलो, धणञ্ঞए for Skr. धनञ्जयः, পञ্ঞले for Skr. प्राञ्जलः *straight*; none of these words, I believe, have survived in the modern Gḍs.; nor do I happen to know any other instance in B. or O.; in S., perhaps, there is সিঞু *marrow* for Skr. *मञ्ज° (see Tr. XXVII).

of *y*[1]). On the other hand the Gurmukhí and (in this case also) Kaithí have two separate signs for *y* and *j*, just as in the case of *v* and *b*[2]). Finally as in the case of the Mg. semicons. व्, so here too the Mg. init. semicons. य् has been hardened in the modern E. Gḍ. into the full consonant ञ्, and the Mg. medial semicons. य् is softened into the semivowel य्, vocalized and combined with the adjacent vowels; thus Skr. जानाति *he knows*, Mg. याणाइ, E. H. जाणै; Skr. रात्री *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रइनि or रैनि. To judge, however, from the evidence of the A. Mg. Pr. of the Bhagavatí, where *ry* and *rj* as a rule appear as *yy*, but *j* remains unchanged (see Wb. Bh. 394. 389), and from the fact that the Kaithí has separate signs for *y* and *j*, it is possible, that the A. Mg. never possessed the *single* semicons. य्, but only the double semicons. य्य्, following in the former respect the Mh.-Sr., in the latter the Mg. In any case, in its modern representative, the E. H., the semicons. य्, whether single or double, has become a full consonant. — This theory of the semicons. य् is confirmed

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1) This shows again that the semicons. य् was in Mg. Pr. more like *j* than *y*. — It is noticeable that Bhámaha in his Comm. on Vr. 11, 4 does not use the term स्थाने (he says ञकारस्य यकारो भवति), which he employs in all other sútras where an actual phonetic change is enjoined; thus on Vr. 11, 3 he says यकारसकारयोः स्थाने ज्ञकारो भवति; and so even on Vr. 11, 7 यंकारर्तंकारयोः स्थाने य्यो भवति i. e. *yy for rj and ry*. Now in the Bhagavatí *rj* and *ry*, as a rule, change into *yy*, but *j* does not change (Wb. Bh. 394. 389). This curious coincidence would seem to show, that the difference in Bhámaha's terminology, if it was intentional, was meant to indicate, that in the case of *j* the change was one in *writing* only, but in the case of *ry* and *ry* it was one both in *writing* and *pronunciation*. In other words: in Bhám'. time the semicons. य् had already hardened into the full cons. ञ्, though it was still written य् (as in modern B. and O.), but the double य्य् was still both written and pronounced as semicons. The latter would naturally hold out longer. In modern E. Gḍ., however, it too has hardened to ञ्ञ्.

2) It may be remarked, however, that in Kaithí, too, a dot is placed under य़्, when it signifies an *organic y* in tatsama words; thus सत्य़ *true*; which shows, that formerly य् (without dot) signified *j*, the Pr. substitute of the Skr. organic *y*.

by and elucidates the treatment of the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ् *jñ* in Pr. and Gd. According to the Pr. Gramm. ज्ञ् changes to ञ्ञ् *ññ* in Mh.-Sr.[1] (H. C. 2, 42. T. V. 1, 4. 37. Vr. 3, 44), to ञ्ञ् *ññ* in Mg. (H. C. 4, 293. T. V. 3, 2. 37) and to न्न् *nn* in the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 402. 403). The Gds. show no trace of the form ञ्ञ् *ññ*, but have always न् *n* or ण् *ṇ*; as Skr. राज्ञी *queen*, Pr. राञ्ञी or रन्नी, E. H. रानी or राणी, N. रानी, M. G. P. S. राणी; Skr. यज्ञोपवीतं *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *जण्णोविअं or जन्नोविअं (cf. Vr. 4, 1), G. जनोइ, E. H. जनउ (for जनोउ see § 26. 122), M. जनवे[2], S. जणयो, W. H. जनउ; Skr. आज्ञा *order*, Pr. आणा (Vr. 3, 55) or आना, H. आन्; Skr. संज्ञा, Pr. सण्णा or सन्ना, H. सान् *sign*; Skr. विज्ञप्तिका, Pr. विण्णत्तिआ or विन्नत्तिआ, H. बिनती *respectful information, petition*; Skr. संज्ञाप्तिका, Pr. सण्णत्तिआ or सन्नत्तिआ, H. सनती *instead* (lit. *killing*)[3]. If ञ् was pronounced as a semicons. (य्), it would easily be assimilated to the succeeding nasal. Besides from the form न्न् *nn* it appears, that this palatal semicons. य् had a tendency to pass into the dental class. There are, however, traces in Pr. of another modification of ज्ञ्, beside that into ञ्ञ् or न्न्. The Skr. base राज्ञ *king* becomes in Ps. Pr. राचिन (Vr. 10, 12) and in the later Mh. Pr. राइण (H. C. 3, 50—55. K. I. 237. 238. Cw. 45. Ls. 315). The latter presupposes a Sr. form *राज्ञिण or *राज्ञिन or Mg. *राजिञ. Here, evidently the conjunct ज्ञ् has been dissolved into ञ्जिण or ञ्जिन, which the Ps., as usual, changes to चिन. On the same principle the E. H. word सइन् or सैन् *hint* (also S., see Tr. XXXIV) is formed from the Pr. *सइण or *सञ्ञिण, Skr. संज्ञा[3]. Instead, however,

1) They state, however, that ज्ञ् of the R. ज्ञा *know* always becomes ञ् (Vr. 8, 23); this is born out by Gd., which has जान्; they also say that ज्ञ् of derivatives of the R. ज्ञा *optionally* becomes ञ्ञ् (H. C. 2, 83. T. V. 1, 4. 82. Vr. 3, 5); but Gd. shows no trace of this.

2) Also देवान् or देवाना *mad*, Pr. दइवञ् (H. C. 2, 83) or *देवन्नू, Skr. दैवज्ञः (lit. *inspired*); and वीन् or वीना *seeing*, Pr. *विण्णू or *विन्नू, Skr. विज्ञः (lit. *knowing*); these two words, however, are probably introduced from the Persian, which accounts for their metaphorical meaning.

3) H. has both सान् and सैन् *hint*, but only रानी *queen*, not रैनी; probably to avoid confusion with रैनी *night* for Skr. रजनी.

of ज् being elided, it generally appears in the modern Gḍ. either as ग् *g* (E. and W. Gḍ.) or द् *d* (S. Gḍ.). This can be naturally explained, if the original ज् be supposed to have been at first pronounced as the semicons. य्. The latter, as already stated, has a tendency to pass into the dental class, but it passes even more easily into the guttural; i. e., original ज्ञ becomes ग्ञ or द्न. Next the nasal was suppressed and the two hiatus-vowels of गिअ contracted to ग्य. This is still the common practice to the present day in regard to tatsamas in P. and H.; e. g., P. गिआन्, H. ग्यान् *knowledge* for Skr. ज्ञानं; P. आगिआ, H. आग्या *order* for Skr. आज्ञा; but it must have existed already in the Ap. Pr., as evidenced by the modern H. ज्ञग् or ज्ञग् *sacrifice*, which presupposes an Ap. Pr. form ज्ञगं in which the conjunct ग्य् *gy* has become subject to the ordinary Gḍ. laws on the treatment of conjuncts (see § 144. 147. 150); so also the S. सर्वाग्गु *omniscient* for *सर्वाग्यु (Tr. XXXII). — In G. tatsamas °ग्ञ° is changed to ग्न *gnya*; and M. has द्न्य *dnya* for °द्न°; e. g., Skr. ज्ञान is in G. *gnyán*, in M. *dnyán*. It is usual, however, to retain in writing the Skr. conjunct ज्ञ् *jñ* in the place of the modern awkward triple nexus. — It has been already noted, that traces of the insertion of the euphonic semivowels य् and व् are already found in Pr. The practice is far more general in Gḍ.; in E. H., especially, these euph. letters are regularly employed in the formation of the *long* form of nouns (see § 203).

19. E. H. does not possess the two sibilants श् *ś* and ष् *sh* of the Skr. phonetic system. Even in tatsama words they are always pronounced as स् *s*, as शिव *siu* (सिउ) *Śiva*. Already in the A. Mg. Pr., the original of E. H., they had uniformly given way to the latter (see Wb. Bh. 393. 415. Ls. 411). In writing the symbols श् and ष् are commonly used; but they are always pronounced *s* and *kh* respectively (as खुश् *khús happy*, pers. خوش), and, in fact, are the E. H. (Kaithí) signs of those two sounds. To avoid misunderstanding, however, I shall employ in this work the usual Devanágarí characters स् *s* and ख् *kh*.

20. *Affinities.* The sound of ष् had been already lost in all Prs.; that of श् in the Mh.-Sr. and that of स् in the Mg. (Vr. 2, 43. 11, 3). Accordingly none of the Gds. have ष्, the E. Gd. (exc. E. H.) has no स्, W. and N. Gd. no श्. S. Gd. and E. H., follow, like their prototypes (the A. Mg. and Dk. Pr.), the example of the Mh.-Sr. and have, as a rule, no श्. In other words, like their respective originals, E. Gd. (excl. E. H.) pronounces all three Skr. sibilants alike as *s*; W., N., S. Gd. and E. H. as *ś*. In H. H., however, and in the other literary forms of W. Gd. both ष् and श् are sounded in tatsamas, but alike as palatal *ś*; thus शिव and विष्णु are *śiva* and *viṣṇu*. — In *writing*, the character ष्, more or less modified in the different alphabets (see the *table*), is preserved in all Gds., and used as a symbol of क्ष् *kh*. Similarly E. Gd. uses श्, and W. and N. Gd. स्, and S. Gd. स् and श् indifferently, as a symbol for their *one* sibilant. In the literary or high forms of the various Gds., the use of all three *characters* स, श, ष (not of their sounds), has been reintroduced; chiefly in tatsamas; in tadbhavas, owing to an imperfect knowledge of their derivation, they are sometimes wrongly employed by native writers.

21. Such *foreign sounds as do not occur in the E. H.* phonetic system, are assimilated in the following manner:

1) The semigutturals (arabic) ق *q*, خ *kh*, غ *gh* and ح or ه *h* become respectively the pure gutturals क्, ख्, ग् and ह्; as क़ौल् for قول *agreement*, ख़ाली خالی *only* or *empty*; ग़रीब् غریب *poor*; हाल् حال *state*; हर् ہر *every*.

2) The semipalatals (arabic) ذ *ż*, ز *ž*, ض *ṡ*, ظ *ẓ* become pure palatal ज्; as काग़ज़् (O. H. काग़द्) کاغذ *paper*; ज़ाल्ती زیادتی *more* (see Bs. II, 54); ज़मिंदार् زمیندار *landholder*; ज़ामिन् ضامن *surety*; ज़ाहिर् ظاہر *manifest*.

3) The semicerebrals (english) *t* and *d* become pure cerebral ट् and ड् respectively; as कलकट्र् *collector*, लाड् *lord*.

4) The semidentals ط *t* and (sibilants) ث *ṡ*, ص *ṡ* and ش *sh* become pure dental त् and स् respectively; as तैयार् طیار *ready*; साब्ति् ثابت *proved*; साहिब् صاحب *master, sir*; ख़ुस् خوش *happy*.

5) The semilabial ف *f* becomes pure labial फ़, pronounced *ph*, not *f* as in W. H.; e. g., फ़ैदा *phaidá* for فايدہ *faidá profit.*

6) The spirants ع *a* and (sometimes) و *v* are dropped, and if they were medial, the hiatus-vowels are contracted; as मालूम् for معلوم *known*, माफिक़् for موافق *like.*

3. THE VISARGA AND ANUSVÁRA.

22. The E. H. does not possess the *Visarga* (ः) or unmodified sibilant (see M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. Already in Skr. the visarga had ceased to be pronounced in certain cases and was assimilated either to the preceding vowel or to the following consonant. In Pr. this became the universal practice (cf. Ls. 142. 229. 230). It follows that none of the Gds. can possess the visarga; on the contrary, they further subject the assimilated vowel or consonant of the Pr. to the disintegrating action of their own laws. Thus compare the following examples: Skr. अन्योऽपि *also another*, A. Mg. Pr. अन्ने वि, E. H. अनउ or अनो; Skr. यशोवान् *glorious*, A. Mg. Pr. जसावंते or जसवंते, E. H. जसवंत्; Skr. दुर्बलः *weak*. Mg. दुबळे, E. H. दूब्र्; Skr. निश्चिन्तः *thoughtless*, Mg. निचिंते, E. H. निचींत्; Skr. निस्ताउयति *he pours off*, Mg. नित्यालइ, E. H. निथारे; Skr. निष्फलं *fruitless*, Mg. निप्फलं, E. H. नीफल; Skr. अग्निः *fire*, Mg. आगी, E. H. आगि; Skr. दुःखं *pain*, Mg. दुक्खं, E. H. दुख़; Skr. अन्तःकउणं *conscience*, Mg. अंतक्कुलणं, E. H. अंतकान्; Skr. निःकालयति *expels*, Mg. निक्कालइ, E. H. निकाले; Skr. निश्वासः *breath*, A. Mg. निस्सासे, E. H. निसास्. It will be seen from this, that the spelling with a visarga (as दुःख्, अंतःकाण्), affected by Hindí purists (especially foreign lexicographers), is indefensible. A sound, which had disappeared in Pr. already, could not have survived in Gd. As a matter of fact, no Hindú pronounces or writes[1]) it, even in tatsamas; they say *dukh* not *duḥkh*, and *antakaran* not *antaḥkaraṇ*. The latter is even

1) I have seen a native writer use the visarga to indicate a sonant final *a*, as कराः *karaba* (*you will do*); the practice, however, is not to be commended; as little as the use of the anusvára to indicate *nasalization* (§§ 23. 8); both are abuses of the Skr. symbols.

sometimes pronounced *antkaran*, where the *quiescence* of the ă, which could not be unless the ă were final (see § 41), clearly proves the absence of a visarga.

23. The E. H. does not possess the *Anusvára* (·) or unmodified nasal (M. M. 4) of the Skr. phonetic system. The anusvára should be carefully distinguished from the *anunásika* (·). The former is a separate sound (like the visarga or like any vowel or consonant), while the latter is merely the nasalization of a sound. If the breath is emitted wholly through the mouth, the *pure* sounds, whether vowels or consonants[1]), are produced; if a part only be thus emitted, while the rest is allowed to escape simultaneously through the nose, a nasalized sound, whether vowel or consonant[1]), is produced; if the breath is expelled wholly through the nose, the mouth being shut, a pure nasal sound (unmodified by any organ of speech in the mouth) is the result. The latter is the anuswára, which, therefore, is called by native Grammarians *násikya*, because pronounced in the nose only. The second group, the nasalized sounds, are called by them anunásika or *co-nasals*, because they are pronounced through both mouth and nose *at the same time*. The pure nasal, monopolising as it does the whole of the breath, cannot be pronounced *together with*, but only *after* an other sound. Hence it is called by the native Gramm. anusvára, i. e. *after-sound*. — Now any sound, whether vowel or consonant, may be nasalized, except ऋ̃ *r*, ष̃ *ṣ* and ह̃ *h*[2]); but only five of these, when thus nasalized, are written with separate letters; viz. the nasal consonants or, briefly, the *class-nasals*, ञ̃ *ñ*, ण̃ *ṇ*, न̃ *n*, म̃ *m*. The nasalization of the rest (i. e. य̃, ल̃, व̃ and the vowels, which I shall call, briefly, the *anunásika*) is indicated by the sign (-), called *arddhachandra* (halfmoon); thus ल̃ *l̃*, ई̃ *ỹ*, व̃ *ṽ*, आ̃ *ã*, ई̃ *ĩ*, ऊ̃ *ũ*, etc. (§ 8). The pure nasal (or anusvára) is denoted by the sign (·), called *bindu* (dot);

1) Modified in the mouth, according to the organ of speech, into gutturals, palatals, etc.

2) In Skr. also ष̃ *ṣ* and ष̃ *sh*; and in Gḍ. also ऋ̃ *r*.

thus अं *áṃ* is the vowel *á succeeded* by a nasal tone, while अँ *ã́* is the nasalized vowel *á*. The latter is but *one* sound; the former are two successive sounds. The two cases, therefore, are quite distinct. — The anusvára has the nearest affinity to the class-nasal ◌ं *m*; the latter is formed by a momentary, the former by a prolonged contact of the lips. — As to the use of these three kinds of nasals (the class-nasals, the anusvára and the anunásika) in Skr., Pr. and Gḍ. respectively, the following *general* laws may be laid down. *Firstly*, as regards the nasal in the *body of the word*. 1) In Skr.: a) a nasal standing before ◌् *s* (◌्‍स, ◌्‍श) and ◌् *h must* be the anusvára; b) before any consonant proper it *must* be the respective class-nasal; c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels it must be one of the three, ◌ण् or ◌न् or ◌म् (cf. M. M. 5. 7. 59. 60). 2) In Pr.: a) a nasal standing before ◌् (Mg. ◌्‍य) *must* be the anusvára; b) before ◌् and any cons. proper it *may* be either the anusvára or the respective class-nasal; in the latter case ◌् changes to ◌् (H. C. 1, 264. T. V. 1, 3. 86); c) before nasals, semivowels and vowels ◌ण्, ◌न् and ◌म् remain, as a rule, unchanged[1]); but occasionally ◌म् before ◌म् may be changed to anusvára, while before vowels it may become ◌व् with or without anunásika or be elided[2]) (cf. ad a. b., Vr. 4, 17. H. C. 1, 29. 30. T. V. 1, 1. 47. 48; ad c., Vr. 3, 2. 3. 43. 44. 53. 2, 3. T. V. 1, 4. 78. 79. 37. 48. 49. 3, 2. 37. 44. 3, 3. 3. 1, 3. 11. H. C. 2, 42. 56. 61. 78. 79. 1, 23. 4, 397. 1, 178). 3) In Gḍ.: a) the nasal is never anusvára under any circumstances; b) before ◌् and any cons. proper it *may* be either anunásika or the respective class-nasal; if anunásika, the preceding vowel is almost universally lengthened; if class-nasal, ◌् becomes ◌्‍य; c) before semivowels

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1) Unless the conjunct is dissolved; as Skr. अम्लिका *tamarind*, Pr. अमलिआ, H. इमली (see § 167).

2) Occasionally ◌न् before vowels is changed to anusvára or anunásika in Pr.; as Skr. गृहाणि *houses*, Pr. घराइं or घराईं (H. C. 3, 26. T. V. 2, 2. 31), M. घरें.

and vowels it is often changed to anunásika, in which case the hiatus-vowels are generally contracted. Compare the following examples: *ad a. b*) Skr. हंस: *goose*, A. Mg. हंसे, E. H. हाँस् or हन्स्; Skr. सिंह: *lion*, A. Mg. सिंहे or सिङ् (or सिंघ), E. H. सोंह् or सोंघ् or सिङ् (or सिंघ् § 13); Skr. पङ्क: *mud*, Mg. पंके or पङ्के, E. H. पाँक् or पङ् (or पंक् § 13); Skr. अञ्जनम् *eyesalve*, Sr. अंजणां or अञ्जणां, E. H. आँजन् or अञ्जन्; Skr. कण्टक: *thorn*, Mg. कंटए or कण्टए, E. H. काँटा or कण्टा; Skr. चन्द्र: *moon*, Mg. चंदे or चन्दे, E. H. चाँद् or चन्द्; Skr. कम्पति *he trembles*, Mg. कंपइ or कम्पइ, E. H. कांपे or कम्पै; *ad c*) Skr. पुण्यम् *virtue*, A. Mg. पुण्णं or पुन्नं, E. H. पुन्; Skr. मन्यते *he heeds*, Mg. मन्नइ, E. H. मानै; Skr. गम्यते *it passes*, Mg. गम्मइ, E. H. गमै; Skr. ताम्बुल: *rosecapple*, Mg. तम्बुले or *तम्मुले (§ 18), E. H. तामुन्; Skr. आम्रम् *mango*, Mg. अम्बं or *अम्मं (§ 18), E. H. आम्; Skr. जन्यते *is born* (Den. R.), Mg. जम्मइ (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमै or जमै; Skr. भ्रमरक: *bee*, Ap. भवँरउ, E. H. भौंरा; Skr. कमलम् *lotus*, Ap. कवलं, E. H. कवल्; Skr. कुमार: *prince*, Mg. कुमाले or कुमले (H. C. 4, 302. 1, 67), E. H. कुबँर् or कुवर्; Skr. स्थाने *at* (a place), Mg. थाणे or (Ap.) थाणि, E. H. थे; Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत् *thirty five*, Mg. पणतीसा or पणातीसा (cf. H. C. 2, 174. 43), E. H. पैंतीस् (for पयँतीस्). There are a few exceptions; 1) in Pr.: *a*) occasionally the anusvára is optionally dropped, in which case the preceding vowel is generally lengthened (Vr. 1, 17. 4, 16. H. C. 1, 28. 29. T. V. 1, 1. 46. 48); *β*) occasionally an anusvára is substituted for a consonant proper forming the first part of a conjunct (Vr. 4, 15. H. C. 1, 26. T. V. 1, 1. 42); *γ*) the nasal preceding a consonant proper which is not *ásanna* (T. V. 1, 1. 47), i. e., between which and itself another consonant has been dropped, *must* be anusvára (H. C. 1, 25. T. V. 1, 1. 41); *δ*) a nasal, preceding ह् by transposition, remains, as a rule, unchanged; very rarely it is elided and the preceding vowel lengthened (Vr. 3, 8. 32. 33. H. C. 2, 74. 75. T. V. 1, 4. 67—70. H. C. 2, 73. T. V. 1, 4. 64). 2) In Gd.: *α* and *β*) the Pr. practice is retained and extended, only substituting anunásika for anusvára; *γ*) in this case also anunásika is substituted for anusvára; *δ*) either ह् is elided and the preceding

vowel lengthened or the conjunct is dissolved. Compare the following examples: ad *a*) Skr. विंशतिः *twenty*, Pr. वीसा, E. H. बीस्; Skr. सिंह: *lion*, Pr. सीहो or सिंहो, E. H. सीह or सींह्, etc. (see above); Skr. मांसम् *flesh*, Pr. मासं or मंसं, E. H. मास or माँस् or मन्स्; Skr. संहरति *he collects*, Pr. संहरइ or सहरइ (T. V. 3, 1. 133), E. H. सहरै; Skr. सम्मुखे *before*, Pr. संमुहे or समुहे, H. सामहे or समुहे or सोंहों; Skr. पठन् *reading*, Mg. पढंते, E. H. पढ्त; Skr. संस्थ: *together with*, Mg. संथे or सत्थे, E. H. साथ्; ad *β*) Skr. वक्रम्, Pr. वंकं, E. H. बाँक्; Skr. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं, E. H. आँसू; Skr. सत्यम् *true*, Pr. सच्चं, E. H. साँच्; Skr. निद्रा *sleep*, Pr. णिद्दा, E. H. नींदू, etc. (see § 149); ad *γ*) Skr. पङ्क्ति: *row*, Pr. पंती, E. H. पाँति; ad *δ*) Skr. चिह्नम् *sign*, Pr. चिण्हं (H. C. 2, 50), E. H. चीन् or चिनहा; Skr. ब्राह्मण: *Bráhman*, Mg. बम्हणो, E. H. बामन् or बमहन्; Skr. कृष्ण: *krishna*, Mg. कण्हे, E. H. कान् or कनहू (as in कानपुर् *Cawnpúr* and कनहैया लाल् *Kanhaiyá Lál*); Skr. अस्मे, A. Mg. अम्ह, E. H. हम् *we*; Skr. कुम्माण्डः, Mg. कोहले, E. H. कोहर्; Skr. युष्म°, Pr. तुम्ह°, E. H. तोह्रा *your*. *Secondly*; as regards the nasal म् *at the end of a word*: 1) in Skr. a) before consonants it *may* become anusvára or the respective class-nasal; b) before vowels it remains म् (M. M. 29). 2) In Pr. a) before consonants it *must* become anusvára; b) before vowels it generally becomes anusvára or remains unchanged; but it may occasionally become anunásika or be elided (Vr. 4, 12. 13. H. C. 1, 23. 24. T. V. 1, 1. 39. 40. Ṣ. C. 1, 1. 39. 40. H. C. 3, 25. T. V. 2, 2. 30). 3) In old Gḍ. it becomes anunásika if preceded by a long vowel, and is elided if preceded by a short one; this *is on* the whole preserved by M., G. and S.; in the other modern Gds., as in H., B., etc., it is always elided. Compare the following examples: Skr. फलं त्रोटयति or फलन्त्रोटयति *he breaks fruit*, Pr. फलं तोडइ, E. H. फल् तोड़ै; Skr. फलं लभते or फललँभते *he takes fruit*, Pr. फलं लहइ or लेइ, E. H. फल् ले; Skr. फलमवहरति *he gathers fruit*, Mg. फलं अवहलइ or फलमवहलइ, E. H. फल् (ओहरै); Skr. दधि *curds*, Pr. दहिं or दहिँ or दहि; Skr. दधिकम्, Pr. दहिअं, M. दहीं, E. H. दही. This induction clearly proves two things. *Firstly*; that in the main a gradual attenuation of the nasal has taken place. The nasal

consonant of the Sanskrit becomes anusvára in Pr., and anunásika in Gd., and finally drops of altogether [1]). In one instance, however, a consolidation of the nasal has taken place; namely the Skr. anusvára before म् and ह् has become in Pr. a nasal consonant before ह्, and in Gd. before both म् and ह्. *Secondly*, that Gd. possesses no anusvára. This fact has been much obscured by the objectionable modern practice of writing and printing the anusvára, instead of the anunásika, as मैं *I* for मैँ, होंठ *lip* for होँठ, etc. The correct practice, which is still generally followed by natives of the *old* school in their writing and printing [2]), is to use the anusvára, just as in Skr. (M. M. 5. 59), only when the full nasal consonant ought to be written and *must be pronounced*. Here, of course, the *dot* is not the real anusvára, but merely a sort of stenographic sign for the class-nasal, used for the sake of more expeditious writing and not affecting the pronunciation in any way. The anunásika, on the other hand, is used whenever a vowel is to be pronounced with a nasal tone. Thus natives write and pronounce either चाँद *chãd* or चंद *chand*, but not चांद. It would be well, to revert generally to this older and more correct practice. In the present work the distinction will be carefully observed.

2. CHAPTER. EUPHONIC PERMUTATION OF LETTERS.

1) IN PRONUNCIATION AND INFLECTION.

VOWELS.

24. If any word ends in a short अ *ă*, that अ *ă* becomes *quiescent*, that is, it is not pronounced; and such a word may practically be considered as one ending in a consonant. The

1) H. C. (4, 411) and T. V. (3, 4. 67) have a rule on the Ap. Pr. which seems to indicate such an *attenuation* of the final nasal (anusvára); बिन्दोरु अन्ते। पदान्ते वर्तमानस्य बिन्दोरु बपभंगे उच्चारलाघवं भवति प्रायः॥ i. e. the anusvára at the end of a word is usually pronounced *slightly*.

2) In writing the anunásika commonly appears as two dots (··), the second being merely an abbreviation of the semicircle (◡).

quiescent *ă* will, for the sake of clearness, be indicated in this work by the *virâma* (cf. § 3, note). Thus बाघ् *bâgh tiger* (not *bágha*); बात् *bât word*; चलत् *chalat walking*; होइब् *hoîb we shall be.*

Exception. It is always pronounced in the 2nd pers. plur. in conjugation; thus होइब *hŏîba you shall be* (not *hoîb*), बाट *bâṭa you are* (not *bâṭ*).

25. An antepenultimate आ *á* is always made अ *ă* which with a following इ *i* or उ *u* optionally, yet generally, combines to ए *ai* and ओ *au*. Antepenultimate ई *í*, ऊ *ú*, ए *e*, ओ *ŏ* are shortened whenever followed by a consonant (excl. *euphonic* य् and व्). Thus रमन्वा *ram'vá* long form of राम् *rám Ráma*; गिधन्वा *gidh'vá* of गीध् *gidh vulture*; घोरन्वा *ghor'vá* of घोरा *ghorá horse*; बेटन्वा *beṭ'vá* of बेटा *beṭá son*; मिटन्का *miṭ'ká* of मीठा *miṭá sweet*; नउवा *naũvá* or नौवा *nauá* of नाऊ *náú barber*; भइया *bhaiyá* or भैया *bhaiyá* of भाई *bhái brother*; बतिया *batiyá* of बात् *bât word*; सुतल्लों *sut'lõ* 1st pr. sg. pret. of सूतब् *sútab to sleep*; खइबों *khaîbõ* or खैबों *khaîbõ* 1st pr. sg. fut. of खाइब् *khâîb to eat*; करउतों *karaũtõ* or करौतों *karautõ* 1st pr. sg. pret. conj. of कराइब् *karâîb to cause to do* (for करावन्तों *karáv'tõ*,, see § 34); but पीयतों (if) *I drank*; छूअलों or छूवलों *I touched* (see § 65).

Exception. The long vowel of a transitive (or causal) root is never shortened; e. g., मार्न्लों *már'lõ I killed* of मार्ब्, caus. of मर्ब् *to die.*

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., Ap. Pr. तइसो for *ताइसो (H. C. 4, 403. T. V. 3, 3. 10) = Mh. तादिसो, Skr. तादृशः *such.*

26. The short ऐ *ĕ* and ऐं *aĭ* are sometimes reduced to इ *ĭ*, and short ओ *ŏ* and औं *aŭ* to उ *ŭ*; or, more often, all four to अ *ă*. Thus: बेटिया *bĕṭiyá* or बिटिया *biṭiyá daughter*; कहे *kahĕ* or कहि *kahi having said*; गैलेन् *gaîlĕn* or गैलन् *gaîlan they went*; गैलें *gaîlăĭ* or गैलँ *gaîlã they went*; लोटिया *lŏṭiyá* or लुटिया *luṭiyá* brass vessel; परोसिया *parŏsiyá* or परसिया *parasiyá neighbouring*; जनोउ *janŏu* or जनउ *janaũ brahmanical thread*; ओ *aŭ* or अ *a and*; ओर् *aŭr* or अर् *ar and*; मुमाखी or मौमाखी *honey-bee*; चवालिस् or चौवालिस् *forty four*, etc.

Note: There are traces of this law in Pr.; e. g., खवणा or खिवणा *pain* (Vr. 1, 34); सणिच्छरो *saturday* for Skr. शनैश्चरः, E. H. सनीकर् (H. C. 1, 149. cf. Vr. 1, 38); सत्तुत्तरसयं *one hundred and seven* for Skr. सप्तोत्तरशतम् (Wh. Bh. 427); अनुनं or अनुनं *mutual* for Skr. अन्योन्यम् (H. C. 1, 156); सुडो *drunk* for Skr. शौण्डः (Vr. 1, 44); Ap. कवणु *who* (H. C. 4, 395. cf. 4, 408) for केवणु = केवडु (lit. *of what sort*, see § 438, 2).

27. A final anunásika is often omitted; thus तूँ *tũ* or तू *tú you*; तैं *taĩ* or तै *tai thou*; मैं *maĩ* or मै *mai I*; में *mẽ* or मे *me in*; नाँही *nãhĩ* or नाँही *nãhi not*; जानीं *jánĩ* or जानी *jáni we know*, etc.

28. To avoid the *hiatus* of two contiguous vowels, य् *y* is inserted after आ *á*, ई *í*; and optionally व् *v*, after ऊ *ú*, ओ *o* and ए *e*. But neither य् nor व् can be inserted, if the second vowel be इ *i* or ई *í*; in this case the hiatus, as a rule, remains, though अइ *aí* may and ईइ *íi* must be contracted to ऐ *ai* and ई *í* respectively, if they are followed by a heavy syllable. Thus: खिया + अल् = खियायल् *khiyáyal it was eaten*; जा + ए = जावे *to go*; पी + अव् = पीयव् *piyab to drink*; पी + ऐ = पीवै *piyai he drinks*; again चूवत् *chúvat* or चूअत् *chúat dripping* from चू + अत्; चूवै *chúvai* or चूऐ *chúai it drips* from चू + ऐ; रोवत् *rovat* or रोअत् *roát weeping* from रो + अत्; रोवै *rovai* or रोए *roai he weeps* from रो + ऐ; लेवै के *levai ke* or लेऐ के *leai ke to take* from ले + ऐ. But खा + ई = खाई *khái he shall eat*; खा + ईला = खाईला *kháilá we eat*; पी + ईला = पीईला *pílá we drink*; चू + ई = चूई *chúi it will drip*; चू + ईला = चूईला *chúlá we drip*; बोई *boi he will sow*, बोईला *boilá we sow*; देई *dei he will give*, देईला *deilá we give*; again खइबै *khaibai* or खैबै *khaibai we shall eat* from खा + इबै; पीबै *pibai we shall drink* from पी + इबै; खाइब् *khádb we shall eat* from खा + इब्; पीइत् *piit* (if) *we drank* from पी + इत्; चूइबै *chúibai* and चूइब् *chúib we shall drip*; बोइबै *boibai* and बोइब् *boib we shall sow*; लेइत् *leit* (if) *we took* from ले + इत्.

Exception 1. The suff. ई (3. pr. sg. fut. ind.) may optionally combine with a preceding ई to ई; thus पी + ई = पीई *pií* or पी *pi he will drink*; जी + ई = जी *ji* or जीई *jií he will live*.

Exception 2. The initial अ of the suffs. of the fut. ind. (viz. अबो॑ etc.), of the pres. part. (अत्) and of the pret. conj. (viz. अतो॑ etc.) combines with a preceding आ or ए, and with ओ of the verb होइ *to become* to आ, ए, ओ respectively; thus आ + अबो॑ = आबो॑ *khābŏ I shall eat*; दे + अबो॑ = देबो॑ *debŏ I shall give*; होइ + अबो॑ = होबो॑ *hobŏ I shall be*; आ + अत् = आत् *khāt eating*; दे + अत् = देत् *det giving*; होइ + अत् = होत् *hot being.*

SINGLE CONSONANTS.

29. ऱ् *r* is generally substituted for ड़् *ṛ*; thus E. H. तोरै *he breaks* for W. H. तोड़े; E. H. जोरै *he joins* for W. H. जोड़े; E. H. बारी *garden* for W. H. बाड़ी; E. H. जोर् *wife* for W. H. जोड़्; E. H. नारी *artery* for W. H. नाड़ी, etc. Sometimes also ह् *rh* for ऱ् *rh*; as E. H. बाहें *bárhai he grows* for बाढ़े (W. H. बढ़े); E. H. गाहें *gárhai he beats into form* for W. H. गाढ़े.

30. ऱ् *r* is almost universally substituted for a non-initial ल् *l*; thus E. H. फर् *fruit* for W. H. फल्; E. H. गारी *abuse* for W. H. गाली; E. H. चरै *he walks* for W. H. चले; E. H. डारै *he throws* for W. H. डाले; E. H. करिया *black* for कलिया, etc.; but never रोग् for लोग् *people*, etc.

Exception. The ल् of the suff. अल of the past tense *never* changes; e. g., गयल् *gone*, not गयऱ्; पढ़लो॑ *I read*, not पढ़ो॑.

31. ल् *l* and न् *n*, if initial, are sometimes interchanged; thus ल् for न् in लीला *dark blue* or नीला (Skr. नील); and न् for ल् in नोन् *salt* or लोन् (Skr. लवण, cf. Vr. 1, 7); लंगोट् *waistcloth* or लंगोट् (Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः, Mg. लिंगवट्टे) [1]).

32. ह् *h* may be dropped; 1) always final, thus जेह् कै or जे कै *of whom*; ओह् कै or ओ कै *of that*; ऐलह् or ऐल *aila you came*; करतह् or करत *karata* (if) *you did*. 2) sometimes medial (see § 126); as तहाँ or तहँ *there*, कहाँ or कहँ *where*, जहाँ or जहँ *wheresoever*, मे or मे॑ or माही॑ *within*; के or (O. H.) काही॑ *towards*; मराठा or मरहठा *a Marāthā*; सगा *full brother* for *सगाहा (see § 120); दिवा *day* for *दिवहा (see § 134, note).

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1) Not from नंग, Skr. नग्न *naked*, as Bs. I, 248; the original इ of लिंगो॰ is preserved in the ए of B. नेंगुटि.

33. A medial व् *v*, followed by इ or ई, is always elided; and further इ (but not ई) combines with a preceding अ *a* (or आ *ā* by § 25) to ए *ai*; thus पाव् + इहौं (= प + इहौं) = पैहौं *I shall find*; पाव् + इइ = पैइ *thou will come*; खियाव् + इअह = खियैअह *you will cause to eat*. But पाव् + ई = पाई *he will find*; आव् + ईं = आईं *we come*; खियाव् + ईला = खियाईला *we cause to eat*.

34. A medial य् *y* or व् *v*, containing a *neutral* vowel (see § 5, a), are vocalized to इ *i* and उ *u* respectively, and optionally combine with a preceding अ *a* (or originally आ *á* by § 25) to ए *ai* or ओ *au*. Thus गयल् + ऐसु (= गयल्ऐसु *gay'lés*) = गइलेसु *gailés* or गैलेसु *gailés thou wentest*; पिया + अल्यूँ (= पियअल्यूँ *piyay'lyú*) = पियइल्यूँ *piyailyú* or पियैल्यूँ *piyailyú I could be drunk*; कराव् + अतो (= करावअतो *karav'tō*) = करउता *karaúṭō* or करौता *karautō* (if) *I caused to do*; चराव् + अलेसु (= चरावअलेसु *charav'lés*) = चरउलेसु *charaúlés* or चरौलेसु *charaulés he caused to walk*.

35. *Affinities*. There are instances of this change in Pr.; thus आइरिओ or आयरिओ = Skr. आचार्यः (H. C. 1, 73); केलं for *कइलं for कयलं = Skr. कदलम् (H. C. 1, 167); बोरं for *बउरं for *बअरं = Skr. बदरम् (H. C. 1, 170); ओसरइ for *अउसरइ for अवसरइ = Skr. अपसरति (H. C. 1, 172); पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175); उसहो or वसहो = Skr. वृषभः (H. C. 1, 133); also in inflexion as होदि = *हइदि = Skr. भवति, etc.; see § 18, note 3, p. 18).

COMPOUND CONSONANTS.

36. क्ष् *ksh* is always pronounced and written ह् *chh*; thus छोटा *chhoṭá small* (Skr. क्षुद्रकः?); छत्री *chhat'rí a chhatri* (Skr. क्षत्रियः); छमा *chhamá forgiveness* (Skr. क्षमा *kshamá*).

37. ज्ञ् *ñ* is always pronounced and generally written ग्य् *gy*; as ग्यान् *gyán knowledge* (Skr. ज्ञान *ñána*); आग्या *ágyá command* (Skr. आज्ञा *áñá*).

38. ह्न् *ṇh* is always pronounced and generally written ङ्घ् *ṅgh* (or ङ्ह् *ṅgh*); as संघ् *saṅgh collection* (Skr. संहः *saṃhaḥ*); संघात् *saṅghát collection* (Skr. संहातः *saṃhataḥ*); सिंघ् *siṅgh lion* (Skr. सिंहः); सिंघासन *siṅghásan thron* (Skr. सिंहासनम्), etc. (see § 159).

39. ꣳ *ṃs* is always pronounced and written न्स *ns* (i. e. न्स *ns*, cf. §§ 13. 23); as बंस् (or बन्स्) *bans race* (Skr. वंशः *vaṃśaḥ*); बंसीधर् (or बन्सीधर्) *bansidhar a name* (lit. *flute-holder*, Skr. वंशीधरः *vaṃśidharaḥ*); हिंसा (or हिन्सा) *hinsá slaughter* (Skr. हिंसा *hiṃsá*); हंस् (or हन्स्) *hans goose* (Skr. हंसः *haṃsaḥ*), etc. (see § 159).

Note: It has become the fashion in modern times, to resuscitate the writing of ꣳ and ꣴ; but the practice of the older, native school is more correct and preferable.

2) IN DERIVATION [1]).

a) CHANGES OF FINAL SOUNDS.

40. *In limine,* it should be observed, that Skr. and Pr. nouns pass into Gd. in the form of the nominative singular, the final sound of which undergoes the following changes:

41. A *visarga* or *anusvára* is dropped, and a preceding अ becomes quiescent; thus E. H. पुतर् *son* (a tats.) for Skr. पुत्रः; E. H. कवि *poët* for Skr. कविः; E. H. गुरु *teacher* for Skr. गुरुः; E. H. पगट *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम्; E. H. बन् *forest*, Pr. वणं (Vr. 4, 12), Skr. वनम्; E. H. सै or सय् *hundred*, Mg. सअं (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. शतम्; E. H. खेत् *field*, Pr. खेत्तं (H. C. 2, 17 इत्तं), Skr. क्षेत्रम्; E. H. वारि *water*, Pr. वारि or वारिँ or वारिं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. वारि; E. H. मधु *honey*, Pr. मधु or मधुँ or मधुं (cf. H. C. 3, 25), Skr. मधु, see § 23.

42. Pr. masc. or fem. आ or अ becomes quiescent अ; thus E. H. नींदू *sleep*, Ap. णिद्दू (H. C. 4, 418), Pr. णिद्दा (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. निद्रा (fem.); E. H. बाहू *arm* (also बाँह), Ap. बाह (H. C. 4, 329), Pr. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem.); E. H. बात् *word, event*, Pr. वत्ता (Vr. 3, 24), Skr. वार्त्ता (fem.); E. H. राय् *prince*, Ap. राय (H. C. 4, 402), Pr. राया (H. C. 3, 136) or राआ (Vr. 5, 36), Skr. राजा (masc.).

43. Pr. masc. or fem. ई or इ becomes इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. दीठ् or दीठि *sight*, Ap. दिट्ठि (H. C. 4, 330) or Pr. दिट्ठी

1) This list of sandhi-laws lays no claim to completeness, a quality unattainable in the present state of our knowledge of Gd. derivation; but it contains, perhaps, all the more important and more general phenomena.

(H. C. 1, 128), Skr. दृष्टिः (fem.); E. H. बहिन् or बहिनि *sister*, Ap. बहिणि (H. C. 4, 351) or Pr. बहिणी (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी (cf. § 132, note); E. H. आग् or आगि *fire* (fem.), Pr. आगी (Vr. 5, 18. fem.), Skr. अग्निः (masc.); E. H. आँख् or आँखि *eye* (fem.), Ap. अक्खि (cf. H. C. 4, 396), Pr. अक्खी (Vr. 4, 20. fem.), Skr. अक्षि (neutr.); E. H. मुन् or मुनि *sage*, Ap. मुणि (cf. H. C. 4, 341) or Pr. मुणी (cf. H. C. 3, 125), Skr. मुनिः (masc.); E. H. बिहफै or बिफै *thursday*, Pr. बिहप्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः (masc.); E. H. ज्ञान् or ज्ञानि *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणी, Skr. ज्ञानी (masc.).

44. Pr. masc. or fem. उ or उ becomes उ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. तऱ् or तऱ *tree*, Ap. तरु (H. C. 4, 370), Pr. तरु (H. C. 1, 177), Skr. तरुः (masc.); E. H. पाँसु *rib*, Pr. पंसू (H. C. 1, 26), Skr. पर्शुः (masc.); E. H. तन् or तनु *body*, Ap. तणु (H. C. 4, 401) or Pr. तणू (cf. Vr. 5, 18), Skr. तनुः (fem.); E. H. पतोह् or पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, Pr. पुत्तवहू (cf. Spt. 122), Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. सास् or सासु *mother-in-law*, Pr. सासू (Spt. 339), Skr. श्वश्रूः.

45. Pr. masc. ए or इ becomes ऐ ँ or इ or quiescent अ; thus E. H. माग् *road*, Mg. मग्गि or मग्गे (Mchh. 96, 20), Skr. मार्गः; E. H. नऱ् *man*, Mg. नलि or नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. काम्, Mg. कम्मि or कम्मे (Wb. Bh. 420. masc.), Skr. कर्म (neutr.); E. H. करत् *doing*, Mg. कलंति or कलेंति or कलेंत (Mchh. 108, 18), Skr. कुर्वन्; E. H. रखल् or रखिल् *kept*, Mg. लक्खिदे or लक्खिदे (Mchh. 112, 6), Skr. रक्षितः. Also in locatives; as E. H. लाग् or लागि *till*, Ap. लग्गि or लग्गे (H. C. 4, 334), Skr. लग्ने; and in conjunct participles, as E. H. कह् or कहि or कहे *kahĕ having said*, A. Mg. कहे (see Wb. Bh. 435) or Mh. कहिअ, Skr. कथित्वा (see § 490, 491).

46. *Affinities.* The termin. ए or इ is Mg. Pr.; the Mh.-Sr. is ओ and Ap. उ (H. C. 4, 332) and both become in W. Gd. उ or quiescent अ; in O. H. and especially in S. the Ap. उ is still preserved; thus W. H. नऱ्, O. H. and S. नरु (Tr. 33) *man*, Ap. नरु (H. C. 4, 362) or पारु (K. L. 9) or Pr. नरो or पारो (H. C. 1, 229); W. H. काम्, S. कमु (Tr. 33) *work*, Ap. कम्मु, Pr. कम्मो (Vr. 4, 18); W. H. माग्, O. H. मागु, S. मगु *road*, Ap. मग्गु (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. मग्गी (Vr. 3, 50); Kn. करत्, Br. करतु *doing*, Ap. करंतु,

Sr. कानो or कोनो. — It will be observed that just as Mh.-Sr. ओ is reduced to Ap. उ, so Mg. ए is reduced to इ. This is expressly stated by Vr. 11, 10. K. I. 12 (cf. Ls. 393. 402) and Md. 12, 20 (fol. 49ᵃ) सौ पुंस्यदेदितौ। पुंसि सौ परे अकार एदितौ स्यातम्। i. e., masc. nouns in *a* have a nom. sing. in *e* or *i*. The form in इ (like that in उ) was probably Ap. Mg. It only occurs exceptionally in the Bhag. (see Wb. Bh. 416). H. C. (4, 287) and T. V. (3, 2. 30) do not notice it; which, perhaps, shows that Ap. Mg. इ was pronounced like short ऐ ĕ (cf. H. C. 4, 410. and see § 6). — In the Gds., especially in their literary forms, the final इ and उ generally become quiescent, and hence are omitted in *writing*, and thence again have come to be practically identical with quiescent अ. — Occasionally E. H. has Ap. Sr. forms; as घाव् *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Sr. घाओ, Skr. घातः.

47. Pr. masc. अए becomes आ; thus E. H. घोरा *horse*, Mg. घोडए, Skr. घोटकः; E. H. भला *good*, Ap. भल्ला (H. C. 4, 351), Mg. भल्लए, Skr. भद्रकः; E. H. घडा *pitcher*, Mg. घडए, Skr. घटकः.

48. *Affinities.* The term. अए is Mg.; the Mh.-Sr. is अओ, and Ap. अउ; the latter contracts in the W. and N. Gd. to ओ or (Br.) औ; thus Br. घोडौ, भलौ, घडौ; Mw., G., S., N. घोडो, भलो, घडो; only P. forms an exception in having the E. H. term. आ, and hence it has got into Urdú and H. H.; thus P., U., H. H. घोडा, भला, घडा. Again M., B. and O. have आ like E. H. It will be seen, then, that while E. and S. Gd. have आ, W. and N. Gd. have ओ or औ; again Mg. Pr. has अए, Mh.-Sr. Pr. has अओ; hence it may be concluded, that the E. and S. Gd. termin. आ is a modification of the Mg. Pr. अए, while the W. and N. Gd. ओ or औ is a modification of the Mh.-Sr. अओ. The Ap. Pr. has both अओ and अउ (H. C. 4, 332). Probably the Br. औ is a contraction of the Ap. अउ; as Ap. भल्लउ, Br. भलौ *good*; while the Mw., G., S., N. ओ is a contraction of the Ap. अओ, by the quiescence of अ; as Ap. भल्लओ, Mw., G., S. भलो (i. e. भल्लओ). The Ap. Mg. form, corresponding to the Ap. Sr. अउ, would be अए (cf. § 46); this is still preserved in the Psh. ए (Tr. J. G. O. S. XXI, 37), as Psh. तले *talai bottom*,

E. H. नरा or नला, S. नलो, Ap. Mg. नलइ or नलए, Ap. Sr. नलउ or नलहो, Skr. नलकः; but the Psh. has also occasionally the E. Gd. form वा; as Psh. लगिवा *applied*, P. लगिवा, Bs. and H. H. लगा, Ap. Mg. लगिवइ or लगिवए, Skr. लग्नकः (lit. *लगितकः), Ap. लगिवउ, Br. लग्यो, Sr. लगिवहो, S. लगिवो or लग्यो. The Psh. ए *ai*, then, corresponds to Br. ओ *au*; being contractions of (Ap.) Mg. वइ *ai* and Ap. (Sr.) वउ *au* respectively; on the other hand, E. and S. Gd. वा corresponds to W. and N. Gd. वो, being contractions of the Mg. वए and Sr. वहो respectively, by the quiescence of व. It appears, then, that the termin. वा is distinctly Mg., and merely a (comparatively modern) modification of the old Mg. ए; and not, as it is usually assumed, of the old Sr. वो. There are, however, some traces of the term. वा in Pr.; moreover, they seem to be distinctly connected with Mg. Pr. *Firstly*: Vr. (11, 17) expressly gives शिआला as a Mg. by-form of शिआले *jackal* (E. H. सियाए). *Secondly*: Vr. (11, 13) and K. I. (Ls. 393) state that the Mg. vocative ends in वा, and Md. (12, 21. 22. fol 49[a]) adds also ए, as चेलए or चेलवा (E. H. चेरा) *oh! disciple*[1]). That is, the nom.

1) Vr. 11, 17 शृगालस्य शिआला शिआले शिआलकाः s and Md. 12, 21 एदोतौ सम्बोधने प्रायः। पुंसि सम्बोधने एदोतौ स्यातां। हे वच्छसे। हे वच्छसो। प्रायो ग्रहणात्। हे गोमिका। हे भट्टिदारलावा॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *a* ends in *e* or *o*, as, *he voamse*, *he voamso* (Skr. वत्सय); and Md. 12, 22 वादाक्षेप। पुंसि सम्बुठौ वकार वा स्याद् वाक्षेप। अले ले त्वलवा। चकारात्। त्वलए। त्वलवो॥ i. e., the voc. of masc. nouns in *a*, in the sense of rebuke, ends in *á*; also in *e* and *o*. Neither H. C. nor T. V. give these rules in their chapter on Mg; but they have an allusion to the voc. in वा in their chapt. on the Ap. (H. C. 4, 330. T. V. 3, 4. 1); e. g., होला मइँ तुहुँ वारिआ मा कर दीहा माणु; this is Bs. होला मैं तूँ के वारा मत् कर दीहा मान्-i. e., lit. boy! I have forbidden you, do not make long sulkiness!; again भिउडीए मइँ भणिअ तुहुँ मा कर वंकी दिट्ठि, = Bs. बेटी मैं भनि तूँ के मत् कर बाँकी दीठ् i. e., lit. daughter! I have told you, do not make a coquettish look. It is to be noted, that K. I. (16. 18. cf. Ls. 450) gives both वा and ए as the termin. of the voc. in Ap. Pr. In the present day, E. H. has a voc. in वा, but W. H. in ए; as E. H. हे चेरा, W. H. हे चेले *oh disciple*. This, perhaps, explains the silence of H. C. and T. V. as to the Mg. nom. and voc. in वा; they have relegated it into their chapt. on Ap., in which as, perhaps, indicated in H. C. 4, 447

sing. in ए is used in Mg. as voc., and the form in आ is but a slightly worn down by-form of the nom. (as usual with Pr. voc., cf. H. C. 3, 38. T. V. 2, 2. 42[1]). The latter form, which was at first (in Mg.) confined to the voc.-nom., is in Gd. extended to the nom. generally. *Thirdly*: H. C. gives several instances of a nom. in आ in the Ap. Pr.; e. g., भल्ला हुआ जु मारिआ बहिणि महारा कंतु। (4, 351); this is A. Mg. Ap.; the corresponding Sr. Ap. is in कंतु महारउ हलि सहिए निच्चइं रत्तेउ जासु। (4, 358); the former is Bs. (a kind of semi E. Gd., see Introd.) भला हुआ जु मारा बहिन् मोरा कॉंत, i. e., it has happened well, sister, that my husband has killed; the other is Br. (W. H.) कॉंत मेरो सहेली निहचै रत्ते जासु i. e. surely friend! with whom my husband is angry[2]).

49. Pr. masc. उए and ओए become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. तेली *oilman*, Mg. तेलिए (cf. H. C. 2, 98), Skr. तैलिकः; E. H. माली *gardener*, Mg. मालिए, Skr. मालिकः; E. H. बहिनोई (W. H. भौनई) *sister's husband*, Mg. बहिणिवइए, Skr. भगिनीपतिकः; E. H. नाती *grandchild*, Pr. नत्तिओ (H. C. 1, 137), Skr. नप्तृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Pr. *भाइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 137), Skr. भ्रातृकः; again E. H. बिछू *scorpion*, Mg. विंछुए (Vr. 1, 15. 3, 41, T. V. 1, 4. 18), Skr. वृश्चिकः; E. H. लडू *a kind of sweetmeat*, Mg. लड्डुए, Skr. लड्डुकः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat* (H. H. गेहूँ), Ap. Mg. गोहुँवे (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Mg. गोहुमे, Skr. गोधूमः.

50. *Affinities.* These contractions into ई and ऊ are common to all Gds.; but in W. and N. Gd. they arise from the Mh.-Sr. termin. इओ and उओ respectively; as W. H. तेली, Sr. तेलिओ; W. H. माली, Sr. मालिओ; W. H. भौनाइ, Sr. भागिणिवइओ (cf. H. C. 1, 190); W. H. बिछू, Skr. विंछुओ; W. H. लडू, Sr. लडुओ; W. H. गोहूँ, Sr. गोहुमो. But M. and S. have भाउ *brother*, Dk. भाउए or भाउओ

and T. V. 3, 4. 71, rules of various Ap. dialects would seem to be mixed up (see also Ps. IX).

1) The voc. in Mh.-Sr. Pr. is either like the nom. हे चेलो or worn down हे चेल; so in Mg. either like nom. हे चेले, or worn down हे चेला.

2) It is also like P., which shares the nom. in आ with E. Gd., भला होइआ जो मारिआ बहिन् मेरा कॉंत।.

(H. C. 1, 131); नातू *grandson*, Pr. नत्तुओ (H. C. 1, 137). This contraction as well as those noted in the following paragraphs, may be explained by the apparently Pr. tendency of lengthening the antepenultimate इ (see Wb. Bh. 438) and उ; while at the same time the final ए and ओ have a tendency in the Ap. to be shortened to इ and उ (see § 46), and in Gd. to be cast off altogether (see § 45); thus Mg. तेल्लिए, Ap. *तेल्लिइ, *तेल्लीउ, Gd. तेली, Sr. तेल्लिओ, Ap. तेल्लिउ, *तेलीउ, Gd. तेली; or Mg. लहुए, Ap. *लहुइ, *लहुउ, Gd. लहु, Sr. लहुओ, Ap. लहुउ, *लहुउ, Gd. लहु (cf. § 65, note). There are some traces of this contraction in Pr.; thus Pr. पवासू *traveller* (T. V. 1, 2. 48) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 44. T. V. 1, 2. 10) or पावासुओ (H. C. 1, 95) = Skr. प्रवासी (or प्रवासकः); Pr. सव्वण्णू *omniscient* (H. C. 1, 56) for *सव्वण्णुओ (= Skr. सर्वज्ञकः); and other words in ण्णू.

51. Pr. fem. इआ and उआ become ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. घोरी *mare*, Pr. घोडिआ, Skr. घोटिका; E. H. माटी *earth* (W. H. मिटी), Pr. मट्टिआ (H. C. 2, 29), Skr. मृत्तिका; E. H. लाठी *club*, Pr. लट्ठिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 247), Skr. यष्टिका; E. H. मउसी *mother's sister*, Pr. माउसिआ (H. C. 1, 134. 2, 142), Skr. मातृष्वसृका; E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *माइआ (see § 63), Skr. मातृका; again E. H. पतोहू *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्तवहुआ (cf, Spt. 35), Skr. पुत्रवधूका; E. H. बालू *sand*, Pr. वालुआ, Skr. बालुका.

52. *Affinities.* Here all Gds. agree; as do also all Prs. But M. has माउ *mother*, Pr. मौउआ (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. मातृका. The steps of change are probably these (see § 42); Pr. घोडिआ, Ap. घोडिअ (H. C. 4, 330) or *घोडीअ, Gd. घोडी; Pr. वालुआ, Ap. वालुअ or *वालूअ, Gd. बालू, etc.

53. Pr. neut. अयं, इयं and उयं become आ, ई and ऊ respectively; thus E. H. सोना *gold*, Pr. सोवण्णयं (cf. Spt. 194) or सुवण्णयं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. सुवर्णकम्; E. H. ताँबा *copper*, Mg. *तम्मयं (see § 18) or तम्बयं (cf. Vr. 3, 53), Skr. ताम्रकम्; E. H. लोहा *iron*, Pr. लोहयं, Skr. लोहकम्; again E. H. घी *clarified butter*, Pr. घियं (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. घृतम्; E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणियं (Vr. 1, 18), Skr. पानीयम्; E. H. दही *curds*, Pr. दहियं, Skr. दधिकम्; E. H. मोती

pearl, Pr. मोत्तिअं, Skr. मौक्तिकम्; again E. H. आँसू *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं (cf. H. C. 1, 26), Skr. अश्रुकम्; E. H. जू *yoke*, Pr. जुअं, Skr. युगम्; E. H. आलू *potato*, Pr. आलुअं, Skr. आलुकम्.

54. *Affinities.* As regards the forms in आ, B., O. and also P. agree with E. H.; thus B., O., E. H. नामा, P. नाँवा. M. has एँ; as नाँवें. The M. nouns are neuter, but the corresponding E. Gd. ones are masc.; compare the masc. forms in § 47. In Mg. Pr. neuter nouns either end in अअं or (becoming masc.) in अए (cf. Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399). From the Mg. अअं or with the favorite euph. य्, अयं, which form still occurs occasionally in O. H., arises the contracted M. ए̃. From the Mg. masc. अए arises probably the E. Gd. आ. On the other hand, the corresponding termin. in G. is उँ or उ; as नाँवुँ or नाँवु; in Mw. ओं or ओ, as नाँवों or नाँवो; in Br. ऐँ or ऐ (or also आ); in S. ओ, as टामो. The forms with anunásika are neuter, those without it are masculine. These W. Gd. forms have arisen from the Ap. (Sr.) Pr., which has the neut. termin. अइं (H. C. 4, 354. T. V. 3, 4. 26). This contracts in W. H. to ऐँ or ऐं, and is shortened in G. to उँ. By dropping the final anunásika, the neuters would, naturally, become masc., through identity of termination; see § 48. This masculinizing tendency is seen already in the Ap. Pr., where the neut. termin. अं sometimes becomes masc. उ (Ls. 460. 476. H. C. 4, 331. 445; as m. जलु *water* for n. जलं, cf. H. C. 4, 395), and similarly neut. अइं would become masc. अउ. As regards the forms in ई and ऊ, they are alike in all Gds., except in M., which adds a final anunásika (as पाणी *water*, आँसू *tear*) and treats them as neuters, while the other Gds., having dropped the original anunásika, treat them as masculines.

b) CHANGES OF MEDIAL SOUNDS.

a) SINGLE VOWELS.

55. अ *becomes* इ *or* ई; rarely; thus E. H. पिंजरा *cage*, A. Mg. पंजलअं (cf. Spt. 225), Skr. पंजरकम् (also पिंजरकम्? M. W. 572, 3); E. H. फिरफिरु *splashing*, Skr. फर्फरम्; E. H. सुमिरन् *memory*, A. Mg.

सुमलणां (cf. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. श्रवणाम्; E. H. पिचोत्तर्‌सें *one hundred and five*, A. Mg. पंचुत्तरसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. पंचोत्तरशतम्; E. H. चिरई *sparrow*, Pr. चउड्डा (cf. H. C. 4, 445?), Skr. चटकिका; E. H. खियावै *he feeds*, Pr. जवावइ, Skr. जापयति (*जटापयति); E. H. घिन् *moment*, Pr. इणो (H. C. 2. 20), Skr. क्षणः; E. H. फिटकारी *alum*, Mg. *फट्टिक्कालिआ (or *फिट्टिक्कालिआ cf. H. C. 4, 177), Skr. स्फटिकाजिका; E. H. निनानबे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणवइ, Skr. नवनवतिः (see § 397); E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* for O. छयालिस् (see § 152). Especially before ह्; as E. H. छिहत्तर् *seventy six*, Mg. छहत्तलि (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. षट्सप्ततिः; E. H. छिनोतर्‌सें *one hundred and six*, A. Mg. छलुत्तलसयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षडुत्तरशतम; E. H. लिहल् *taken*, Mg. *लहिदे [1]), Skr. लब्धः (*लभितः); E. H. दिहल् *given*, Skr. दत्तः; E. H. लिहिस् *thou tookst*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअसि, Skr. लब्धोऽसि (*लभितोऽसि); E. H. लिहिन् *they took*, O. H. लिहेन्, Ap. Pr. *लहिअहिं, Pr. *लहिअंति, Skr. लब्धाः सन्ति (in active sense); E. H. दिहिस् *thou gavest*, दिहिन् *they gave*; E. H. किहिस् *thou didst*, O. H. किहेस् for *कएस्, Ap. *करिअसि, Skr. कृतोऽसि [2]); E. H. किहिन् *they did*. Again ई in तीसी *flax*, Skr. अतसी (cf. § 172).

Note: W. H. गिन *he counts*, Pr. गणइ (H. C. 4, 358), Skr. गणयति; W. H. छिमा *forgiveness*, Skr. क्षमा; W. H. पिछनौ or पछिलौ, Ap. Pr. पच्छिल्लउ (Skr. पश्चकः); but E. H. गनै, छमा and पाछिल् or पछिला.

56. ऊ *becomes* उ *or* ऊ; very rarely; as E. H. पुवाल् *straw*, Skr. पलाली; E. H. मूछ् (also मोंछ्, see § 57) *mustache*, Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86 or *मंछू? cf. H. C. 1, 265), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. खुतली *itch*, Ap. Pr. *खत्तुडिअ (Skr. खर्जूः).

Note: W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 333), Skr. अङ्गुलिका; O. H. सुगन् *bird* (Chand), Ap. Pr. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; but E. H. अंगुरी, सगुन्.

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1) cf. Spt. 146 लहिउआ = Skr. *लभित्वा or लब्ध्वा; and P. past part. लद्धा.

2) Regarding the forms लिहल्, लिहिस्, लिहिन्, किहिस्, etc. see §§ 307. 501. 508.

57. अ *becomes* ए, ऐ, ओ or ए, ऐ, ओ; rarely; E. H. मेहर् (or मेहरी or मेहारू) *woman*, Pr. महिला (Spt. 48), Skr. महिला; E. H. केवाड् (or केवाडा) *door*, Pr. कवाडो, Skr. कपाटः; E. H. चोँच् *beak*, Pr. *चंचू, Skr. चञ्चुः; E. H. मोँछ् *mustache* (see § 56), Pr. मंसू (H. C. 2, 86), Skr. श्मश्रु; E. H. सेँध् *hole* (in a wall), Pr. संधी (cf. H. C. 4, 430), Skr. सन्धिः; and others see § 148.

58. इ *becomes* अ; rarely; E. H. ऐतना *this much*, Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. इयतकः, cf. S. एतिड़ो, G. एटलो; E. H. तेतना *so much*, Mg. तेत्तिलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *how much soever*, Mg. जेत्तिलए, Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना, Mg. केत्तिलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. लंगोट् *waistcloth*, Mg. लिंगवट्टे, Skr. लिङ्गपट्टः; E. H. धरती *earth*, Mg. धलित्तिआ, Skr. धरित्रिका; E. H. पोरसा *fathom*, A. Mg. पउलिसअं (cf. H. C. 1, 111. 4, 287), Skr. पौरुषकम्; and optionally E. H. परखै or परिखै *he examines*, Mg. पलिक्खइ, Skr. परीक्षते; E. H. °अल् or °इल् *suffix of past part.*, Mg. इदे, Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. °अब् or °इब् *suffix of infinit.*, Ap. इवुं (K. I. 50. Ls. 468), Skr. इतव्यम्; e. g., E. H. पढब् or पढिब् *to read*, Ap. पढिवुं, Skr. पठितव्यम्.

Note: Also W. H. गहर् *deep*, Pr. गहिरं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरम्; W. H. बहर् *dumb*, Pr. बहिरो (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; W. H. कलेस् *trouble*, Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. क्लेशः; W. H. हरस् *joy*, Pr. हरिसो (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. हर्षः; W. H. बरस् *rain, year*, Pr. बरिसं, Skr. वर्षम्; W. H. फरस् *touch*, Pr. फरिसो (cf. H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शः. But E. H. गहिर्, बहिर्, किलेस्, हरिस्, बरिस्, फरिस्. The Pr. form एत्तिलं or (in some MSS.) एत्तिलुं is probably a curtailment of एत्तिअलं, composed of एत्तिअ and pleon. suff. ल (or लु), and curtailed just as Ap. इवु from Mh.-Sr. इअवु, e. g., Ap. पढिवुं for Sr. पठिअवुं.

59. इ *or* ई *becomes* उ *or* ऊ; very rarely and optionally; E. H. पहरू or पहरी or पहरा *watchman*, Mg. पहली, Skr. प्रहरी; E. H. बुंदी or बिंदी or बुंदा or बूँदु *drop*, Pr. चिंदू (cf. H. C. 1, 34), Skr. विन्दुः.

Note: Compare Pr. पवासू (H. C. 1, 44) for Skr. प्रवासी *sojourner*.

60. उ *becomes* अ; rarely; thus E. H. आपन् or आपुन् *own*, Pr. अप्पुलुं (H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् (or आत्मभवम्), cf. M. आपला,

G. सणणो; E. H. सनोह् *son's wife*, Pr. पुत्रवहू, Skr. पुत्रवधूः; E. H. उडगन् *stars*, Mg. उडुगणो (cf. H. C. 1, 202), Skr. उडुगणाः; E. H. कुटको *a kind of medicine*, Pr. *कटुकिआ, Skr. कटुकिका; E. H. ङया *troop*, Pr. *गुत्थं, Skr. यूथकम्; E. H. सामहुँ or समहुँ *in front of*, Ap. सम्मुहहु, Skr. सम्मुखे (H. H. सामहन); optionally कपूत् or कुपूत् *bad son*, Mg. *कुपुत्र, Skr. कुपुत्रः; also E. H. बूँद or बुंदा *drop*, Mg. विंदुए, Skr. बिन्दुकः.

Note: Also W. H. उंगली *finger*, Pr. अंगुलिआ, Skr. अंगुलिका; W. H. बिसली, Pr. बिसुलिआ (Vr. 4, 26), Skr. बिसपुत्; W. H. कूकर् *dog*, Pr. कुक्कुरो, Skr. कुक्कुरः; W. H. तौंबन् *roseappletree*, Pr. तंबुलो, Skr. ताम्बूलः; W. H. समझे *he understands*, Pr. संवुज्झइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते; Mw. कण् or कुण् *who* (see § 438, 2); but E. H. बंगुरी, बिसुरी, कुक्कुर्, तामुन्, समुझै, कौन्. As regards E. H. आपन् *own*, the change of उ to अ, and ल् to न् appears already in Pr. अप्पाणं (H. C. 2, 153. 4, 350) = E. H. अपना, see § 111.

61. उ *and* ऊ *become respectively* इ *and* ई; very rarely; as E. H. नानिक् *small*, Pr. तणुक्के, Skr. तनुकः; फिन् or फुन् or पुन् *again*, Pr. पुणो or पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. बाई (fem.) *wind*, Pr. वाउ (masc.), Skr. वायुः (or वातिः masc.); बुंदी (fem.) *drop*, Pr. विंदू (masc.), Skr. बिन्दुः.

62. उ *becomes* ए; very rarely; as फेफड़ा *lungs*, Skr. कुप्फुसः.

63. ऋ *becomes* इ; very rarely; thus E. H. किसान् *husbandman*, A. Mg. *किसाणो, Skr. कृषाणः; E. H. गीध् *vulture*, Mg. गिठे (Md. 1, 31), Skr. गृध्रः; E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइआ (Wb. Bh. 178. cf. H C. 1, 135), Skr. मातृका; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भाइए, Skr. भ्रातृकः; E. H. भतीजा *brother's son*, Mg. *भत्रिज्जए, Skr. भ्रातृजकः.

Note: None of these words are mentioned in the exceptional lists of H. C. I, 128—144. T. V. 1, 275—291. Vr. 1, 28—30, enjoining this change instead of the regular one of ऋ to अ (H. C. 1, 126. Vr. 1, 27), exc. माईणं gen. pl. for Skr. मातृणाम् (H. C. 1, 135); but Md. gives घिठो and Bh. माइय°; and it is plain from the general form of the words, that in all of them the change of ऋ to इ must have taken place in Pr. already. In H. C. 1, 128 we find किसिओ for कृषितः as an analogy for किसाणो; and in 1, 137 नत्तिओ and नत्तुओ for नप्तृकः as an analogy for भाइओ and भाउओ (H. C.

1, 131) = भातृकः; and in 1, 135 माइहरं for मातृगृहं as an analogy for भत्रिओ = भ्रातृजः.

64. ओ *becomes* ए; very rarely; as गेहँ or गोहँ, Pr. गोहुमो, Skr. गोधूमः; but only W. and H. H.; the E. H. only गोहँ.

65. *Short vowels become long*; very rarely; E. H. ढीला *loose*, A. Mg. सिढिलए (cf. Vr. 2, 28. H. C. 1, 215), Skr. शिथिलकः; E. H. पूर् or पुर् *town*, Pr. पुरं, Skr. पुरम्. Comp. H. C. 1, 113 मूसलं, E. H. मूसर् for Skr. मुसलम्; especially in the verbal roots पी *drink*, सी *sew*, चू *leak*, छू *touch*, मू *die*, धो *sow*, नी *bow*, भी *roam*; e. g., E. H. पीवै, Pr. पिबइ, Skr. पिबति; E. H. चूवे, Pr. चुवइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. श्रोतति.

Note: This is a very common change in M., made for the purpose of compensating the shortening of the ultimate; as M. हत्तीणा *she-elephant* for Pr. हत्थिणी; and it may explain the origin of the modern long termin. आ, ई, ऊ (§§ 47—49); e. g., E. H. घोरी *mare* for घोरीअ = Pr. घोडिआ, etc. It is, also, very common as the result of the elision of part of a conjunct, see § 147.

66. *Long vowels become short*; 1) regularly in the first part of a compound; thus E. H. पनसार् *watering place*, Pr. पाणिअसाला (or perhaps Ap. *पाणिसाला, eliding अ as in इवुं for इअवुं see § 58, note), Skr. पानीयशाला; E. H. पनचक्की *watermill*, Pr. पाणिअचक्किआ, Skr. पानीयचक्रिका; E. H. फुलवारी *flowergarden* (for फूलवारी), Pr. *फुल्लवाडिआ, Skr. फुल्लवाटिका; E. H. अधपका *half-ripe* (for आधपका), Mg. अठपक्कए, Skr. अर्धपक्वः; E. H. नदीया *name of a town in Bengal* (for नादीया), Mg. नअद्दीअए, Skr. नवद्वीपकः; E. H. मुमाखी *honey-bee* (for मौमाखी), Mg. महुमक्खिआ, Skr. मधुमक्षिका, etc. 2) rarely otherwise; thus E. H. दिया *lamp* (also दीवा and दीवा), Mg. दीअए (or *दिअए cf. H. C. 1, 101 पलिविअं = प्रदीपितं), Skr. दीपकः; also in semitats. as E. H. पखान् *stone*, Skr. पाषाणः; E. H. पताल् *hades*, Skr. पातालम्; E. H. मुरछा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा; and see also § 25, as E. H. दुबरा *weak* from दूबर्, Mg. दुब्बलए, Skr. दुर्बलकः, etc.; and § 146, as E. H. सब् *all* for *साब्, Mg. सव्वे, Skr. सर्वः, etc.

67. *Vowels are nasalized*; often optionally before ह् and स्; as E. H. मुँह or मूँह or मुह *mouth, face*, Mg. मुहं (H. C. 4, 300),

Skr. युवम्; E. H. मेँह् or मेह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः (lit. cloud, ?); E. H. सोँह् or सोह् *oath* (fem.), A. Mg. सवह (cf. H. C. 1, 179), Skr. शपथः; E. H. छाँह् *shade*, Pr. छाही (H. C. 1, 249) or छाहा (Vr. 2, 18), Skr. छाया; E. H. बाँह् or बाह् (fem.) *arm*, Pr. बाह or बाहा (H. C. 4, 329), Skr. बाहा (fem., but बाहुः masc.); E. H. माँहे or माँही or माही *within*, Ap. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. खाँसी or खासी *cough*, Pr. खासिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कासिका; E. H. हाँसी or हासी *laughter*, Pr. हासिआ (cf. H. C. 3, 105), Skr. हासिका; E. H. घाँस् or घास् (fem.) *grass*, A. Mg. घास, Skr. घासः (masc.), etc.; rarely otherwise; as E. H. पाँव् or पाव् *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Sr. पाअ, Skr. पादः; E. H. कूँआ or कूआ or कूवाँ or कूवा *well*, Ap. कूवउ or कूवँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. कूपकः; sometimes ह् is elided after nasalization, as E. H. जाँएँ or जाएँ *they go* (for जाँहिँ), Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जंति (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. यान्ति.

Note: In Ap. Pr., too, व् is sometimes nasalized; as Ap. तिवँ or तेवँ *how* (see H. C. 4, 397), E. H. त्यूँ; Ap. तिवँ or तेवँ *thus*, E. H. त्यूँ.

β) VOWELS IN CONTACT.

68. The *hiatus* of vowels is treated in three ways: 1) the two contiguous vowels may be contracted or expanded partly by the ordinary Skr. rules of *sandhi*, partly by special Gd. rules given below §§ 71 ff. Or 2) they may be separated by an *euphonic* semivowel (§ 28), and the dissyllable, formed thereby, sometimes again contracted (§ 34). Or 3) they may be left in hiatus. On the whole, the third case is less usual, than the two others; even in E. H.; but certainly in Gd. generally; for sometimes, when E. H. preserves the hiatus of the Pr., other Gds. make sandhi; thus E. H. कइसन् *of what kind*, but W. H. कैसा, M. कसा, for Ap. Pr. कइसो (H. C. 4, 403); or E. H. गइल् *he went*, but M. गेला, Mg. *गमिदे; or E. H. खाइल् *eaten*, but M. खाला, Mg. खाइदे.

69. The semivowels, which may separate contiguous vowels,

are generally य् or व्, rarely ह्. About the use of य् and व् see § 28. Examples of an inserted euphonic ह् are probably; E. H. घट्टिहा or घट्टिया *inferior*; E. H. छुहै or छुवै or छुऐ *he touches*; E. H. दिहल् *given* for दे + अल् (probably by analogy to लिहल् *taken*, cf. § 307); E. H. दिहिस् *he gave* for दि + इस्, and किहिस् *he did* for कि + इस् (analogous to लिहिस् *he took*, see § 307); E. H. पहिचान् *cognizance* for पइचान् (Pr. परिचयणं, Skr. परिचयनम्?); E. H. °अनिहार् *a suffix of agency*, Ap. Pr. °अणिअडो (see § 321); E. H. अहा *a pleon. suff.*, Mg. अधए, Skr. *अकः (§ 208); E. H. आहट् or आवट् *a suffix of abstract nouns*, Pr. अअवट्टो (see § 288). There is, apparently, one instance of an euphonic ल्; viz. E. H. दिलोतरसो or दियोतरसो *one hundred and two* (made analogously to तिलोतरसो 103, चलोतरसो 104, छिलोतरसो 106); see §§ 394. 397.

70. *Affinities.* All three semivowels य्, व् and ह् are already used in this way in Prákrit. Thus य् is especially mentioned by H. C. 1, 180. T. V. 1, 3. 10. Ş. C. 1, 3. 5 and apparently both य् and व् by K. I. 1, 45. 46 (in Ls. Ap. 41). About ह् there is no rule; but it occurs apparently in the words फलिहो, निहसो, चिहुरो, छाहा, etc. (for स्फटिक, निकष, चिकुर, छाया) mentioned in Vr. 2, 4. 18. H. C. 1, 186. 249. They not unfrequently occur in Pr. literature; especially in Mg.; thus in the Bhagavatí (see Wb. Bh. 397. 409. 411. 415); also in the Saptaşataka (see Wb. Spt. 28. 29. 45); see also Ps. X.

71. Gd. *sandhi* is made in two ways; 1) by *contracting* the two vowels, or 2) by *expanding* the second. By *expansion* I mean the change of ए or इ to अ *ya*, and of ओ or उ to अ *va*. Peculiar Gd. contractions are: अ or आ with इ to ऐ; अ or आ with उ to औ; इ with अ to ऐ or ए or ई or इ; उ with अ to औ or ओ or ऊ; ए with अ or इ or उ or ए to ए; ओ with अ to ओ. See in detail § 73, etc.

72. Expansion-sandhi is not unknown in Skr.; but it affects the first vowel; thus ए, ऐ, ओ, औ become respectively अय्, आय्, अव्, आव्, and in certain cases इ or ई and उ or ऊ become इय् and उव् (see M. M. 53); e. g., gen. sing. रै-अस् = रायः; नौ-अस् =

नावः; धी-शस् = धियः; लू-शस् = लुवः. In Pr. there are traces of the Gd. expansion; thus ओ or उ to अ in केअरो or पओरो or पउरो = Skr. प्रकोष्ठ (Vr. 1, 40); आवन्नं for *आलेप्तं or आउत्तं = Skr. आतोपम् (H. C. 1, 156); उ or ऊ to अ in सोअमन्नं for *सोवयन्नं for *सोउमन्नं = Skr. सौकुमार्यम् (Vr. 1, 22); दुअल्लं for *दुवल्लं or दुउल्लं = Skr. दुकूलम् (Vr. 1, 25); ओहलो for *उवहलो (cf. H. C. 1, 173) for उऊहलो = Skr. उदूखलः (H. C. 1, 171); सोमालो for *सुवमालो for सुउमालो = Skr. सुकुमारः (H. C. 1, 171). I do not recollect any example of ए or इ to अ. Also the contraction of इ + अ to ए and उ + अ to ओ is found in Skr.; as in gen. sg. अग्नि-अस = अग्नेः; मधु-अम् = मधोः. Here the change is commonly explained as a *guṇa* of the final इ or उ; but it may be, as in Pr. and Gd. it undoubtedly must be, explained as an expansion of इ and उ to अय् and अव् and contraction of the resultant dissyllable अय and अव to ए and ओ; as *अग्नयः = अग्नेः; *मधवः = मधोः. Instances of this change in Pr. are not uncommon; thus वेइल्लं for *वयइल्लं for विअइल्लं = Skr. विचकिलम् (H. C. 1, 166); कलेरो for *कलयारो for कणिआरो = Skr. कर्णिकारः (H. C. 1, 168); एणिहं for *अयसिं for इआणिं = Skr. इदानीम् (H. C. 2, 134. Ls. 129); एत्तिअं for *अयत्तिअं for *इअत्तिअं = Skr. इयत्तिकम्; केत्तिअं for *कयत्तिअं for *किअत्तिअं = Skr. कियत्तिकम् (H. C. 2, 157); एरिहं for *अयरिहं for *इअरिहं = Skr. *ईदृग्भाम् (i. e. *ईदृश् + दृश् or ईदृश्; cf. Wb. Spt. 59); केरिहं for *कयरिहं for *किअरिहं = Skr. *कीदृग्भाम् (or कीदृश्) H. C. 2, 157. Again ओ for *अव for उअ = Skr. उत (H. C. 2, 172); cf. ओहरइ for अवहरइ = Skr. अवहरति (H. C. 1, 172); पोरो for *पवरो for *पूअरो = Skr. पूतरः (H. C. 1, 170); पोप्फलं for *पवप्फलं for *पूअप्फलं = Skr. पूगफलम् (H. C. 1, 170); सोणारो for *सवणारो for *सुअणारो for सुवण्णारो = Skr. सुवर्णकारः (Spt. 194. H. C. 1, 26), etc. An instance of the change of अ + इ to ऐ in Pr. is ऐ for अइ = Skr. अयि (H. C. 1, 169); but the Pr. tendency is to produce and retain the hiatus अइ, अउ, आउ, as दइवो = Skr. दैत्यः (H. C. 1, 151), पउरो = Skr. पौरः (H. C. 1, 162), पाउरणं = Skr. प्रावरणम् (H. C. 1, 175), etc. Somewhat analogous are in Skr. स्वैरम् for स्वइरम्, प्रौढः for प्रउढः, etc. (M. M. 19).

73. अ or आ *with* अ or आ *becomes* आ; as E. H. इहाँ *here*,

Ap. Pr. एहहं, Skr. ईदृशे (scl. स्थाने, see § 467); E. H. तोहार् *yours* (W. H. तुम्हारो), Ap. Mg. *तुम्हश्रेलिए or *तुम्हकलिए or तुम्हक्केले (cf. H. C. 2, 99. 147. 4, 422), Skr. युष्माकम्; E. H. खात् *eating*, Mg. खाअंत, Skr. खादन्; E. H. सड़ाँध् (fem.) *bad odour*, Pr. *सड़िअगंधो, Skr. *शटिनगन्धिः (cf. H. C. 4, 219); E. H. राउत् *name of a caste*, Mg. *लाअउत्ते, Skr. उष्ट्रकूतः; E. H. लोहार् *blacksmith*, Mg. लोहआले, Skr. लौहकारः; E. H. चमार् *leather-worker, shoemaker*, Mg. चम्मआले, Skr. चर्मकारः; E. H. परिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Mg. पंडिवआ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्.

Exception. Sometimes व् is inserted; as in the nominal lōng forms, e. g., रमन्वा *Rāma* for Mg. लामआह, Skr. रामकस्य (see § 369, 2); sometimes य्, as in रैन् or रयन् *night*, Mg. लअणो, Skr. रजनी.

74. इ *or* ई *with* इ *or* ई *becomes* ई; as E. H. पी or पीई *he will drink*, Pr. पिइहिइ, Skr. पास्यति (*पिबिष्यति), W. H. पीहै = Pr. *पिइहइ; E. H. पीओ *I shall drink*, Ap. Pr. पिइवुउं, Pr. पिइअव्वम्हि, Skr. पातव्य° (*पिबितव्य°), see § 309.

75. उ *or* ऊ *with* उ *or* ऊ *becomes* ऊ; as E. H. दूना *twofold*, Mg. दुउणए (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणाकः.

76. *Affinities.* There are some examples of the preceding contractions in Pr.; as Ap. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345) = *अम्हइरिओ or *अम्हकरिओ, Mh. अम्हक्कारो (H. C. 2, 147), Skr. अस्माकम् (lit. *अस्मकृतः), H. H. हमारा, E. H. हमार्, W. H. हमारो (Br.) or म्हारो (Mw.) *our*; Pr. खाइ or खाअइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. खादति, E. H. खाए *he eats*; Pr. राउलं or राअउलं (Vr. 4, 1), Skr. राजकुलम्, E. H. राउर्, W. H. राउल् *a title of honor*; Pr. भाणं or भाअणं, Skr. भाजनम् (H. C. 1, 267) *vessel*; Pr. सोणार° (Spt. 194) for सुवण्णआर°, Skr. सुवर्णाकार°, E. H. सोनार् *goldsmith*; Pr. कुम्भारो or कुम्भआरो (Vr. 1, 4), Skr. कुम्भकारः, E. H. कोंहार्, W. H. कुम्हार् *potter*; Pr. पावालिआ for पआवालिआ (Spt. 162), Skr. प्रपापालिका *guardian of a well*; again ऊसासो for *उउआसो for उअआसो (H. C. 1, 173, see § 84), Skr. उपवासः, E. H. उपास् (perhaps a semi-tatsama) *fasting*, etc. See Wb. Spt. 32. But as a rule, Pr. prefers to preserve the hiatus; see Wb. Bh. 408. Skr. has similar laws, see M. M. 14. 52.

77. अ *with* इ *becomes* ऐ, *if antepenultimate, but* ऐ *or* अय *aya*

or अय् *ay, if penultimate, optionally*; as E. H. गयल् *or* गइल् or गैल् *gone*, Mg. गमिदे (see §§ 307. 109), Skr. गतः, W. H. गयो, P. गइआ, Ap. Pr. *गमिअउ; E. H. भयल् or भइल् or भैल् *been*, Mg. *भविदे (see § 307), Skr. भूतः, W. H. भयो, P. होइआ, Ap. Pr. भविअउ or हविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 401); E. H. कय् or कै *having done* for कइ, W. H. करि, Ap. Pr. करि (H. C. 4, 357), Pr. करिअ (H. C. 1, 27), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. पइठै or पैठै *he enters*, Pr. पइट्ठइ (cf. H. C. 4, 444), Skr. *प्रविशति (see § 352); E. H. खइलों or खैलों *I ate*, Mg. खाइदंम्हि, Skr. खादितोऽस्मि (see § 487); E. H. गइलों or गैलों *I went*, Mg. गमिदंम्हि, Skr. गतोऽस्मि; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *such*, Ap. Mg. तइसिल्ल (see § 111), A. Mg. तादिसे (H. C. 4, 287) or तादिसे (Le. 115), Skr. तादृशः.

Exception. The termin. ऐ and ऐं of the 3. pr. sg. and pl. pres. and of the gen.-affix कै are *always* thus contracted; e. g., E. H. चलै *he walks* (not चलइ or चलय्), Pr. चलइ, Skr. चलति; E. H. कौं *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति, Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. कै *of* (lit. *done by*) = O. H. करि, Ap. *करिउ or *करिओ or केरो (H. C. 4, 422), Skr. कृतः. In the oblique form of the singular and in *postpositional* locatives अइ becomes generally ए or ई; as E. H. भले obl. form of भला *good*, O. H. भलहि, Ap. Pr. भल्लह, Skr. भद्रस्य (see § 365, 6. 367, 4); E. H. पाहें or पाहे or पाहें or पाहे *after*, G. पाछी, Ap. Pr. पच्छइ (H. C. 4, 334. 420; for पच्छहि, see § 367, 4) or पच्छहिं (§§ 367, 5. and 378), Skr. पश्चे; E. H. आगे *before*, Ap. Pr. अग्गइ (H. C. 4, 391), Skr. अग्रे; E. H. मंहि or मांहो (cf. § 67) *within*, S. मंझे, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं or मज्झहि, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पाहो *near, by side of*, Ap. पक्खहिं, Skr. पक्षे; E. H. लागे or लगे *with, for, till*, M. लागीं, Ap. लग्गहि, Skr. लग्ने.

78. अ *with* उ *becomes* ओ, *if antepenultimate, but* ओ *or* अव *ava or* अव् *av, if penultimate, optionally*; thus E. H. चौथ् or चवथ् or चउथ् *fourth*, Mg. चउत्थे (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थः; E. H. चौथा or चउथा *fourth*, Mg. चउत्थए (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. चतुर्थकः; E. H. अौध् or अवध् *the province of Oudh*, also अउध (W. H. अउधा *semitats.*), Mg. *अवुठा or *अउठा, Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. रौरा or रउरा *a honorific title, you* (cf. § 25), Mg. लाउलए (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. ललकुलकः; E. H. ऐकलौता or ऐकलउता (or अक° or °टा) *only-born son*, Mg. एक्कलुउअए

(cf. Wb. Bh. 439) or °दृए (cf. H. C. 2, 165. Vr. 12, 5), Skr. एकलपुत्रकः; E. H. जेठौत् or जेठउत् *son of husband's elder brother*, Mg. जेट्ठउत्त (cf. Wb. Bh. 315), Skr. ज्येष्ठपुत्रः.

Exception. The termin. ओं or ओ of the 1st pr. sg. pres. is always thus contracted; e. g., E. H. करौं or करो *I do*, Ap. करउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. करमि, Skr. करोमि; Ap. Pr. सउ *hundred* is in E. H. सो beside सौ, सव्, सउ; Skr. शतम्. In the *postpositional* locatives अउ becomes ऊ; as E. H. पाछू *behind*, Ap. Pr. पच्छहुं, Skr. पश्चे, etc.; see § 367, 5.

79. *Affinities.* In Pr. अइ and अउ generally remain in hiatus, but sometimes become ए and ओ; thus दइवं and दइवं *fate* (H. C. 1, 153), Skr. दैवम्, but E. H. दैव्; Ap. केहो *of what kind* for *कइहो or *काहिहो, Skr. कीदृशः (cf Ls. 455); Pr. केलं for *कइलं or कयलं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदलम्, also E. H. केरा *plantain*; again Pr. लोणं for *लउणं or लवणं *salt* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, also E. H. लोन् or नोन्; Pr. चोवाडो or चउवाडो *shed, court* (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. चतुर्वाटः, but E. H. चौबाट्; Pr. चोत्थो or चउत्थो (H. C. 1, 171), but E. H. चौथ्. Only in one exceptional case अइ becomes ऐ, viz. Pr. ऐं for *अइ = Skr. अपि (H. C. 1, 169). These remarks refer to the Mh.-Sr. and Ap. (Sr.) Pr.; perhaps the Mg. even more strictly preserved the hiatus; for thus it may be explained why *on the whole* the E. and N. Gd. have ऐ and ओ, while the W. and S. Gd. have ए and ओ and occasionally even modify ए to आ (just as the Mg. nom. sing. term. ए; see §§ 47. 48), or exceptionally (shortened) to अ; thus E. H., B., O., also M. चोथा, N. (also Br.) चोथो *fourth*, but G., S., Mw. चोथो; E. H., B., O., N., also M. चौद or चौद्ह *fourteen*, but Mw., G. चोद् (or चौद्), S. चोउहँ; again E. H. गैल् *gone*, but M. गेला; E. H. कैल् *done*, but M. केला; E. H. भैल् *been*, but M. झाला (for *हैला, *झाला); E. H. खैलौं *I ate*, M. खालो; E. H. ऐलौं *I came*, M. आलो; E. H. तैसन् *such*, M. तसा. The contraction of the Ap. Pr. loc. term. अहिं to ईं is quite regular in M.; see Man. 28, 2. 3; as M. घरीं *in a house*, Ap. घरहिं (K. I. 12, 27. in Ls. 451. see § 367, 5), Skr. गृहे; M. पासीं *by the side of*, Ap. Pr. पासहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 92),

Skr. पार्श्वे; M. पाठी" *for* (affix of dative), Ap. Pr. बाहिं (cf. H. C. 2, 32), Skr. बाह्ये; M. ठाई" *in* (Man. 127), Ap. ठाणहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, etc.

80. अ *with* ई *or* उ *becomes* ऐ *or* ओ *and* औ *or* अव् *respectively; optionally*; as E. H. कनहई or कनहै or कनहो *kanhai* (krishna); E. H. घडउ or घडौ or घडव् *pitcher*, redundant forms of कान् or कनहा (W. H. कान्ह) and घडा, see § 356.

81. अ with ए, ओ, see § 97.

82. आ *with* इ *or* ई *and with* उ *or* ऊ *remains in hiatus*; thus E. H. आइब् *we shall eat*, Ap. आइवा (scl. अह्), Pr. आइअम्हो, Skr. आदित्याः स्मः (with active sense, see § 309); E. H. आई *he will eat*, Pr. आहिइ (H. C. 4, 228), Skr. आदिष्यति (W. H. आहे = Pr. *आहइ); E. H. माई *mother*, Mg. माइआ (see § 61), Skr. मातृका; E. H. आई *wind* (see § 61); E. H. ताउ *you*, Mg. ताउले (cf. Vr. 4, 1), Skr. ज्ञातकुलः; E. H. नाउ *barber*, Mg. नाविए or णहाविए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः.

Exception. The suff. उ of the 2nd pr. sg. imper. combines with आ to ओ; as E. H. जो *go thou*, Ap. जाउ (cf. H. C. 4, 387. Ls. 467), Skr. याहि; E. H. खो *खा *eat thou*, Ap. खाउ, Skr. खाद्. A final इ or उ optionally becomes य् and व्; as E. H. खाय् or खाइ *having eaten*, Ap. खाइ (cf. H. C. 4, 439), Pr. खाइअ, Skr. खादित्वा; E. H. जाय् or जाइ *having gone*, Ap. जाइ, Pr. जाइअ, Skr. यात्वा; E. H. जाँयँ or जाँइँ *they go*, Ap. जाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), Pr. जांति, Skr. यान्ति; again E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound*, Ap. घाउ (H. C. 4, 346), Pr. घाओ, Skr. घातः; E. H. पाव् or पाँव् or पाउ or पाँउ *foot*, Ap. पाउ, Skr. पादः; E. H. राव् or राउ *a title of nobility, prince*, Pr. राउ (as if Skr. राजः); E. H. खावँ *I eat*, Ap. खाउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. खामि or खाअमि, Skr. खादामि; sometimes also penultimate इ or उ; as E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten*, Mg. खाइदे, Skr. खादितः; E. H. राव्र् or राउर् *you* (see above).

83. इ *with* अ *becomes* ए; as E. H. डेढ् or देढ् *one and a half*, for *दिअड्ढ, Mg. दिवड्ढ (Wb. Bh. 190. 411, and § 416); sometimes optionally; as E. H. नियर् or नेर् *near*, Mg. निअड, Skr. निकटम्; when final, ए is shortened to ऐ or इ, as E. H. करे or करि *having*

done, Mg. कलिअ (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. चल्यो", O. H. चलेउँ, Ap. *चलिअउं (see § 505), Pr. चलिअम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि.

Exception. The nominal termin. इअ contracts to ई; as E. H. पानी *water*, Pr. पाणिअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

84. उ *with* अ *becomes* ओ; as E. H. सोंधा *sweet scent*, Mg. सुअंधए (cf. Spt. 13), Skr. सुगन्धकः.

Exception. The nominal termin. उअ contracts to ऊ; as E. H. आँसू *tear*, Pr. अंसुअं; see § 53. 49. 50.

85. *Affinities.* Both the above contractions are not uncommon in Pr.; thus Pr. लेइ *he takes* for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते, E. H. ले (cf. E. H. past part. लिहल्); Mg. ओज्झए (cf. H. C. 1, 173) *magician* for *उवज्झाए or उवज्झाए, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओझा; Mg. होंति for *हुअंते or हुवंत (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्, E. H. होन्, etc. (see § 72). They are common alike to all Gds.

86. इ *or* उ *with* आ *become* इया *and* उआ; *optionally*; the insertion of य् is usual, that of व् unusual; thus E. H. हिया or हिआ *heart*, Pr. हिअअं, Skr. हृदयम्; E. H. बियाह् *marriage*. Mg. विआहे, Skr. विवाहः; E. H. पियास् *thirst*, Pr. पिआसा (cf. H. C. 4, 434) or पिवासा (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. पिपासा; E. H. पुआल् or (rarely) पुवाल् *straw*, Pr. *पलालो, Skr. पलालो; and regularly in the nominal long forms, as घोड़िया or (rarely) घोड़िआ *mare*, जोहुआ or (less usually) जोहुवा *wife*, see §§ 195. 199.

Exception. In the nominal short forms, इआ and उआ are always contracted to ई and ऊ respectively; see § 51.

87. इ *with* उ *or* ऊ *becomes* इउ *and* इऊ; *optionally*; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. सिउ or सियु *Śiva*, Ap. सिउ, Pr. सिओ, Skr. शिवः; E. H. पिऊ or पियू *sweetheart*, Ap. पिअउ, Pr. पिअओ, Skr. प्रियकः.

88. उ *with* इ *or* ई *remains in hiatus*; as E. H. सुइया *needle*, Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका; E. H. सुई *parrot*, Pr. सुइआ, Skr. शुकिका.

89. इ *or* उ *with* ए *or* ओ; see § 98.

90. ई *or* ऊ *with* अ; see § 97.

91. ई *with any other vowel inserts* य्; as E. H. धीया *daughter*,

Pr. धीआ (Vr. 4, 33), Skr. धीता or दुहिता; E. H. सोआ *Sitā*, Pr. सोआ, Skr. सीता (semitata.); E. H. पीयु *drink thou*, Ap. पिउ (see § 65), Pr. पिअ, Skr. पिब; E. H. पीये *he drinks*, Pr. पिअइ (H. C. 4, 10), Skr. पिबति; E. H. पीयों or पीयौं *I drink*, Ap. पिअउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385), Pr. पिअमि, Skr. पिबामि.

92. उ *with* आ, इ *and* ई *remains in hiatus*; as E. H. धूआँ *smoke*, Ap. धूअँउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. धूमओ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. चूइहैं *they will leak*, Ap. चुइहहिं (cf. § 65), Pr. चुइहंति, Skr. स्रोतिष्यन्ति; E. H. भूई *earth*, Ap. भूईअ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. भूमिआ, Skr. भूमिका; E. H. सूई *needle*, Pr. सूइआ, Skr. सूचिका.

93. उ *with* ए, ऐ, ओ *and* औ *becomes* उअ, उअं, उओ, उऔ; *optionally*; the hiatus is more usual; as E. H. चूए or चूवै *it leaks* (W. H. चूए or चूवे), Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्रोतति; E. H. चूवों or चूवौं or चूवों or चूवौं *I leak*, Ap. चुअउं, Pr. चुअमि, Skr. स्रोतामि.

94. ए *or* ओ *with* अ, इ *and* उ; see § 97. 98.

95. ए *or* ओ *with a long vowel remain in hiatus*; less usually व् is inserted *after* ओ; as E. H. लेई *he will take*, Pr. लहिहि, Skr. लप्स्यते (*लभिष्यति); E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. बोए or बोवै *he sows*, Pr. वअइ, Skr. वपति; E. H. बोवों or बोवौं or बोवों or बोवौं *I sow*, Ap. वअउं, Pr. वअमि, Skr. वपामि.

96. ऐ *or* औ *with any vowel insert* य् *and* व्; *optionally*; the insertion of य् is usual, but not that of व्; as E. H. भैयन् or भइयन् के (see § 77) *of brothers*, Pr. भाइआणं, Skr. भ्रातृकाणाम्; E. H. भैया or भइया *brother*, Mg. भाइआह, Skr. भ्रातृकस्य (see § 369, 2); E. H. नौवन् or नउवन् के (see § 78) *of barbers*, Pr. नाविआणं, Skr. नापितानाम्; E. H. नौवा or नौवा or नउवा or नउवा *barber*, Mg. नाविआह, Skr. नापितस्य; E. H. नौई *he will bow*, Pr. नविहि or नमिहि (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. नौवों *I bow*, Ap. नवउं, Pr. नवमि, Skr. नमामि; E. H. नौएँ or नौवैं *they bow*, Ap. नवहिं (H. C. 4, 367), Pr. नवंति, Skr. नमन्ति.

97. अ *before or after a long vowel is often elided*; *before*; E. H. सुआउ *cook*, A. Mg. सूअआले, Skr. सूपकाः; E. H. फुलेल् *scented oil*, Pr. फुल्लएलं, Skr. फुल्लतैलम्; *after*; E. H. सोउ or सोयउ *cold, damp*, Pr. सीअलं (cf. H. C. 4, 343. Spt. 53), Skr. शीतलम्; E. H. पीउ or

पीयर् *yellow*, Pr. पीअलं (H. C. 1, 213), Skr. पीतलम्; E. H. सूर् or सूअर् *hog*, A. Mg. सूअले, Skr. शूकरः; E. H. थोर् or थोरा *little* (W. H. थोड़ा), Pr. थोअडं or थोअडअं (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकम् or स्तोककम्. But never in conjugation; e. g., E. H. पीयन् *drinking*, Mg. पिअंते, Skr. पिबन्; E. H. बोअन् *sowing*, Mg. अवंते, Skr. वपन्.

Note: पीयन्, बोअन्, etc. are not real exceptions; for their ई, ओ, etc. are merely subsequent Gd. lengthenings (cf. § 65); nor होए् *being*, देए् *giving*, लए् *taking*, for these are not contractions of हो-अन्, etc., but of Mg. Pr. हुवंते, लहंते, देंते (cf. H. C. 4, 307).

98. इ 'o' ए *and* उ *or* ओ *after a vowel often become* य *ya or* य् *y and* व *va or* व् *v respectively*; thus, E. H. गयल् or गइल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. धए् *having put* for धइ्, Ap. धरि्, Pr. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. खायल् or खाइल् *eaten* (§ 82. exc.); E. H. पाए् *having found* for पाइ्, Ap. पावि, Pr. पाविअ, Skr. प्राप्य; E. H. चूए् *having baked* for चूइ् or चूऐ, Pr. चुइअ, Skr. भुक्त्वा; E. H. होए् *he is*, Pr. होई (H. C. 1, 9) or हवइ् (H. C. 4, 60); Skr. भवति; E. H. होए् *having been* for होइ् or होऐ, Pr. हविअ; (H. C. 4, 271), Skr. भूत्वा; E. H. कोयर् or कोइर् *cuckoo* (W. H. कोइल्), Mg. कोइले, Skr. कोकिलः; E. H. नारियर् *cocoanut* (W. H. नारियल्), Mg. नालिएले, Skr. नारिकेलः; O. H. बायसु *order* (in Tulsídás), Ap. बाएसु, Pr. बाएसो, Skr. बादेशः; E. H. चवए् or चउए् *fourth* (see § 78); E. H. घाव् or घाउ *wound* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. जाँवँ् *I go*, Ap. जाउं, Pr. जामि (H. C. 2, 204), Skr. यामि.

Exception. The suff. इ् of 3d pers. and उ of 2nd pr. sg. pres. and imper. is always dropped after the roots ले, दे; thus ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ् (H. C. 4, 238, see § 85); E. H. दे *he gives*, Pr. देइ् (H. C. 4, 238), Skr. ददाति; E. H. दे *take thou*, Ap. देउ, Skr. देहि. Again the nominal term. Mg. इए् and उए् (or Sr. इओ, उओ) are contracted to ई and ऊ; see § 49; the expansion of final ए् (or ओ) to य or व would naturally tend to lengthen the preceding इ and उ; and the resultant य after ई and ऊ, would drop off, by § 97; e. g., तेलिए्, तेलिय or तेलीअ, तेली *oilman*.

γ) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

99. Medial single consonants in E. H are of two kinds, *original* and *resultant*. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. either from the (A. Mg.) Pr.; as in the tadbh. E. H. सालू *whole*, A. Mg. सालो, Skr. सकलः; E. H. परिला *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवआ, Skr. प्रतिपत्; or from the Skr.; as in the tats. E. H. राजा *king*, Skr. राजा, or in the semitats. E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा. The latter are those which have arisen either from the *simplification* (§ 148) of a conjunct consonant by eliding one, as in the tadbh. E. H. पात्ती *letter*, Pr. पत्तिआ, Skr. पत्रिका; E. H. माथा *head*, Mg. मत्थए, Skr. मस्तकः, or in the semitats. E. H. पिथी, Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. अजुधा, Skr. अयोध्या; or from the *dissolution* (§ 138) of a conjunct by inserting a vowel; as in the tadbh. भगत *devoted*, Ap. *भक्कउ, Skr. भक्तः, or in the semitats. जतन *effort*, Skr. यत्नः. Tatsama single consonants, whether original or resultant, may, of course (as in Skr.), be of any kind, whether surd or sonant, aspirate or unaspirate; they never suffer any further change in E. H.; for some doubtful exceptions see §§ 102. 129. Tadbhava *resultant* single consonants, too, as may be seen from the examples in §§ 138, 143, may be of any kind; but the tadbhava *original* can only be sonants, never surds, because already in Pr. every original single surd cons. has been made sonant, if it be not wholly elided (cf. § 101). Both tadbhava classes, the resultant and the original, are liable to further changes in E. H. These may be of five kinds: 1) sonant consonants proper (i. e. cerebrals and dentals) are *softened* to semivowels (ड़ or ड़ or ल़ and ढ़ or ढ़ or ह्न) cf. §§ 102—115; 2) aspirate consonants proper (except palatals and cerebrals) may be *reduced* to the simple aspirate (ह), cf. §§ 116—120; 3) semivowels (viz. य़ and व़) and the nasal (म़) may be vocalized (इ and उ), cf. §§ 121. 122; 4) semivowels (viz. व़, ल़, ड़, ह़) and nasals (viz. ऩ and ऩ) and occasionally double consonants (viz. क्ख़, ग्घ़, ज्झ़, न्ह़, ब्भ़, प्प़) may be elided, cf. §§ 123—128 and 151—157; and 5) semi-

vowels (viz. ु and ू) may be hardened, cf. § 129. Besides, there are isolated instances of changes of a miscellaneous kind. See in detail § 97, *etc.*

100. *Affinities.* All these five kinds of changes exist in Pr. already; but modified partly in character, partly in frequency. Thus in Pr. they affect as a rule (exceptions see § 116, note. § 145, exc. 2. and § 142) only *original* single consonants; in E. H. also *resultant* ones. Again 1) in Pr. surds are softened to sonants, in E. H. sonants to semivowels; e. g., *orig.*, Skr. कर्पटकः *cloths*, Mg. कप्पउए, E. H. कपड़ा; Skr. कथितः *said*, Mg. कधिदे, E. H. कहिल् or कहल्; *result.*, Skr. कपर्दिका, Mg. कवड्डिआ (*cf.* H. C. 2, 36), E. H. कौड़ी, W. H. कौडे. This rule refers only to cerebrals and dentals, which alone are capable of the change. But something analogous takes place in the case of the other classes; thus in Pr., labials (प् or ब्) are softened to व् (H. G. 1, 231. 237); in E. H., ब् is *vocalised*; e. g., Skr. शपथः *oath*, A. Mg. सवधे or सवहे, E. H. सौंह् (for सउह्); in Mg. Pr. for gutturals (क्, ग्) and palatals (च्, ज्) is substituted the euphonic य् (cf. Wb. Bh. 397); in E. H., य् is vocalized; e. g., Skr. नगरम् *town*, Mg. नयलं, E. H. नैर्; Skr. रजनी *night*, Mg. रयणी, E. H. रैनि. There are, however, traces of these changes in Pr. already, see §§ 35. 105. 109, note, etc. Then 2) in Pr., aspirate consonants are changed to sonant aspirates or reduced to the simple aspirate ह् (see H. C. 4, 267. 302. Wb. Bh. 410); E. H. allows only the simple aspirate and occasionally extends the rule to resultant aspirates; e. g., Skr. कुरुथ *you make*, Mg. कलेध or कलेह, E. H. करह्; Skr. पक्ते, Ap. पक्कहिं, E. H. पाहो" (for पाक्षे"). Traces of its extension to resultants, however, occur in Pr. also, see § 116, note and Wb. Bh. 410. Again 3) in Pr., य् and व् are sometimes vocalized (§ 35); in Ap. Pr. also म् (see § 122, note); but in E. H. the process is far more common; see examples above (No. 1). Next 4) in Pr., unaspirate consonants proper and य् and व् only are elided (Vr. 2, 2. H. C. 1, 177); E. H extends the practice occasionally to र्, ल्, ह्, म्, न्, though traces of the latter exist in Pr. also (see §§ 125, note. and 127, note).

Lastly 5) in Mh.-Sr., initial द् is always hardened to त्; E. Gd. extends this practice to both initial द् and ध् (see § 17), even when they become the initial of a syllable by the dissolution of a conjunct; e. g., Skr. कार्दम्, E. H. कात्त; Skr. पर्वतः, E. H. पव्वत्. As to the Gds., they all agree generally in regard to the four last kinds of changes. With respect to the first, the E. and S. Gd. agree; but W. and N. Gd. do not change ट् to त्, but elide it; and have a tendency to preserve ट् or change it to ड्, but not to ट्.

101. With regard to tadbhava original consonants proper, the following may be stated *generally*. In Mg., as in Pr. generally, क् and ग् were usually elided; exceptionally क् was changed to ग् (H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396); च् and ज् were, as a rule, elided (not mentioned at all in E. H. 4, 396; one exception in H. C. 1, 177); ट् and ड् were never elided, but ट् softened to ड् (H. C. 1, 195); in Mg. (but not in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) त् and द् were not elided, but त् softened to द् (H. C. 4, 260. 302. cf. 4, 396); in the later Mg., however, (as in Pr. generally, cf. H. C. 1, 177) द् must have been, as a rule, elided, except in the past part. pass. and in a few other words; in the Mg. of the Bhagavatí, indeed, there appears to be no difference between Mg. and the ordinary Pr. (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. 428. 433); but E. H. (and E. Gd. generally) agree with the Pr. Gramm. statement, as above modified (see § 109). In Mg., as in Pr. generally, प् and ब् are softened to व् (H. C. 1, 231. 237). Again in Mg., as in Pr. generally, ख् and घ् were, as a rule, reduced to ह् (only a few exceptions in H. C. 1, 187. 188. cf. 4, 396); ह् and फ् were always left unchanged (being not mentioned in H. C. 1, 187. 4, 396); and ह् was always changed to ह्, but ह् left unchanged (H. C. 1, 199). In Mg. (but not in Pr. generally. H. C. 1, 187) भ् was changed to ध्, and ध् optionally reduced to ह् (H. C. 4, 267. 302. cf. 4, 396). In Pr. generally, फ् was always changed to भ्, and भ् optionally reduced to ह् (H. C. 1, 236. 187. cf. 4, 396). Thus it follows, that E. H. can possess only the following tadbh. orig. cons. proper,

to which it applies its own laws of phonetic change. Of unaspirates: exceptionally ग्; regularly ड्; in the past part. and exceptionally in other words द्; regularly व्. Of aspirates: exceptionally ख्; regularly ह्, क् and ह्; optionally ध् and भ्. The unaspirates च् and ज् are never present; in words like E. H. पचै *it rots*, ऊजै *it sounds* (§ 143) they are resultant, owing to a doubling (च्, ज्) in Pr.

aa) Softening.

102. क् *becomes* ग्; *rarely*; 1) original; thus E. H. काग् *crow*, Ap. कागु, Skr. काकः (but usually कवा, Mg. काए, or कौवा (for *कवआ), Mg. काअए); E. H. साग् *vegetable*, Ap. सागं, Skr. शाकम्; E. H. सगड् *cart* (W. H. सगड), A. Mg. सगडं (cf. Wb. Bh. 248), Skr. शकटम्; E. H. सगड् *whole*, Ap. सगलं, Skr. सकलम्; E. H. सगुन् *bird*, Ap. सगुणु, Skr. शकुनः; E. H. ऐगारह् *eleven*, Ap. *एगारह (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. एकादश; E. H. पगड् *manifest*, Skr. प्रकटम् (semitats.). — 2) *resultant*; thus E. H. ब्रिगत् or ब्रेगत् *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः; E. H. मुगति *salvation*, Skr. मुक्तिः; E. H. भगत् *devotee*, Skr. भक्तः; E. H. भगति *faith*, Skr. भक्तिः; E. H. भगतई *devotedness* (cf. § 220) = Skr. भक्तता; E. H. रुगत् *blood*, Skr. रक्तम्. Not always; as E. H. चकड् *wheel*, Ap. Pr. चक्क (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. चक्रम्; E. H. बकरी *she-goat*, Ap. बक्किया, Skr. बक्रिका.

Note: Probably in most or all of these words, the change took place in Pr. already; for it is expressly mentioned by Pr. Gramm. to occur in exceptional cases; see H. C. 1, 177. cf. 4, 396; as Pr. एगो, Skr. एकः, Pr. णागो, Skr. नागः, etc. (cf. Ls. 202); and in Gḍ., too, it occurs only as an exception. As a rule क् is elided in tadbh., both in Pr. and Gḍ.; and in tats. it remains unchanged.

103. ट् *becomes* ड् *or* ड्; *very rarely*; always resultant, as E. H. निवाडै or निवारै *he accomplishes* for *निवाटै, Pr. निव्वुड्ड् or निव्वुड्ड्, Skr. निर्वर्त्तयति; E. H. पेड् or पेड् *tree* for *पेट्ट (see § 148), Pr. पट्टो, Skr. पत्रो (?).

104. ड् *becomes* ड् *or* ड्; *as a rule*; ड् *is more usual*; 1) original; thus E. H. कपरा or कपडा *cloths*, Mg. कप्पडए, Skr. कर्पटकः; E. H. केवाड़ा or केवाडा *door* (§ 57), Mg. कवाडए, Skr. कपाटकः;

E. H. घऽै or घऽे *he fashions*, Pr. घडइ (H. C. 1, 195), Skr. घटयति; E. H. चिर्ऽ *bird* (cf. § 55), Pr. चडइआ, Skr. चटकिका, H. H. चिड़िया; E. H. तोऽै or तोऽे *he breaks*, Pr. तोडइ or तोडेइ, Skr. त्रोटयति; E. H. नऽ or नऽ *a kind of reed*, Mg. नडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. नटः; E. H. पऽै or पऽे *he falls*, Pr. पडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. पतति; E. H. पऽिवा *first day of a lunar fortnight*, Pr. पडिवआ (Vr. 4, 7), Skr. प्रतिपत्; E. H. पड़ोस् *neighbourhood* (cf. § 122), A. Mg. पडिवासे or पडिवेसे, Skr. प्रतिवासः or प्रतिवेशः; E. H. पापऽ or पापऽ *cake*, Mg. पप्पडे, Skr. पर्पटः; E. H. बाऽी or बाऽो *garden*, Pr. बाडिआ, Skr. वाटिका; E. H. भऽ or भऽ *large boat*, Mg. भडे (cf. H. C. 1, 195), Skr. भटः (?); E. H. लऽिका or लऽिका *boy*, Mg. *लडिक्कए from Skr. लट (cf. § 252. 334. 353), H. H. लड़का; E. H. लऽै or लऽे *he quarrels* (*makes uproar*), Mg. लडइ, Skr. उत्तति (cf. § 110, exc.); E. H. सऽै or सऽे *it rots*, Pr. सडइ (Vr. 8, 51), Skr. शटति; generally in the E. H. *pleonastic suffixes* ऽ or ऽ, ला or ऽा, बाऽ or बाऽ, बाड़ा or बाऽा, Ap. Mg. डे, डए, बडे, बडए (cf. H. C. 4, 429. 430); thus E. H. गोऽ or गोऽ *foot, leg*, Ap. गवडु (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Pr. गमडो, Skr. गमः (lit. going); E. H. थोऽ or थोऽ *little* (cf. § 97), Ap. Mg. थोवडे, Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. ठोकऽा or ठोकऽा *small piece*, Ap. Mg. *ठोक्कडए (cf. H. C. 2, 125), Skr. स्तोकः; E. H. चमऽा or चमऽा *leather*, Ap. Mg. चम्मडं, Skr. चर्म; E. H. बछ्ऽ or बछ्ऽ *calf*, Ap. बच्छडउ, Skr. वत्सः; E. H. सैकऽा or सैकड़ा *a hundred*, Ap. Mg. सयक्कडं, Skr. शतकम्; E. H. जेठऽा *eldest*, Ap. Mg. जेट्ठडए, Skr. ज्येष्ठः; E. H. पछिवाऽ or पछिवाऽ or °बाऽा *hindmost*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छिवडे or °बडए or पच्छिमवडे or °मवडए, Skr. पश्चिमकः; E. H. पछाऽी or पछाड़ी (scil. रस्सी) *hind-rope* (for tying horses' hind-legs), Ap. पच्छडडिआ, Skr. पश्चक°; E. H. बगाऽी or बगाड़ी *fore-rope*, Ap. बागडडिआ, Skr. वाग्क°, etc. — 2) resultant; thus E. H. कौऽी or कौड़ी *cowrie*, Pr. कवडिआ (H. C. 2, 36), Skr. कपर्दिका, etc.

105. ड़् *becomes* ल्; *only original*; very rarely; thus the E. H. pleonastic suffix ल् or ला, Ap. Mg. डे or डए (cf. H. C. 4, 429), e. g., E. H. परल् or °ला *ulterior*, Ap. Mg. पलडे or °डए, Skr. परः; E. H. मोटल् *fat*, Ap. Mg. *मोड्डे or *मुड्डे, Skr. मूर्त्तः; E. H. मउली *mother*, Ap. Mg. *माउडिआ, Skr. मातृका, etc.; also otherwise, as

E. H. छिलोत्र्‌न्से or °सो, Ap. Mg. *छउत्रासयं or *छलुत्रासयं (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Ap. Sr. *छउत्रासउ, Skr. षडुत्रासनम्.

Note: This change is not uncommon in Pr., see Vr. 2, 23. H. C. 1, 202; in such cases E. H. optionally, but usually changes ल् to र्; as Skr. षोडश *sixteen*, A. Mg. सोलस (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सोरह् or सोलह्; Skr. तडाकः *tank*, Ap. तलाउ (cf. H. C. 1, 202), E. H. तराउ or तराव् or तलाव्; Skr. नडम् *a kind of reed*, Pr. नडं or नलं (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नर् or नल् or नड्; Skr. नाडिका *stalk*, Pr. नाडिआ or नालिआ (H. C. 1, 202), E. H. नारी or नाली or नाड़ी.

106. ड् *becomes* न्; *only original*; very rarely; thus E. H. तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *that* (lit. *of that kind*), Ap. तेवड (H. C. 4, 407) or *तेवडो, Pr. तेदूहो (cf. H. C. 2, 157), Skr. तादृशः (see § 438, 2); E. H. जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which* (lit. *of which kind*), Ap. जेवड (H. C. 4, 407), Pr. जेदूहो, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who* (lit. *of what kind*), Ap. कवणु (H. C. 4, 395) or केवड (H. C. 4, 408), Mg. केवलिय° (Wb. Bh. 422), Pr. केदूहो, Skr. कीदृशः (see § 26, note); cf. also E. H. थुथरा or थुथना *mouth* (of a horse, etc.) from थोथ् *mouth*.

107. त् *becomes* र् *or* ऱ्; *very rarely*; always resultant; as E. H. सरसठि or सउसठि or सतसठि *sixty seven*, Pr. सत्तसट्ठी (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तषष्टिः.

108. द् *becomes* ऱ्; *very rarely*; always original; thus गग्गरी *waterpot*, Pr. गग्गरिआ (cf. Vr. 2, 13), Skr. गदहिका; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, Pr. सत्तरी (H. C. 1, 210. Wb. Bh. 248) for *सत्तदी, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. °रह् *ten*, Pr. °रह (Vr. 2, 14) or °रस (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. दश; e. g., E. H. बारह् *twelve*, Pr. बारह (H. C. 1, 219) or बारस (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. द्वादश.

Note: This change, also, is old Pr.; I know no strictly modern example.

109. द् *becomes* ल्; *only original*; always in the E. H. suffix of past part. इल् or इल्, Mg. इदे (cf. H. C. 4, 260. 302. Vr. 11, 11), Skr. इतः; e. g., E. H. गइल् or गैल् or गयल् *gone* (see § 77); E. H. भइल् or भैल् or भयल् *been* (see § 77); E. H. धइल् or धैल् or धयल् *put*, Mg. धलिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धलिओ Spt. 241), Skr. धृतः; E. H. कइल्

or केल् or कयल् *done*, Mg. *कलिदे, Skr. कृतः (see § 307); E. H. खाइल् or खायल् *eaten* (see § 82. exc.); E. H. पाइल् or पायल् *found* (cf. §§ 33. 123), Mg. पाविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 387. पाविअ), Skr. प्राप्तः; E. H. आइलु or आयल् *come*, Mg. आविदे, Skr. आप्तः; E. H. पढल् or पढिल् *read*, Mg. पढिदे, Skr. पठितः; E. H. चाल् or चलिल् *walked*, Mg. चलिदे, Skr. चलितः, etc.; rarely otherwise; e. g., E. H. सल् *hundred*, A. Mg. *सदं, Skr. शतम्.

Note: This change is especially Mg., e. g., कले, गले or कदे, गदे (in Md. 12, 28. optional with कडे, गड, Vr. 11, 15), Skr. कृतः, गतः; Mg. कलअं (Sak. 37, 13) for *कलिअअं, Skr. कृतकम्; A. Mg. ईन्दिअ for *ईदिग्रे, Skr. ईदृग्राः (cf. Las. 417. 423); rarely in Pr. generally, as Pr. पलित्तं (H. C. 1, 221), Skr. प्रदीप्तम्, E. H. पलीतु *a light, candle*; Pr. पलिलं (H. C. 1, 212) for *पलिदं, Skr. पलितम्, E. H. पलिलु or पलसु *mud*; Pr. अलसी (H. C. 1, 211) for *अदसी, Skr. अतसी, E. H. अलसी *linseed*.

110. ल् *becomes* र्; *as a rule*; see §§ 16. 30; thus E. H. नर् *man*, Mg. नले (H. C. 4, 288), Skr. नरः; E. H. राए् *king*, Mg. लाया (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. राजा, etc.

Exceptions. E. H. लेतुरी *cord*, (Ap.) Mg. *लंतुडिआ, Skr. रज्जु; E. H. लरै or लडै *he quarrels* (S. √ड), Mg. लडइ, Skr. ऋटति (cf. लटति or लडति); but E. H. राडि or राडि *quarrel* (noisy contention), Mg. लाडो, Skr. राटिः; E. H. डालै or डारै *he throws*, Mg. *डालइ or डालेइ, Skr. दालयति (also दारयति); E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवलेइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमयति (?); E. H. गलियाबै or गरियाबै *he abuses* and गाली or गारी *abuse*, cf. § 142; E. H. निकालै or निकारै *he ejects*, cf. § 115, note; E. H. चलोतरसै *one hundred and four*, Mg. चुलुत्तरसयं (§ 397), Skr. चतुरुत्तरशतम्; *E. H. सम्हालै or सम्भालै *he supports*, cf. § 120; E. H. चालिसु *forty*, Mg. चत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. डाला *branch*, Mg. डालअं (cf. H. C. 4, 445), Skr. दारकम्.

111. ल् *becomes* न्; *sometimes*; in the E. H. pleonastic suffix न् or ना, Mg. ले or लुए; e. g., E. H. जामुन् *rose-apple-tree*, A. Mg. *जम्बुले (see § 18) or जम्बुलु, Skr. जम्बूलः; E. H. एतना *so many*, Mg. एत्तिलए (cf. H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Mg. एतुलए (cf. H. C.

4, 408), Skr. द्यतिकः; E. H. तेतना *so many*, Mg. तेत्तिलए or तेत्तुलए, Skr. तावतिकः; E. H. जेतना *as many*, Mg. जेत्तिलए or जेत्तुलए (H. C. 4, 407), Skr. यावतिकः; E. H. केतना *how many*, Mg. केत्तिलए or केत्तुलए, Skr. कियतिकः; E. H. आपन् or आपुन् or अपना or अपुना *own*, Mg. अप्पुलं or अप्पुलअं (cf. H. C. 2, 163), Skr. आत्मीयम् or °यकम्; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *अइत्तिलें (cf. H. C. 4, 403. 2, 164. Wb. Bh. 437) or *अइसुलें (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. ईदृशः; E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइत्तिलें or *तइसुलें, Skr. तादृशः; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of whichever kind*, Ap. Mg. *जइत्तिलें or *जइसुलें, Skr. यादृशः; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइत्तिलें or *कइसुलें, Skr. कीदृशः, see also § 31.

Note: There are a few optional examples of this change in Pr.; see H. C. 1, 256. 257; as पागलं or लंगलं, Skr. लाङ्गलम् *plough*.

112. पा *becomes* न्; *as a rule*; see § 13; thus E. H. पानी (or *theth* पापो) *water*, Mg. पाणिअं (H. C. 1, 101), Skr. पानीयम्, etc.

113. ह् *becomes* ङ्; *very rarely*; only resultant; thus E. H. कोङ् *leprosy* for *कोह्, Pr. कुट्ठ (or कोट्ठ cf. H. C. 1, 116 or कोड्ढ?), Skr. कुष्ठम्; E. H. रङ् *angry*, Mg. लुट्ठ (or लुड्ढ?), Skr. रुष्टः; E. H. अड़तिस् *thirty eight*, Mg. अट्ठतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टत्रिंशत्.

Note: This change is possibly Pr.; as the Skr. conjunct ष्ट has a tendency to change to ट्ठ in Pr.; see § 114.

114. ह् *becomes* क् *or* ई; *as a rule*; क् *is more usual*; thus 1) original; E. H. कमड़ा or कोंड़ा *a kind of gourd*, Mg. कमढए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कमठकः; E. H. मढ़ा or मढ़ी *shed*, Mg. मढए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. मठकः; E. H. मढ़ी *small temple*, Pr. मढिआ, Skr. मठिका; E. H. पढ़े *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति; E. H. पीढ़ा *stool*, Mg. पीढए, Skr. पीठकः. 2) resultant; E. H. काढ़े or काढ़ें *he draws*, Pr. कड्ढइ (H. C. 4, 187), Skr. कर्षति (lit. *कृष्टयति); E. H. बेढ़े *he encloses*, Pr. वेढइ (Vr. 8, 40) or वेट्ठेइ (H. C. 4, 51), Skr. वेष्टते or वेष्टयति; E. H. बढ़े *he grows*, Pr. वड्ढइ (Vr. 8, 44), Skr. वर्धति; E. H. बढ़ई or बढ़ई or बढ़ई (cf. § 138) *carpenter*, Mg. वड्ढए, Skr. वर्धकिकः; E. H. बूढ़ा *old man*, Mg. वुड्ढए (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृद्धकः; E. H. बूढ़ी *old women*, Pr. वुड्ढिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 131), Skr. वृद्धिका; E. H. डेढ़ or देढ़ *one and a half*, Mg. दिवड्ढे (Wb. Bh. 190), Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः

(see § 416); E. H. अढाई *two and one half*, Pr. अड्ढइआ, Skr. अर्द्धतृतीय (see § 416); E. H. साढे *one half more*, Pr. सड्ढे°, Skr. सार्द्ध°.

115. ह् *becomes* ल्ह् ; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. कुल्हाड़ *axe*, Mg. कुठालए (cf. H. C. 1, 199), Skr. कुठाराकः; E. H. कुल्हाड़ी *small axe*, Mg. कुठालिआ, Skr. कुठारिका; E. H. कोल्हू *mill* (*for making sugar or oil*), Mg. कुठले, Skr. कुठरः (a post round which the mill stone moves).

Note: E. H. दुलहा *bridegroom*, दुलही or दुलहिन् *bride* (spelled H. H. दुल्हा, दुल्हिन् see § 6, note) are Mg. दुल्लहए, दुल्लहिआ (cf. H. C. 4, 338. Ls. 227. 228), Skr. दुर्लभकः, दुर्लभिका (lit. *difficult to obtain, dear*), not Skr. उढोढा, उढूढा (as Bs. I, 271. 245). And E. H. निकालै is Pr. निक्कालइ or निक्कालेइ, Skr. निष्कालयति (of R. कल् ; perhaps caus. or denom. of कृ), not Pr. निक्कड्ढइ, Skr. निष्कर्षति (as Bs. I, 354). As to कोल्हू, the Mg. कुठले might be कुठुले in Ap. Mg. (cf. vulgar B. कुठ्ल् *axe* for Mg. कुठाले, see Bs. I, 270), and thence (eliding ल्) कुठुए, कुठु or कोल्हू (cf. §§ 49. 125); there is Skr. कुठारः, Mg. कुठालू *tree* (*post*?), which might also produce कोल्हू. An instance of this change in Pr. is ढंकोल्ल° for *ढंकोल्ह° (H. C. 1, 200; cf. पल्लट्टइ and पल्हत्थइ H. C. 4, 200), Skr. वट्टोठ°.

bb) Reduction.

116. ह्न् *and* ह्म् *become* ह् ; generally when original; as E. H. मुह् or मुँह् *mouth*, Pr. मुहं (H. C. 2, 164), Skr. मुखम्; E. H. मेह् or मेँह् *rain*, Mg. मेहे (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. मेघः, etc.; sometimes when initial in a compound; as E. H. पोहर् *father's family*, Pr. पिउहरं (H. C. 1, 134) for *पिउघरं, Skr. पितृगृहम्; E. H. नैहर् *wife's mother's family*; E. H. देहर् *idol temple*, Pr. *देघरं, Skr. देवगृहम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. रहै *he lasts, stays* for *रहइ, Mg. लक्खइ, Skr. उच्यते (pass.); E. H. पाहीं *by the side of* for *पाखीं, see § 74. exc.; O. E. H. कहूँ or काहूँ *by the side of* for *कखूँ or *काखूँ, Ap. *कक्खहुं, Skr. कक्षे (cf. § 378, 3).

Exceptions. Sometimes ह्न् remains unchanged; probably either to avoid confusion, as in E. H. लिखल् *written*, not *लिहल्, Mg. लिहिदे (cf. H. C. 1, 187 लिहइ), to distinguish from E. H. लिहल् *taken* for *लहल्, Mg. लहिदे; or to suit analogy, as in E. H.

सुख् *pleasure* (Pr. सुहं H. C. 1, 187) like दुख् *pain*, Pr. दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72); but generally words with ख् are tats.; as E. H. सखो *friend*, etc.

Note: The change of original ख and ष् to ह् is Pr. (H. C. 1, 187); there are also examples of ह् for resultant ख् and ष्; as Pr. दाहिणो or दक्खिणो (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दक्षिणः, E. H. दाहिन् *right*, but दखिन् or दहिन् *south*; Pr. दुहं or दुक्खं (H. C. 2, 72), Skr. दुःखम्, E. H. only दुख् *pain*; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो (H. C. 2, 91), Skr. दीर्घः *long*, E. H. *deest*.

117. ह् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely*; only resultant; E. H. माँही or माही *amidst* for *माझी, Ap. Pr. मज्झहिं, Skr. मध्ये.

Note: Probably ह् represents the Mg. semiconsonant ह् = ह्, as in Pr. झाहा for Skr. छाया (Vr. 2, 18), see § 18.

118. ह् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely*; only original; E. H. पहिल् or पहेल् *first*, Ap. Mg. *पहइल्ले, Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. प्रथमः; E. H. पहाड़ or पहाड़ *mountain-range*, Ap. Mg. *पहिच्चडे, Skr. प्रथितकः (lit. *spread out*); E. H. पहारा or पहाडा *the multiplication table*, Ap. Mg. *पहिच्चअए, Skr. पथितकः (with pleon. उक, see § 217); the ह् is absorbed just as in B., O., H. H. पढ़ा *read*, Mg. पढिअए, W. H. पढ़्यौ, Ap. पढिअउ.

Note: The root पृथ् or प्रथ् shows this change in Pr. already; e. g., Pr. पुहवी or पुहवी or पुहुवी (H. C. 1, 216. 88. 131), Skr. पृथिवी or पृथ्वी *earth*, O. H. पुहुमि; Pr. पिहं or पुहं beside पिधं or पुधं (H. C. 1, 188), Skr. पृथक्; Pr. पिहुलं, Skr. पृथुलम् *full* (Spt. 313). But perhaps there was an Ap. form पध°. The only other instances of the change of ह् to ह् which I know, are the Pr. पिहडो or पिढरो, Skr. पिठरः *pot* (H. C. 1, 201) and the G. and S. कुहारो *axe*, Pr. कुढारो (H. C. 1, 199), see Bs. I, 270 and § 115. Perhaps also in Pr. काहावणो or कहावणो (H. C. 2, 71) for *कड्ढावणो, Skr. कार्षापणः or कर्षापणः; cf. Pr. कड्ढइ = Skr. कर्षति (H. C. 4, 187). All Gds. have पहेल°, S. पेहेरो, see § 401.

119. भ् *becomes* ह्; always when original; as E. H. कहै *he speaks*, Mg. कहदि or कधेदि (H. C. 4, 267. 302), Skr. कथयति; E. H. साहू *a title of merchants*, Pr. साहू (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. साधुः; E. H.

बहिर् *deaf*, Mg. बहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 187), Skr. बधिरः; E. H. दही *curds*, see § 53; also when initial in a compound; as E. H. गोह् *lizard, aligator*, Pr. गोहो, Skr. गोधिः; E. H. गोहूँ *wheat*, see § 64; 2) very rarely when resultant; as E. H. कँहार् or कहार् *porter*, Mg. कंधाले (cf. H. C. 2, 4 or *कंधाले, cf. H. C. 2, 5), Skr. स्कंधकारः.

120. भ् *becomes* ह्; always when original; as E. H. गुहे *he strings*, Pr. गुहइ or गुभइ (H. C. 1, 236), Skr. गुफति; E. H. सौरी or सहरी *a kind of fish*, A. Mg. सहलिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 236), Skr. झषिका; E. H. सोहे *it looks well*, Pr. सोहइ (H. C. 1, 187), Skr. शोभते; E. H. गहिर् *deep*, Mg. गहिले (cf. H. C. 1, 101), Skr. गभीरः; E. H. बहीर् *herdsman*, Mg. बाहीले, Skr. बाभीरः; also when initial in a compound, as E. H. मुन्राहल् *pearl*, Pr. मुत्ताहलं (H. C. 1, 236) for *मुत्ताभलं, Skr. मुक्ताफलम्; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, Mg. *कंटहले, Skr. कण्टकफलः; E. H. सुहाग् *good fortune*, Pr. सुहागं (cf. H. C. 1, 160), Skr. सौभाग्यम्; 2) rarely when resultant; as E. H. कुहार् or कोंहार् *potter*, Mg. कुम्हाले or कुम्भाले (cf. H. C. 1, 8), Skr. कुम्भकारः; E. H. सम्हाले or सम्भाले *he supports*, Mg. सम्भालेइ, Skr. सम्भावयति; E. H. सगा *full brother* for *सगहा or *सगभा, Mg. सगब्भए, Skr. सगर्भकः; also optionally, as E. H. लोह् or लोभ् *tongue*, Pr. लोहा or लिभा (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. लिह्वा.

Note: Words with original भ् are tats. or semitats., as E. H. सुभाव् or सुभाउ *disposition*, Skr. सुभावः, Pr. सहावो (H. C. 1, 187).

cc) Vocalisation.

121. य् *becomes* इ *and combines with the adjacent vowels*; thus 1) य *ya* to इ, as E. H. व्यक्ति *individual*, Skr. व्यक्तः (semitats.); 2) अय *aya* to ए or ए, as E. H. सै or से *hundred*, A. Mg. सअ, Skr. शतम्; E. H. समै or समे *time*, A. Mg. समये, Skr. समयः; E. H. उदै or उदे *rising*, Skr. उदयः (semitats.); E. H. नैर् or नेर् *town*, Mg. नयलं (cf. H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नागरम्; E. H. नैन् or नेन् *eye*, Mg. नयणं (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. नयनम्; E. H. रैन् or रेन् *night*, Mg. रयणी (cf. H. C. 4, 401), Skr. रजनी; E. H. पैंता *foot of a bed*, Mg. पायंतए (cf. H. C. 3, 134) or पयंतए, Skr. पादान्तकः or पदान्तकः; 3) इय *iya* to ए, as E. H. पइँत् *backyard*, Ap. Mg. *पच्छियंते or पच्छिमंते, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः, etc.; cf. § 77.

122. व् *becomes* उ *and combines with the adjacent vowels*; thus 1) श. *va* to उ, as E. H. सिउ or सिव *Siva*, A. Mg. सिवे, Skr. शिवः; E. H. देउ or देव *god*, Mg. देवे (cf. H. C. 1, 177), Skr. देवः; E. H. नेउ or नेव *foundation*, Mg. नेवे, Skr. नेमः; 2) वि *vi* to उ, as E. H. नौई *he will bow* for *नउई, Pr. नविहिइ or नमिहिइ (cf. H. C. 4, 158), Skr. नमिष्यति; E. H. हौओं or होओं *I am* for *हउओं, Ap. हविअउं, Pr. हविअ म्हि, Skr. भूतोऽस्मि; E. H. नौआ or नउआ *barber*, see § 96; E. H. जनउ or *जनोउ *sacrificial thread*, Pr. *जन्नोअविअं (see p. 23 and H. C. 1, 101), Skr. यज्ञोपवीतम्; 3) अव *ava* optionally to औ; as E. H. औरु or अउरु *and*, Mg. अवलं, Skr. अपरम्; E. H. कौन् or कउन् or कवन् *who*, see § 106; E. H. कौरी *a kind of shell* (see § 103); E. H. सौती *wife*, Pr. सवत्तिआ (cf. Spt. 78), Skr. सपत्निका; E. H. भौंरा *humble-bee*, Ap. भवँरउ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), Skr. भ्रमरकः; E. H. पठौतों or पठउतों *if I send*, Ap. *पठ्वंतउं, Pr. पठ्वंतऽम्हि or पठावंतऽम्हि (cf. H. C. 4, 37), Skr. प्रस्थापयन्नस्मि; sometimes to ओ; as E. H. सोंह् *oath*, see § 100; E. H. कोंड़ा *a kind of gourd*, see § 114; sometimes to ऊ; as E. H. लून् or लोन् or नून् or नोन् (see § 31) *salt*, Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम्; E. H. भूलै or भूरै *he forgets*, Ap. Mg. *भवँलइ or *भमलेइ, Skr. भ्रमत्यति; 4) इव *iva* to ओ; as E. H. अहिनोई, see § 49; or to ऊ, as E. H. पछून् *back-yard*, Ap. पच्छिवंतु, Skr. पश्चिमान्तः; E. H. अगूआ or अगुआ *leader, guide*, Ap. Mg. *अग्गिवँअए, Skr. अग्रिमागकः; 5) इवा or इवे to ओ; as E. H. परोस् *neighbourhood*, see § 104; E. H. परोसै *he distributes*, A. Mg. पलिवेसइ, Skr. परिवेषयति; 6) आव *ava* optionally to औ; as E. H. महौत् or महाउत् or महावत् *elephant-driver*, Ap. महावँतु, Skr. महामात्रः, etc.; cf. § 34. 78.

Note: It will be seen from some of the above examples, that Skr. प् is in Pr. व् (H. C. 1, 231), in Gd. उ; and Skr. भ् in Ap. Pr. भ् or व् (H. C. 4, 397), in Gd. उँ or उ. Traces of these changes are found in Pr.; as Pr. लोणं or लवणं, Skr. लवणम् (Vr. 1, 7), E. H. लोन् *salt*; Pr. ओत्ताओ or उवज्झाओ, Skr. उपाध्यायः, E. H. ओझा *magician*; Ap. पढउं (cf. H. C. 4, 385) for *पढविं, Pr. पढमि or पढामि, Skr. पठामि, E. H. पढौं or पढों *I read*, see § 497, 2.

dd) Elision.

123. व् *before* इ् (*or* ई्) *is elided*; *as a rule* (cf. § 33); *only original*; thus E. H. ऐकइस् *twenty one* (W. H. एकोस्), A. Mg. एकूवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 28), Skr. एकविंशतिः; E. H. बाइस् *twenty two*, A. Mg. बावीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or बावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426. T. V. 1, 4. 79), Skr. द्वाविंशतिः; E. H. तेइस् *twenty three*, A. Mg. तेवीसं (Wb. Bh. 425) or तेवीसा (H. C. 1, 165), Skr. त्रयोविंशतिः; E. H. पचीस् *twenty five* for *पचइस्, A. Mg. *पंचवीसं or °सा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चविंशतिः; E. H. सताइस् *twenty seven*, A. Mg. सत्तावीसा (H. C. 1, 4), Skr. सप्तविंशतिः; E. H. अठाइस् *twenty eight*, A. Mg. अट्ठावीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टाविंशतिः; E. H. ओनइस् *nineteen* (W. H. उनीस्), A. Mg. उणवीसा or एकूणवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. ऊनविंशतिः or एकोनविंशतिः; E. H. भइल् *been*, पाइल् *found*, आइल् *come*, see § 109; E. H. पठइबो or पठैबो *I shall send*, Ap. *पठविवउं or *पठाविवउं, Pr. पठाविस्सइम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापयिताऽस्मि; E. H. पठाई *he shall send*, Pr. पठाविहि, Skr. प्रस्थापयिष्यति; E. H. पठइलो or पठैलो *I have sent*, Mg. पठाविऽम्हि, Skr. प्रस्थापितोऽस्मि, etc. The resultant व्, being always hardened (see § 129) is never elided.

Exception. A few exceptions, see § 122.

Note: In the numerals all Gds. elide व्, exc. M., G. and S.; thus 21 M. एकवीस्, G. एकवीश् (S. एकोह); 22 M. बावीस् or बेवीस, G. बावीश्, S. बावोह; 23. M. तेवीस्, G. त्रेवीश्, S. ट्रेवोह; 25 M. पंचवीस्, G. पचीश्, S. पंचवोह or पंचोह, etc.

124. र् (= Mg. ल्) *before* इ *is elided*; *sometimes*; only original; thus E. H. कय् *having done* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. करिअ (H. C. 4, 302) or Mh. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), Skr. कृत्वा; E. H. धय् *having placed* for *धइ, O. H. धरि, Mg. धरिअ, Skr. धृत्वा; E. H. कै *suffix of genitive* for *कइ, O. H. करि, Mg. *करिअ or *करिए, Skr. कृतः; E. H. पै *upon*, Ap. Mg. परि, Mg. परे, Skr. परं; E. H. पै *however*, Mg. परि or परे, Skr. परम्; E. H. धइल् *placed* and कइल् *done*, see § 109; E. H. अइसन् or ऐसन् *such* (see § 111), Ap. Mg. *अइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. एरिस° or Mh. एरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. ईदृश°; E. H. कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*, Ap. Mg. *कइसिल्ले (cf. H. C. 4, 403), A. Mg. केरिस° or Mh. केरिस° (H. C. 1, 142), Skr. कीदृश°;

E. H. तइसन् or तैसन् *of this kind*, Ap. Mg. *तइसिलु, A. Mg. तालिसँ or तारिसँ (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. तादृश्; E. H. जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, Ap. Mg. जइसिलु, A. Mg. जालिसँ or जारिसँ (Wb. Bh. 422), Skr. यादृशः; E. H. सा *like*, A. Mg. सलिअए or सरिअए, Skr. सदृशक (see § 292).

Note: Pr. has an instance of the elision of ल् before इ in अरुलो *bull* (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. बलिवर्दः.

125. ल् *after* उ *is elided*; *rarely*; only original; thus E. H. पुआल् *straw*, Pr. *पुलालो, Skr. पलालो (cf. Skr. पुलाक); but perhaps for पवाल् or पावाल् = Pr. पाअवालो, Skr. पादपालो *litter, bed of straw*; E. H. केँचुआ or केँचुआ *earth-worm*, Mg. किंचुलए, Skr. किञ्चुलकः; E. H. कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115.

126. ह् *before or after* इ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus in the E. H. suffix of 3. pers. sg. fut. -ई (for *इई), Pr. इही or इहिइ, Skr. इष्यति; e. g., E. H. होई *he will be*, Pr. होही (H. C. 2, 180) or होहिइ (H. C. 4, 388), Skr. भविष्यति; E. H. हँसी or हसी (§ 67) *he will laugh*, Pr. हसिहिइ (H. C. 3, 157), Skr. हसिष्यति; E. H. ऐँ (for *अइँ) suffix of 3. pers. pl. pres., Ap. Pr. अहिं, Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति; e. g., E. H. करैँ *they do*, Ap. करहिं (H. C. 4, 382), Pr. करंति (H. C. 4, 376), Skr. कुर्वन्ति; E. H. हँसैँ or हसैँ *they laugh*, Ap. हसहिं, Pr. हसंति (H. C. 3, 142), Skr. हसन्ति; E. H. ऐँ or एँ or ईँ suffix of locative (see § 77. exc.), Ap. अहिं (K. I. 12, 27), Skr. ए; e. g., E. H. पाछैँ or पाछेँ *behind*, Ap. पच्छहिं, Skr. पश्च; E. H. ए suff. of the obl. form sing. of adj. (see § 386), O. H. अहि, Ap. Pr. अहे, Skr. अस्य; e. g., E. H. मीठे *sweet*, O. H. मोठहि, Ap. मिट्ठहे, Skr. मिष्टस्य; E. H. ईँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Pr. इम, Skr. आमः (§ 497, 4); e. g., E. H. हसीँ *we laugh*, Pr. हसिम, Skr. हसामः; E. H. ले *he takes*, Pr. लेइ (H. C. 4, 238) for *लिहइ or लहइ (H. C. 4, 335), Skr. लभते; E. H. लेँ *they take*, Pr. लेहिं (H. C. 4, 387) for *लिहंति or लहंति (H. C. 4, 341), Skr. लभन्ते; E. H. ब्रिफै or ब्रिहफै *thursday*, Pr. विहप्फई (H. C. 1, 138), Skr. बृहस्पतिः, see also § 32. Sometimes otherwise; as E. H. मो (कइ) *of me*, Ap. Pr. मइ (H. C. 4, 379), see § 430, 1.

Note: In W. H., ओ or ओ suffix of 2. pers. pl. pres., Ap.

बहु (H. C. 4, 384), Skr. बधः, see § 497, 5; e. g., W. H. माँगो or माँगो *you ask*, Ap. मग्गहु (H. C. 4, 387), Skr. मार्गयथः; also W. Gd. सो or सो or सौं or ऐं suff. of the obl. form pl., Ap. Pr. हुं or हं or हिं, Skr. आनाम्, see § 365, 7; e. g., Br. नरो, H. H. नरा, S. नराँ or नरे *men*, Ap. णरहुं or णरहं or णरहिं, Skr. नराणाम; S. उँ suffix of 1. pers. pl. pres., Ap. बहुं (H. C. 4, 386), Pr. अमु (H. C. 3, 155), Skr. आमः, see § 497, 4; e. g., S. हलूँ *we go* (Tr. 314), Ap. चलहुं, Pr. चलमु, Skr. चलामः. About the elision of ह् in Ap. Pr. see Ls. 484; also Pr. सरिआहँ (H. C. 4, 300) for *सरिआहँ, Skr. सदृशानाम्, E. H. सा, see § 124.

127. म् *before* ह् *and before or after* ३ *is optionally elided*; often; generally with anunásika; thus E. H. गोसाईं or गोसाणी *monk*, Ap. गोसामिउ, Skr. गोस्वामिकः; E. H. साईं or सामी *master*, Ap. सामिउ (H. C. 4, 409), Skr. स्वामिकः; E. H. कुवँर् or कुवर् or कुवर् *prince*, Ap. Pr. कुवँह or कुमह (cf. H. C. 4, 397. 1, 67), Skr. कुमाराः; E. H. कुवाँर् or कुवार् or कुमार् *youth, prince*, see p. 29; E. H. कुवाँरी or कुवारी or कुमारी *virgin, princess*, Ap. कुवँारिआ or कुमारिआ, Skr. कुमारिका; E. H. धूवँ or धूमी, Pr. धूमिआ, Skr. धूमिका; E. H. धूवाँ or धूवाँ *smoke*, Ap. धूवँउ or धूमउ, Skr. धूमकः; E. H. कोंई or कोंई *waterlily* or *jackfruit*, Pr. कुमुदआ (cf. H. C. 2, 182), Skr. कुमुदिका; E. H. सोंहैं or सोंही *in front of*, Ap. Pr. समुहहिं (cf. H. C. 1, 29) or संमुहहिं (see § 126), Pr. संमुहम्मि, Skr. सम्मुखे; E. H. रूँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमे, Skr. लोम; E. H. रोवाँ or रोवाँ *hair of the body*, Mg. लोमअं, Skr. लोमकम्. Rarely without anunásika; as E. H. गएल् or गैल् *gone*, see § 77.

Note: Four instances of the elision of म् before ३ are mentioned by H. C. 1, 178 (Vr. 2, 3); Pr. जउणा, Skr. यमुना *Jamná*; Pr. चाउँडा, Skr. चामुण्डा *Durga*; Pr. काउँओ, Skr. कामुकः *a certain plant*; Pr. वणाउँतअं, Skr. वनिमुक्तकम् *a certain shrub*. None of these occur in E. H.; here they are tats. or semitats.; e. g., E. H. जमुना, not tadbh. *जौन्; perhaps, to distinguish from जौन् *foreigner*, Pr. जवणो, Skr. यवनः, as in E. H. जौनपुर् *Jaunpur*, Skr. यवनपुरम्. In Pr. म् before ह् might become व् by H. C. 4, 397; and such व् too, would be elided in E. H. by § 123.

128. न् *before or after* ड् *or before* ड; *with or without anusvāra*; very rarely; thus 1) original, as E. H. ठाउँ or ठाउ or ठाव्ँ or ठाव् *place, residence,* Ap. ठाउ (H. C. 4, 332) or ठाणु (H. C. 4, 362), Pr. ठाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; E. H. थों *from* for *थाईं (N. थाञि), Ap. थाणि, Pr. थाणे (cf. H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थाने, W. H. also तें, तईं, ताईं; E. H. बाँसुरी *flute,* Pr. वंसणालिआ, Skr. वंशनालिका; 2) resultant, as in the E. H. conjunct ग्य for O. H. ग्ञ, cf. §§ 18, p. 24. 139, note. 141.

Note: E. H. has also ठाम्, besides ठाव्ँ, ठाउँ; and this rather points to a Pr. word ठामु, ठामं (cf. § 127); H. C. has थामं (H. C. 4, 267), perhaps Skr. स्थामन्.

ee) Hardening.

129. य् *and* व् *become* ज् *and* ब्; only resultant; thus E. H. कारज् *work,* Pr. *कारिज्जं (cf. H. C. 2, 67), Skr. कार्यम् (or semitats.?); E. H. अचारज् *teacher,* A. Mg. *आचारिज्जे, Skr. आचार्यः (or semitats.?); E. H. अचरज् *wonderful,* Pr. अच्छरिज्जं (H. C. 2, 67), Skr. आश्चर्यम्; E. H. चउबिस् or चौबिस् or चवबिस् *twenty four,* Pr. चउव्वीसं (cf. H. C. 3, 137. Wb. Bh. 425. 426), Skr. चतुर्विंशतिः; E. H. छब्बिस् or छब्बिस् *twenty six,* A. Mg. छव्वीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. षड्विंशतिः; E. H. पराबत् *mountain,* Skr. पर्वतः (semitats.); E. H. पुरुब् *eastern,* Pr. पुरुव्वं (Ls. 183), Skr. पूर्वम्.

ff) Miscellaneous.

130. घ् *or* ह् *become* ग् *or* ड् *or* ड्; in E. H. घडै or गढै *he fashions,* Pr. घडइ or गढइ (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते; E. H. बिगरै or बिगाड़ै *it is spoilt, destroyed,* Pr. विगढइ or विघडइ, Skr. विघटते; also भ् *or* फ् *becomes* ब् *or* प्; as E. H. पासै *he touches,* Pr. फरिसइ (H. C. 4, 182), Skr. स्पर्शयति (denom.); E. H. अबरक् *talc,* Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats. cf. § 132).

131. क् *or* ग्, ट्, प् *and* ब् *become optionally* घ्, ढ्, फ् *and* भ् *respectively*; in E. H. पराघट् or परागट् *manifest* (see § 102); E. H. पहिलोठा or पहिलोटा *firstborn,* Mg. *पढमिल्लउढ्ढ (see § 118), Skr. प्रथमपुत्रकः; E. H. फुन् or पुन् *again,* Ap. पुणु (H. C. 4, 343), Skr. पुनर्; E. H. सब् or सभ् *all,* Mg. सव्वे, Skr. सर्वः.

Note: In the seventies the aspirate is produced by the

suppression of the neutral vowel; E. H. एअन्नर् *seventy one* for एक-हन्नर्; E. H. पइन्नर् *seventy five* for पञ्च-हन्नर्; E. H. सत्तन्नर् *seventy seven* for सत-हन्नर्; E. H. अठन्नर् *seventy eight* for अठ-हन्नर्.

132. ' *Aspiration is transferred*; in E. H. अन्हार्क् or अन्हारक् *talc*, Skr. अभ्रकम् (semitats.); E. H. हमार् or हमारा *our* (H. H. हमारा), Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 345), see § 73; E. H. फआ *father's sister* for *पिउहा, Pr. पिउच्छा or पिउसिआ (H. C. 2, 142), Skr. पितृष्वसा; also E. H. फुफो; E. H. फुप् *flower*, Pr. पुप्फं (H. C. 2, 53), Skr. पुष्पम्; E. H. उखारै or उखाडै *he plucks up* for *उकाडै, Pr. उक्कुडइ (cf. H. C. 4, 187), Skr. उत्कर्षति; E. H. निभाऐ or निबाहै *he accomplishes*, Pr. निव्वाहेइ, Skr. निर्वाहयति; E. H. म्हैंस् *buffalo*, cf. § 177.

Note: There are instances in Pr.; as अहिणो or भइणी *sister* (H. C. 2, 126), Skr. भगिनी, E. H. अहिनि; Pr. गढइ or घडइ *he fashions* (H. C. 4, 112), Skr. घटते, E. H. गढै or गाढै or गढै or गाढै (§ 130). It is frequent in S.; as पंद्रौं or पंदरहं *fifteen*, also M. पंधरा; S. इको *this* for *इतहो; उको *that* for *उतहो (§ 438, 4); कौं *from* for *कहौं, खे *to* for *कहे (§ 375); चालीहारो *forty* for *चालीहारो; पांइ or पान्हू तो *own* for *पानह तो (§ 451).

133. *Consonants are transposed*; in E. H. पहिरै *he puts on* (clothes) for *पहिहै, Mg. *पलिहइ or *पलिधइ or *पलिधइ (cf. Cw. 99, 21), Skr. परिधाति; E. H. चहुँपै and पहुँचै *he arrives*, Pr. पहुचइ (H. C. 4, 390, 419), Skr. पर्यापयते (Mg. पयावअइ); also कीच् or कीचर् and चीक् or चीकर् *mud* (Skr. चिक्कि); नखलौ and लखनौ *Lucknow*; बिरामर् and बिमार् *sick* (persian بیمار); also W. H. रहम् and हरस् *merriment*, E. H. हरिस् see § 58; H. H. डूबै, E. H. बूडै *he sinks*, Pr. बुडइ (H. C. 4, 101), Skr. बुडति (i. e. मज्जति).

Note: Also in Pr.; as बाणारसी (Wb. Bh. 412. H. C. 2, 116), Skr. वाराणसी, E. H. बनारस् *Benares*; Pr. अलचपुरं (H. C. 2, 118), Skr. अचलपुरम्, E. H. अलवर् (for *अलघउर्) *Alwar*; Pr. मारहुं (H. C. 2, 119), Skr. महाराष्ट्रम्, E. H. मारह or माठ *Marâthâ*, see § 32; Pr. दहो (H. C. 2, 120), Skr. ह्रदः, E. H. दह *deep water*; Pr. हलिद्दारो or हरिद्दालो (H. C. 2, 121), Skr. हरितालः; E. H. हरियार् *green*; Pr. हलुअं (for हलुकं) or लहुअं (H. C. 2, 122), Skr. लघुकम्, E. H. हलुक्, H. H. हलका *light*.

134. *Consonants are interchanged*; viz. 1) व् and न्, in E. H. निनानब्बे *ninety nine*, Pr. *नवाणावुइ, Skr. नवनवतिः; 2) व् and म्, in E. H. चिक्कणावट् *clayey soil*, Pr. चिक्कणाभमट्टी, Skr. चिक्कणाकमृत्तिः; and vice versa in E. H. पुढमि *earth*, Pr. पुढवी (H. C. 1, 131), Skr. पृथ्वी; E. H. पिरथमो *earth*, Skr. पृथिवी (semitats.); 3) स् and ह्, in E. H. केहरी or केसरी *lion*, A. Mg. केसलिए (cf. H. C. 4, 335. Wb. Bh. 255), Skr. केशरिकः.

Note: The latter in Pr. optionally, in दह् or दस *ten* (H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश, E. H. दस or दहै; Pr. दिवहो or दिवसो *day* (H. C. 1, 263. Wb. Bh. 378), Skr. दिवसः, E. H. दिवा or दिवस् (see § 32); Pr. °दहं (H. C. 2, 157) or °दिसं (H. C. 1, 142. Wb. Bh. 422) or दिअं (for दिहं cf. H. C. 4, 300 and § 126, note), Skr. दृशं *like*, E. H. °इस (in तइसन् § 124); Pr. °हत्तरि (Wb. Bh. 426) *seventy*°, Skr. °सप्ततिः, E. H. °हत्तर्. The change of व् to म् is not uncommon in B., O. and G.; e. g., O. करिबि or करिमि *I shall do* (Sn. 28), O. केमन् *how* for *केवन्; B. केमन् *how* = Ap. Pr. केवड्; G. चुमालीश् *forty four* = E. H. चौवालिस्; W. H. समा *one and a quarter* = E. H. सवा (§ 416). For examples in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 401. 396 and § 122, note.

135. *Consonants are interpolated*; viz. द् in E. H. पन्दरह् *fifteen*, Pr. पण्णरह (H. C. 2, 43) or पन्नरस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), Skr. पञ्चदश; again द् in E. H. क्रोद् or क्रोड् *ten millions*, Ap. क्रोडि (cf. H. C. 4, 399), Mg. कोडो (Wb. Bh. 427), Skr. कोटिः; E. H. सराप् *curse*, Ap. Pr. *शाप (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. शापः (semitats.); again य् in E. H. ऐगारह्, Pr. *एगारह or एक्कारस (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकादश; E. H. ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, Pr. *एक्कावण्णं, Skr. एकपञ्चाशत्; E. H. ऐक्यासी *eighty one*, Pr. *एक्कासीई (cf. Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. एकाशीतिः; E. H. ऐक्यानब्बे *ninety one*, Pr. *एक्कावुई, Skr. एकनवतिः; E. H. निन्यानब्बे or निनानब्बे *ninety nine*, see § 134.

Note: E. H. has a word कोरी or कोडी, but it means *score, twenty* (see § 405). — Perhaps E. H. ऐग्य° and ऐक्य° stand for ऐगार्य° and ऐक्ष्य, Skr. एकक°. — Occasionally र् is interpolated in Ap. Pr., see H. C. 4, 399; as व्रासु or ड्रासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyâsa*.

δ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

136. Medial conjunct consonants in E. H. are of two kinds, original and resultant. The former are those which have passed as such into E. H. from the Pr., as in the tadbh. पक्का *ripe*, A. Mg. पक्कए, Skr. पक्वकः; E. H. पत्थर् *stone*, A. Mg. पत्थले, Skr. पस्तरः; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, A. Mg. सत्तरि, Skr. सप्ततिः; E. H. निकम्मा *worthless*, A. Mg. निक्कम्मए, Skr. निःकर्मकः; E. H. कान्हु *krishna*, Mg. कण्हे, Skr. कृष्णः; or from the Skr., as in the semitats. विस्वास् *belief*, Skr. विश्वासः, E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *householder*, Skr. गृहस्थः. The latter are those which have resulted either a) from the contraction of contiguous vowels, as in the tadbh. चल्यो *I walked*, Ap. *चलिअउं, Pr. चलिअःम्हि, Skr. चलितोऽस्मि, or in the semitats. आग्या *order*, P. आगिआ, O. H. आगिना, Skr. आज्ञा; or b) from the suppression of an intermediate vowel, as in the tadbh. ब्रिन्ती *petition* for ब्रिनती, Pr. विण्णत्तिआ, Skr. विज्ञप्तिका; E. H. दुल्हा *bridegroom* for दुलहा, Mg. दुल्लहए, Skr. दुर्लभकः; E. H. ब्रिसु *a measure of land* (the 20. part.), Ap. Mg. वीसवं or वीसमए, Skr. विंशमकः; E. H. गधा *ass* for गद्हा, Mg. गद्दहए, Skr. गर्दभकः; E. H. ब्रेढ्ला *hog* for वाहेला, Ap. Mg. *वाहिल्लए, Skr. वाहः, etc. These latter are not uncommon in the *khari* E. H., though very rare in the *ṭheṭh* (e. g., in the numerals ऐखत्तर् *seventy one*, सत्तत्तर् *seventy seven*, etc., see § 131, note); in H. H. they are the rule (see § 6, note). Of the resultant conjuncts, those arising from the suppression of a vowel may be of any kind, strong, mixed or weak [1]), homogeneous or heterogeneous; but those arising from the contraction of vowels must be heterogenous and either mixed or weak. Neither kind of resultant suffers any further change in E. H. As to the original conjuncts, the tatsamas may be of any kind, but the tadbhavas can only be either homogeneous (as क्क्, न्न्, त्त्, म्म्, etc.) or such as consist of a consonant proper preceded by a nasal (as ङ्क्, ञ्ज्, ण्ड्, etc.) or of ह् following a nasal or semivowel (as

1) These useful terms of classification I have adopted from Beames I, 281.

न्ह्, म्ह्, व्ह्, ह्, ह्ह् = ह्); for these are the only conjuncts tolerated in Pr. (see § 137). Both original classes, the tadbh. and tats., are, as a rule, liable to further change in E. H. This may take place in three ways: 1) they may be *dissolved* by the interpolation of a vowel (अ, इ or उ, §§ 138—142); or 2) they may be *simplified* by eliding one consonant (see §§ 143—150); or 3) they may be *elided* altogether (see §§ 151—157). There are, also, isolated changes of a miscellaneous kind (see §§ 158—166).

137. *Affinities.* These three kinds of changes exist in Pr. also; thus the conj. is *dissolved* in Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराहु *praise*; Pr. सिरी (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity*; Pr. दुवारं (H. C. 2, 112), Skr. द्वारम्; E. H. दुवारु *door*. Other examples see § 142. The conjunct is *simplified* in Pr. ईसरो or इस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसरु *lord*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105) for *वस्सा, Skr. वर्षा, E. H. °वास् *rain* (cf. § 283); see also § 150. The conj. is *elided*, either undissolved, as in Pr. राई or रत्ती (H. C. 2, 88), Skr. रात्रिः, E. H. राति *night*; or after dissolution, as in Pr. रअणं (Vr. 3, 60) for रतणं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. रतन् *gem*; see also § 157. The former kind of elision is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 151—156); the latter is exceptional, both in Pr. and E. H. (see §§ 141. 142). — Generally speaking, however, the treatment of conjuncts is this, that while Skr. admits almost any kind of them, homogeneous or heterogeneous, Pr. makes them, as a rule, homogeneous, and E. H. further reduces them to single consonants either by dissolution or by the elision of one. The only heterogeneous conjs., tolerated by Pr., are those consisting of a nasal or anusvára preceding a consonant proper (see H. C. 2, 92. 1, 30; e. g., संका or सङ्का, Skr. सन्ध्या, E. H. साँझ् *evening*), or of ह् following a nasal (see H. C. 2, 74. 75; e. g., Pr. कण्हो, Skr. कृष्णः, E. H. कान् *krishna*; Pr. बम्हणो, Skr. ब्राह्मणः, E. H. बामन् *brâhman*) or ल् (see H. C. 4, 26. 200. 2, 76; e. g., पल्हत्थइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 409), Skr. *पर्यस्यति, E. H. पलथै *he turns over*). In the Ap. Pr. also the conjunct of a cons. proper with a following र् may occur (see H. C. 4, 398. 399;

e. g., Ap. पिउ or पिउ, Skr. प्रियः *beloved*; Ap. वासु or वासु, Skr. व्यासः *Vyâsa*); in E. H., however, this kind of conj. is as a rule dissolved; see § 138. 185. 186.

aa) Dissolution.

138. अ *is interpolated*; *often*; E. H. इमली *tamarind*, Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377) for Pr. *अमिलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. अम्लिका; E. H. सुदासन् *beautiful*, A. Mg. सुदरिसणे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. सुदर्शनः; E. H. दरसन् *interview, visit at a shrine*, Pr. दरिसणं, Skr. दर्शनम्; E. H. बाहौ *peacock*, A. Mg. बरिहिए (cf. H. C. 2, 104 but cf. Ls. 142), Skr. बर्हिकः; E. H. परामरस् *consideration*, A. Mg. परामरिसे (cf. H. C. 2, 105), Skr. परामर्शः; E. H. सुकर् or सुकस् *white*, Pr. सुक्किलं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम् (or शुक्रम्); E. H. अमरा *mango*, Pr. अम्मिरं (cf. H. C. 2, 56), Skr. आम्रकम्; E. H. अमल् *sour*, Pr. अम्मिलं (H. C. 2, 106. Wb. Bh. 415), Skr. अम्लम्; E. H. मुरख् *stupid*, A. Mg. मुरुक्खे (cf. H. C. 2, 112), Skr. मूर्खः; E. H. मुरछा *swoon*, Skr. मूर्छा (semitats.); E. H. अचरज् *wonderful*, काज् *work*, अचारज् *teacher*, see § 129; E. H. बाहई or बहई or बढई *carpenter* (see § 114); E. H. अमहन् or आमन् *brâhman*, Mg. बम्हणे (H. C. 2, 74), Skr. ब्राह्मणः; E. H. कनहैया or कन्हैया *Krishna*, Mg. कण्हए (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. कृष्णकः; E. H. सहस् *thousand*, Ap. Pr. सहस्रं, Skr. सहस्रम्; E. H. चकर् *wheel*, बकरी *she-goat*, see § 102, etc. Very commonly in semitats., as E. H. पाअत् *mountain* (§ 129), Skr. पर्वतः; E. H. किरपा *mercy*, Skr. कृपा; E. H. किरति *praise*, Skr. कीर्तिः; E. H. तनम् *birth*, Skr. जन्म; E. H. रतन् *gem*, Skr. रत्नम्; E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः; E. H. ब्रिगत् *individual*, रगत *blood* (cf. H. C. 2, 10 रग्गा°), भगत् *devotee*, भगति *faith*, भगतई *devotedness*, मुगति *salvation*, see § 102; E. H. बरकि *but*, Pers. बल्कि (بلكه).

139. इ *is interpolated*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. अगिनि or आगनि or आगि *fire*, Pr. अग्गिणो (Ls. 244) or आगणो (H. C. 1, 102) or आगी (Vr. 5, 18), Skr. अग्निः; E. H. मिसिर् or मिसर् *a brâhman family-name*, A. Mg. *मिसिरे (but मीसे *mixed* Wb. Bh. 173. H. C. 2, 170), Skr. मिश्रः; E. H. आइल् or आयल *come*, पाइल् or पायल् *attained*, see § 109; E. H. ब्रिरिछ् *tree*, Skr. वृक्षः; E. H. सइन् *sign*, see § 141.

Note: The E. H. conjunct ग्य *gya*, O. H. ग्ञ *gina* is to be explained by this rule; e. g., E. H. ग्यो, O. H. ग्ञिनो, Skr. ज्ञातः; see § 18, pp. 23. 24.

140. ३ *is interpolated*; *rarely*; thus E. H. पुरुब्, W. H. पुरब्, Pr. पुरुवं (Ls. 183) or पुरवं (H. C. 4, 323 or पुरवुं?), Skr. पूर्वम्; E. H. सुरुग् *top, point*, but सींग् *horn* and सांग् *spear*, Pr. सिंगं or सगं (H. C. 1, 130), Skr. शृङ्गम्; see also § 187.

141. *Dissolved consonants are treated like original single ones*; thus क् becomes ग् (cf. § 102); e. g., in E. H. खिगन्, रगत्, भागत्, etc.; see § 138; त् is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. सइन् or सैन् *sign*, Pr. *सइणा or *सतिणा, Skr. सज्ञा, cf. Pr. राइणा (H. C. 3, 51) for *रातिणा, Ps. Pr. राचिआ (H. C. 4, 304), Skr. रात्रिः; द् becomes ल् (cf. § 109) or is elided (cf. § 101); e. g., in E. H. अइलो or आयो *I came*, Mg. आवित्दऽम्हि or आविअऽम्हि, Skr. आप्तोऽस्मि, etc.; व् is elided (cf. § 123); e. g., in E. H. पइलो or पायो *I obtained*, Mg. पाविदऽम्हि or पाविअऽम्हि, Skr. प्राप्तोऽस्मि; न् *is* elided (cf. § 128); e. g., in the E. H. conjunct °ग्य° for O. H. °ग्ञि°, see § 139, note.

Note: The participial examples, as अइलो, पायो, etc. and Pr. तविओ (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. तप्तः, are scarcely quite apposite, as their इ is a *connecting* (suff. इ + त), not a *dissolving* vowel.

142. *Affinities.* Examples of dissolutions are not uncommon in Pr. Probably many of the above instances, though not recorded by Pr. Gramm., existed in Pr. already. In some cases the dissolving vowel has been changed in E. H.; as in E. H. दरिसन् for Pr. दरिसणं; other examples see in §§ 138—140. Other examples, in which E. H. has preserved the Pr. dissolving vowel, are: Pr. सारंगं (H. C. 2, 100), Skr. शार्ङ्गम्, E. H. सारंग् *bow*; Pr. वरिसं, हरिसो, फरिसो, see § 58, note. Some more Pr. examples, see in H. C. 2, 101—114. Vr. 3, 60—66; most of them do not seem to have survived in E. H. In one case, apparently, E. H. does not dissolve, but simplify; Pr. गरिहा (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. गर्हा, but E. H. गारी or गाली *abuse* = A. Mg. *गलिहआ or *गर्हिआ, Skr. गर्हिका; but it dissolves in गरियावे or गलियावे *he abuses* for *गरिहावे, A. Mg. *गलिहावइ or Pr. *गरिहावइ, Skr. गर्हयति (or den. गर्हापयति). Pr. examples of

the treatment of dissolved cons. are: 1) *elision* of cons. proper in रयणं or रअणं *gem* (Vr. 3, 60. H. C. 2, 101) for *रत्नं, Skr. रत्नम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from E. H. रयन् or रैन् *night*; Pr. वइरं *thunderbolt* (H. C. 2, 105) for *वत्रिं, Skr. वज्रम्, E. H. *deest* to distinguish from वैर् *enmity*, Pr. वइरं (H. C. 1, 152), Skr. वैरम्; but E. H. अज्ज (semitats.); Pr. सुक्कं *white* (H. C. 2, 166 or सुकिलं), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. *deest*; Pr. तविदा *hot* (H. C. 2, 105) for *तविदो, Skr. तप्तः, E. H. *deest*, but it has तात् = Pr. तत्तो; Pr. पउमं *lotus* (Vr. 3, 65) for *पदुमं, Skr. पद्मम्; E. H. *deest*; Pr. राइणा *by a king* for *राजिणा (see § 141), etc.; 2) *retention* in अग्गी *fire* by H. C. 1, 177; 3) *doubling* in सुक्किलं *white* (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. शुक्लम्, E. H. सुकल्; Pr. पुरुवं *forward* (Ls. 183) or पुरवं (H. C. 4, 323), Skr. पूर्वम्, E. H. पुरब् or पुरब्[1]); 4) *reduction* of aspirate in सुहमं (H. C. 2, 101) or सुहुमं (H. C. 2, 113. 1, 118. Wb. Bh. 406. 410) for *सुक्षुमं, Skr. सूक्ष्मम्.

bb) Simplification.

143. *The first consonant is elided*; as a rule; thus क् in E. H. सकै *he can*, Pr. सक्कइ (H. C. 4, 86), Skr. शक्नोति; E. H. सूखा or सूका *dry*, A. Mg. सुक्खए or सुक्कए (cf. H. C. 2, 5. Wb. Bh. 289—291); ग् in E. H. माग् *road* (see § 45); E. H. जाघ् *tiger*, Mg. जाघे (cf. H. C. 2, 90), Skr. व्याघ्रः; च् in E. H. पचै *it is digested*, Pr. पचइ, Skr. पच्यते; E. H. माछो *fly*, Pr. मच्छिआ (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. मक्षिकाः; ज् in E. H. आज् *to-day*, Pr. अज्ज (H. C. 1, 33), Skr. अद्य; E. H. बूकै *he understands*, Pr. बुज्झइ (H. C. 4, 217), Skr. बुध्यते; ट् in E. H. तूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुटइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. पीठि *back*, Pr. पिट्ठी (H. C. 1, 35), Skr. पृष्ठम् or Ved. पृष्ठिः; ड् in E. H. काँडो or काँरो, see § 104; E. H. बढै *it grows*, see § 114; न् in E. H. आन् *event, word*, Pr. अन्ना (H. C. 2, 30), Skr. आज्ञा; E. H. हाथ् *hand*, A. Mg. हत्थ, Skr. हस्तः; द् in E. H. गद्हा *ass*, see § 136; E. H. दूध् *milk*, Pr. दुद्धं (H. C. 2, 89), Skr. दुग्धम्; प् in E. H. छप्पै or छपै *a kind of verse*, Mg. छप्पय (cf. H. C. 2, 77), Skr. षट्पदः; E. H. आफ् *steam*, Mg. अप्फे (cf. H. C. 2, 70), Skr. आप्यः; ब् or व् in E. H.

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1) सुक्किलं and पुरवं seem to be correct readings; as shown by the E. H., which has ब् for ब्, not for व् (cf. § 129).

सब् *all*, A. Mg. सबे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. सर्वः; E. H. शोभ् *tongue*, Pr. णिब्भ (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. जिह्वा; ड् in E. H. पालकी *a palanquin*, Pr. पल्लंकिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्किका or पल्यङ्किका; ञ् in E. H. पचास् *fifty*, Pr. *पंचासं (see § 397), Skr. पञ्चाशत्; ण् in E. H. सान् *sign*, Pr. सण्णा (H. C. 2, 83), Skr. संज्ञा; E. H. कटहल् *jackfruit*, see § 120; न् in E. H. आन् *other*, Mg. अन्ने (H. C. 3, 58. Wb. Bh. 403), Skr. अन्यः; E. H. हसत् *laughing*, A. Mg. हसंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. हसन्; म् in E. H. काम् *work*, see § 45; ल् in E. H. पल्टै *he turns over*, Pr. पलट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200), Skr. पर्यस्यति (den.); स् in E. H. पूस् *the month December-January*, A. Mg. पुस्से or पूसे (cf. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. पुष्यः. Sometimes in foreign words; as E. H. बाकि *but* for बल्कि, Pers. بلکہ; E. H. बाट *for the sake of* for वास्ते, Ar. واسطی (?).

Exception. Rarely both cons. are retained; as E. H. पक्का or पका *ripe, thorough*, पत्थर् or पाथर् *stone*, निकम्मा *useless*, see § 136; E. H. चक्का or चका or चाका *wheel*, Pr. चक्कं (H. C. 2, 79), Skr. चक्रकम्; E. H. सच् or सच् or साच or साँच् *true*, उच् or उँच् *high*, see § 149, 2; E. H. बच्चा or बचा (§ 145, exc. 2) or बछा or बाचा *young*, Mg. बच्चए (cf. Vr. 3, 40), Skr. वत्सकः; E. H. पट्टा or पटा *title-deed*, Mg. पट्टए, Skr. पट्टकः; E. H. सत्तर् *seventy*, see § 108; E. H. गिद्ध or गीध् *vulture*, see § 63; E. H. कम्मल् *blanket*, see p. 20; As a rule, when the first is a nasal; thus E. H. पंक् (i. e. पङ्क् § 13) or पाँक् *mud*, and other examples, see p. 29; cf. also § 149.

144. *The second consonant is elided*; only य्, व् and optionally ह्; thus य् in E. H. पाधा *teacher* (cf. § 173), Skr. उपाध्यायः; E. H. अवध् *Oudh* (cf. § 78), Skr. अयोध्या; E. H. मधि *within*, Skr. मध्ये; E. H. पराग् *Allahabad* for *पर्याग्, Skr. प्रयागः; E. H. परोतन् *necessity* for *पर्योत्तन्, Skr. प्रयोजनम्; E. H. पराचित् *penance* for *पर्याचित्, Skr. प्रायश्चित्तम् (all semitats.). Again व् in E. H. चूपै *he kisses*, Mg. चुम्बइ (cf. H. C. 4, 239), Skr. चुम्बति; E. H. अमरा *mango*, अमला *sour*, see § 138; H. H. आमुन् *rose-apple*, see § 111; E. H. लाम् *long*, Mg. लम्बे, Skr. लम्बः; E. H. समुझै *he understands*, Mg. सम्बुज्झइ, Skr. सम्बुध्यते, and others, see § 18, p. 20; E. H. पिरथी *earth* (also पिरथमी see § 132), Skr. पृथ्वी (semitats.). Again ह् in आमन् or

बाम्हन् or बमहन् *Brâhmaṇ*, कान् or कान्ह् *krishṇa* (e. g., in कानपुर् *Cawnpore*), see § 136; E. H. सून् *daughter-in-law* for *सुन्ह्, Pr. *सुण्हुआ or *सोणहुआ (cf. Vr. 2, 47. H. C. 1, 261), Skr. स्नुषा (or *स्नुषका; cf. Pr. माउआ for माता, § 52); E. H. समाले or सम्हाले or सम्भाले *he supports*, see § 120; E. H. पलथे *he turns over*, see § 137; E. H. कोल्हू or कोल्हू *sugar-mill*, see § 115; E. H. गाली *abuse* for *गाल्ही, see § 142.

Exception. Rarely न् is elided before ह्; as E. H. सोहै *he regards, looks*, Pr. सोणहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 75), Skr. *श्लाघ्नयति (denom. R.).

145. *The remaining consonant is treated like an original single one*; thus ह् as a rule becomes ह or ह्; e. g., in E. H. कोरी or कोढी *cowrie*, see § 104; ल् as a rule becomes ल् (§ 110) as in E. H. गाली or गाली *abuse*, see § 142; ल् sometimes becomes न्, as in E. H. आपन् *own*, see § 111; ण् always becomes न् (§ 112), as in E. H. कान् *ear*, Mg. कण्ण, Skr. कर्णः; E. H. सान्, आन् see § 143; कान्, सून् see § 144; ह् as a rule becomes ह or ह्, as in E. H. बढै *he grows*, see § 114; व् always becomes ब् (§ 129), as in E. H. सब् *all*, see § 143; for a few rare cases, see §§ 103. 107. 113. 116. 117. 119. 120. Otherwise it remains unchanged; as E. H. चको or चक्की *wheel*, Pr. चक्किआ, Skr. चक्रिका; E. H. लाज् *shame*, Pr. लज्जा, Skr. लज्जा; E. H. साठि *seventy*, Pr. सट्ठी, Skr. षष्टिः; E. H. रात् *night*, see p. 14; E. H. हाथी *elephant*, A. Mg. हत्थिए, Skr. हस्तिकः; E. H. आधा *half*, Mg. अड्ढए (cf. H. C. 2, 41), Skr. अर्धकः; E. H. बाप् *father*, Pr. बप्पा (Mchh. 119, 5), Skr. वप्ता; E. H. घाम् *heat*, Mg. घम्म, Skr. घर्मः (cf. H. C. 4, 327); and other examples in §§ 143. 144. 146. 147. 148.

Exception 1. Sometimes ह् and ह् preceded by a nasalised vowel remain unchanged; as E. H. मूँड़ै *he shaves*, मोँढ़ा *stool*, see § 149.

Exception 2. Sometimes aspirates are disaspirated; thus ख् in E. H. परखै or परसै *he tests*, see § 58; घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, M. महाघ (Spt. 169), Skr. महार्घः; ध् in E. H. काँदा or कांधा *shoulder*, A. Mg. खंधए (cf. H. C. 2, 4), Skr. स्कन्धकः; भ् in E. H. अचरज् *wonderful* for *अछरज्, see § 129; E. H. अजा or अझा *young*, see § 143. exc.;

E. H. पचतावे or पछतावे *he repents*, Pr. पच्छत्तावइ, Skr. पश्चात्तापयति (denom.); E. H. मूंछ् or मूछ् *beard*, see § 56; E. H. चाहे or छाहे *he desires*, Pr. उच्छाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 21), Skr. उत्साहयति (denom.); ट् in E. H. अरतिस् or अडतिस् or अऽतिस् *thirty eight*, see § 113; E. H. अरतालिस् or अडतालिस् or अऽतालिस् *forty eight*, Pr. अट्ठत्तालीसं (or अडयाले Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. अष्टचत्वारिंशात्; E. H. अडसठि or अरसठि *sixty eight*, Pr. अट्ठसट्ठी, Skr. अष्टषष्टिः; ट् in E. H. बडा *great* for *बट्टा, Mg. वड्ड (or वठ° Vr. 1, 27), Skr. वृठकः; E. H. बेरू *enclosure* for *बेट्ट, Mg. वेट्ट (cf. Vr. 8, 40), Skr. वेष्टः; E. H. गरै or गडै or गढै *he fashions*, बिगरै or बिगडै *it is spoilt*, see § 130.

Note: There are traces of this disaspiration in Pr., as सुक्कं or सुक्खं *dry* (H. C. 2, 5), see § 143; Pr. पलुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 200 for *पलुट्ठइ) or पल्हत्थइ *he turns over*, see §§ 137. 143; Pr. विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16) or विंछुओ (Vr. 3, 41), E. H. बिछू or बोछू, M. विंचू (Man. 36); Pr. उट्ठो (cf. H. C. 2, 34), see § 149, 2; it is quite the general rule in M., and less so in B. and O.; thus M. हात् *hand*, B., O., E. H. हाथ् (§ 143); M. हाती *elephant*, B., O., E. H. हाथी (§ 145); M. सांत् *evening*, B., O., E. H. सांझ् (§ 149, 1); M. सांद् *hole in a wall*, E. H. सेंध्, see § 57; M., B., O. सीडी *ladder*, E. H. सीढी, Pr. *सिट्ठी, Skr. श्रेणी (?); M., B. साडे 2½; M. दोड, B. देड् 1½; B. आटत्रिश्, M. अडतीस् or अठतीस् 38; B. आटचल्लिश् 48; M. अडा *great*, बेडा *enclosure*, etc. (see Bs. I, 273). It is worth noting also, that the old Mg. has स्ट, स्त, श्र for ष्ट, स्थ् and च्छ (see H. C. 4, 290. 291. 295); e. g., Mg. कोस्टागालं, Skr. कोष्ठागारम्; Mg. उवस्तिदे, Skr. उपस्थितः; Mg. पुश्रदि, Skr. पृच्छति, etc.

146. *The preceding vowel remains short*; *sometimes*; thus always in E. H. अत् suffix of part. pres., Mg. अंते (cf. H. C. 3, 181), Skr. अन् (अन्त°); e. g., E. H. होत् *being*, Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180), Skr. भवन्; E. H. करत् *doing*, Mg. कलंते (cf. H. C. 4, 431) or कलेंते, Skr. कुर्वन्, etc.; always E. H. पच् *five*, Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च in composition; e. g., E. H. पचीस् *twenty five*, see § 123; E. H. पचपन् *fifty five*, Pr. *पंचपन्नं, Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशात्; sometimes otherwise; as E. H. दुख् *pain*, see § 116, note; E. H. गभिन् *pregnant*, Pr. गब्भिणा (cf. H. C. 1, 208), Skr. गर्भिता; E. H. सकै, पचै, इपए, सब्, पालकी,

पल्टे, सक्, see § 143; E. H. समुके, पल्थै, see § 144; E. H. अंड, see § 114; always in the *antepenultimate* (cf. § 25); thus E. H. आम्, but अमारा *mango*, see § 138; E. H. दुब्रु, but दुब्रा *weak, thin*, see § 22; E. H. उत्रै *he descends*, Mg. उत्रइ, Skr. उत्तरति; E. H. गद्हा, पल्टे, see § 143; E. H. अमला, पल्थै, see § 144; and others.

Note: Similarly M. has अत् suff. of 3. pers. pl., Pr. अंति, Skr. अन्ति (§ 497, 2 f.); as M. चालत् *they were in the habit of going*, Pr. चलंति, Skr. चलन्ति; both M. and B. have the part. suff. अत् or इत्, but पंच् in comp.; e. g., M. पंचवीस्, B. पंचिश्, E. H. पचीस्.

147. *The preceding vowel becomes long; as a rule*; thus आ in E. H. आठ् *eight*, Pr. अट्ठ, Skr. अष्ट; E. H. रानी *queen*, see p. 23; E. H. साथ् *with*, Pr. सत्थं, Skr. संस्थम्, etc.; इ in E. H. भीख् or भीछ् *alms*, Pr. भिक्खा (cf. Wb. Bh. 197. Spt. 312) or भिच्छा (Spt. 163. cf. H. C. 2, 17. 19), Skr. भिक्षा; E. H. रीछ् or रीख् *bear*, Pr. रिच्छो or रिक्खो (H. C. 2, 19), Skr. ऋक्षः; E. H. दीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. सीझ् *boiled rice, indigo*, Pr. सित्थं (H. C. 2, 77), Skr. शिक्थम्; E. H. तीनि or तीन् *three*, Pr. तिण्णि (H. C. 3, 121), Skr. त्रीणि, etc.; उ in E. H. सूत् *thread*, Pr. सुत्तं (H. C. 4, 287), Skr. सूत्रम्; E. H. ऊन् *wool*, Pr. उण्णा, Skr. ऊर्णा; E. H. मूठ् *fist*, Pr. मुट्ठी (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. मुष्टिः; E. H. पूत् *son*, Mg. पुत्र, Skr. पुत्रः, etc.; ऐ in E. H. सेज् *bedding*, Pr. सेज्जा (see § 6), Skr. शय्या; E. H. पैठ् *lump*, Pr. पेण्डं (Vr. 1, 12), Skr. पिण्डम्; E. H. ऐंचा *crooked*, Pr. *ऐंचयं, Skr. अञ्चितकम्; E. H. एक् *one*, Pr. ऐक्कं (cf. H. C. 2, 99), Skr. एकम्, etc.; ओ in E. H. पोठ् *hip*, Mg. *पोट्ट, Skr. श्रोणिः; E. H. ओल्है *he says*, Pr. वोल्लइ (H. C. 4, 2), Skr. ब्रूते; E. H. पोथी *book*, Pr. पोत्थिआ (cf. Vr. 1, 20), Skr. पुस्तिका, etc. See other examples in §§ 143—146.

148. *The preceding vowel becomes ए or ओ; rarely*; thus आ in E. H. लेतुर् or लेतुरो *cord*, see § 110. exc.; सेंध् *hole in a wall*, see § 57; E. H. पेड् *tree*, see § 103; E. H. बेंगिन् *egg-plant*, Mg. वंगणो, Skr. वङ्गनः; E. H. एरी or एडी *heel*, Pr.?, Skr. अंड्रिः; E. H. ऐंचा *crooked*, see § 147; E. H. केकरा or केकडा *crab*, Mg. कक्कडए, Skr. कर्कटकः; E. H. केंचुरो or केंचुली *skin of a snake*, Pr. कंचुलिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 25), Skr. कञ्चुलिका; again E. H. मोंछ् or मूँछ् *moustache*,

चोँच् *bill*, see § 57. Again इ in E. H. मकेला *middle*, A. Mg. मऱ्झिलए (Wb. Bh. 437), Skr. मध्यः; E. H. केँचुवा *earth-worm*, see § 125; E. H. हेदू *hole*, Pr. छिद्दं (Wb. Bh. 174. Spt. 146), Skr. छिद्रम्; E. H. सम् *bean*, Pr. सिम्बा, Skr. शिम्बा. Again उ in E. H. कोपै *he is angry*, Pr. कुप्पइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. कुप्यति; E. H. कोढ् *leprosy*, see § 113; E. H. कोख् *belly*, Pr. कुक्खी, Skr. कुक्षिः; E. H. सोँठ *ginger*, Pr. सुंठी, Skr. शुण्ठिः.

Note: The change of अ to इ or उ is probably to be explained by a transfer of the succeeding vowel इ or उ into the preceding syllable. Similarly the ए in the E. H. मेहर् *woman* (see § 57) and in the Bs. महेस् *thou art*, O. H. महसि is formed.

* 149. *The preceding vowel is nasalized*; 1) as a rule after the elision of a nasal; thus आ in E. H. गाँघ् *leg*, Pr. गंघा, Skr. गङ्घा; E. H. बाँझ् *barren woman*, Pr. वंझा, Skr. वन्ध्या; E. H. साँझ् *evening*, Pr. संझा (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. सन्ध्या; E. H. चाँदू *moon*, see p. 29; E. H. डाँडी *footpath*, Pr. डंडिआ (cf. H. C. 1, 217), Skr. दण्डिका; E. H. भाँडा *pot*, Mg. भंडए (cf. H. C. 4, 422. 12), Skr. भाण्डकः; E. H. काँपै *he trembles*, see p. 29; etc. Again ई in E. H. मोँते *he rubs*, Pr. मिंडइ,[1] Skr. मृन्नति; E. H. सीँचै *he irrigates*, Pr. सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239), Skr. सिञ्चति, etc. Again ऊ in E. H. सूँड *elephant's trunk*, Pr. सुंडा, Skr. शुण्डा; E. H. मूँडै *he shaves*, Pr. मुंडइ (H. C. 4, 115), Skr. मुण्डति. Again ए and ओ in E. H. सेँध्, एँचा, बेँगन्, etc., and चोँच्, मोँड्, see § 148. 2) Sometimes otherwise; thus आ in E. H. आँखि् *eye*, see § 43; E. H. माँगै *he requests*, Pr. मग्गइ (H. C. 4, 230. Spt. 71), Skr. मार्गयति; E. H. आँच् *flame* (fem.), Pr. *अची, Skr. अर्चिः; E. H. साँच् *true*, Pr. सच्चं (cf. H. C. 2, 13), Skr. सत्यम्; E. H. साँप् *serpent*, A. Mg. सप्पे, Skr. सर्पः, etc. Again ई in E. H. ईँख् or ईख् *sugarcane*, Pr. इक्खू (H. C. 2, 17), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. ईँटू or ईंटू *brick*, Pr. इट्टा (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. इष्टा; E. H. भीँत् or भीत् *wall*, Pr. भित्ती, Skr. भित्तिः; E. H. नीँदै or नीदू *sleep*, see § 42. Again ऊ in E. H. ऊँख् or ऊख् *sugarcane*, Pr. *उक्खू or उच्छू (H. C. 2, 17. Vr. 1, 15), Skr. इक्षुः; E. H. मूँग् *a kind of pulse* (fem.), Mg. मुग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 1), Skr. मुद्गः (masc.); E. H. ऊँच् *high*, Pr. उच्चं (cf. H. C. 1, 154), Skr. उच्चम्; E. H. ऊँट् *camel*, Pr. उट्टो (H. C. 2, 34), Skr. उष्ट्रः. Again ए

in E. H. कँकरा or कंकरा *crab*, see § 148. Again ओ in E. H. होँठ् or होठ् *lip*, A. Mg. ओंठ् (cf. Spt. 22), Skr. ओष्ठः.

150. *Affinities.* 1) The general law of the treatment of conjuncts may be stated thus: Pr. elides the first of the (Skr.) conj. and doubles the second; Gd. (exc. S. and P.) elides the first of the (Pr.) conj. and doubles (i. e. lengthens) the preceding vowel; e. g., Skr. भक्तम्- *boiled rice*, Pr. भत्त (H. C. 4, 60. Wb. Bh. 214), E. H., W. H., B., O., M., G. भात्, S. भतु; Skr. सप्त *seven*, Pr. सत्त (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. सात्, S. सत, P. सत्त; Skr. अष्ट *eight*, Pr. अट्ठ (cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H., etc. आठ्, S. अठ, P. अट्ठ; Skr. रात्रिः *night*, Pr. रत्ती (H. C. 2, 79), E. H., etc. रात्ति or रात्, P. रत्त, S. रति. S. usually preserves the short vowel, and P. the conjunct. 2) Sometimes Pr. exhibits the Gd. process; especially when one of the conj. is स् (or श् or ष्); e. g., Pr. लास्सं (H. C. 2, 92) for *लस्सं (cf. H. C. 1, 84), Skr. लास्यम्, E. H. लास् *dance*; Pr. ईसरो (H. C. 2, 92) or ईस्सरो (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. ईश्वरः, E. H. ईसर् *lord*; Pr. वीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or वीसई (Ls. 320), Skr. विंशात् or विंशतिः, E. H. बीस् *twenty*; Pr. सीसं (H. C. 2, 92), Skr. शीर्षम्, E. H. सीस् *head*; Pr. वासा (H. C. 2, 105), Skr. वर्षा, E. H. *बास् *rain* (in कपास् *violent burst of rain*, see § 283), etc.; also otherwise, as Pr. आणा *command* for *अज्ञा, see p. 23; Pr. दीहो or दिग्घो *long*, see § 116, note, etc.; see Ls. 274. 3) Sometimes in Pr. the preceding vowel optionally becomes ए or ओ; see H. C. 1, 85. 116. Vr. 1, 12. 20; e. g., Pr. वेल्लं or विल्लं, Skr. बिल्वम्, E. H. बेल् *wood-apple*; Pr. पोक्खरो, Skr. पुष्करः, E. H. पोखर् *pond*; Pr. पोत्थओ, Skr. पुस्तकः, E. H. पोथा; Pr. मोग्गरो, Skr. मुद्गरः, E. H. मोगर् *mallet*, etc. 4) Sometimes in Pr. the first of the conj. becomes a nasal, analogous to the nasalization of the preceding vowel in Gd.; see § 158, note. 5) Sometimes in Pr. the second of the conj. is dissspirated, see § 145. exc.

cc) Elision.

151. क्ष् *is elided*; *very rarely*; in E. H. चौधरी *headman, chief* for *चवँ° (§ 69), *चध°, A. Mg. चक्कधरिए, Skr. चक्रधरिकः (lit. discus-holder; from °रिन् + क).

152. ऋ *is elided*; *rarely*; in E. H. चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (B. चोयालिश), A. Mg. चोयालीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), for Pr. *चउअन्नालीसा (cf. Ls. 259 on अ = अ), Skr. चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. छियालिस् *forty six* (cf. § 55), Pr. *छअन्नालीसा, Skr. षट्चत्वारिंशत्; E. H. तेँतालिस् (O. तेयालिश), A. Mg. तेआलीसा (H. C. 2, 174 or तिंयाले Wb. Bh. 425) for *तेअन्नालीसा, Skr. त्रयश्चत्वारिंशत्.

Note: In composition the ऋ of चतुर् and ष् (or ट्) of षष् (or षट्) are, as a rule, assimilated, but sometimes elided; thus ass. in चउरूह (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + दश) or चउद्वारो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + द्वार्); again छप्पओ (H. C. 2, 77 for षट् + पद) or छम्मुहो or छंमु° (Vr. 2, 40. H. C. 1, 25. 30 for षट् + मुख), छगुणो (Ls. 240 for षट् + गुण). But el. in चउगुणो (H. C. 1, 171 for चतुर् + गुण) or चउवीसं (H. C. 3, 137 for चतुर् + विंशति), चउमुह (H. C. 4, 331 for चतुर् + मुख); again छहत्तरि (छ + हत्तरि for षट् + सप्तति) or छद्दिसिं (Wb. Bh. 426. 234 for षट् + दिशो). Hence the above mentioned num. may be derived from the Pr. forms: चउचन्न° or (eliding च, see § 101) चउअन्न°; छचन्न° or छअन्न°; and similarly तिचन्न° or तिअन्न° (Skr. त्रिचत्वारिंशत्).

153. ण् *is elided*; *sometimes*; in E. H. आउ and आन् *suff. of abstract nouns* for Ap. Pr. अणउ or अणु, Pr. अणं or अणां or अणत्तं or अत्तणं, Skr. त्वम् or त्वनम्, see § 227; E. H. चारि *four* for *चत्वारि, A. Mg. चत्तारि (Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 3, 122), Skr. चत्वारि; E. H. चालिस् *forty*, see § 110. exc.; E. H. बयालिस् *forty two*, A. Mg. बायालीसं (Wb. Bh. 426) for *बाअन्नालीसं, Skr. द्वाचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. चवालिस् or चौवालिस् or चउआलिस् *forty four* (cf. § 26) and E. H. छियालिस् *forty six*, see § 152; E. H. सैँतिस् *thirty seven* (O. सइँतिश) for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. सत्ततीसं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. सप्तत्रिंशत्; E. H. सैँतालिस् *forty seven* for सयँ° or सअँ°, A. Mg. *सत्तअत्तालीसं, Skr. सप्तचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. रोअब् or रोइब् *to weep*, Pr. रोत्तुं (H. C. 4, 212. Vr. 8, 65 or रोइअवुं Spt. 258 or Ap. Pr. रोइवुं), Skr. रोदितव्यम्; E. H. मियाँ *friend* (a respectful address), Mg. मिअए or मित्तए (cf. Wb. Bh. 398. Vr. 3, 58), Skr. मित्रकः; or after simplification, in E. H. धाई *wet-nurse*, Pr. धाइआ or *धात्तिआ or धत्तिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 81), Skr. धात्रिका; E. H. दाई *foster-mother, wet-nurse*, Pr. *दात्तिआ or दत्तिआ, Skr. दात्रिका (lit. giver, scl. of nourishment); E. H. दाउ

appellation of a father or elder brother (lit. *giver of sustenance*), Mg. *दादए or *दादुए (cf. H. C. 3, 44), Skr. दातृकः; E. H. भाई *brother*, Mg. *भादिए or *भद्दिए, and E. H. माई *mother*, Pr. *मादिआ or *मद्दिआ, see § 63; E. H. आय् *he is* for *आइ्, Pr. अच्छइ्, Skr. आस्ते.

154. य् *is elided*; *very rarely*; in E. H. चउआ or चउपा *fourfooded*, Mg. चउपाए or चउप्पाए (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुष्पादः; E. H. चौअन or चउअन् *fifty four* (M. चौपन्न), Mg. *चउपन्नं or *चउप्पन्नं (see § 152, note), Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्.

155. व् *is elided*; *rarely*; optionally in E. H. ए *suffix of the oblique infinitive*, for *अए or *इए for *अवे or *इवे, Ap. *इवहे (see §§ 308. 365, 6), Pr. इअव्वस्स, Skr. इतव्यस्य; e. g., E. H. चले or चलबे (cf. § 129) *to go*, Ap. चलिवहे, Pr. चलिअव्वम्, Skr. चलितव्यम्; E. H. आणे (for *आइए) or आइअ or आबे *to eat*, Ap. आइवहे, Pr. आइअव्वस्स, Skr. आदितव्यस्य.

156. न् *is elided*; *rarely*; in E. H. पैंतिस् *thirty five* (O. पइंतिस, B. पयंत्रिश for पञ्चं°), A. Mg. पन्नतीसं or पयातीसं (Wb. Bh. 425), Skr. पञ्चत्रिंशत्; E. H. पैंतालिस् *forty five* for पन्नत्त°, A. Mg. पन्नचत्तालीसा (Wb. Bh. 425 or पयावालीस), Skr. पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्; E. H. पैंसठि *sixty five*, A. Mg. *पन्नसट्ठी, Skr. पञ्चषष्टिः.

157. *Affinities.* In Pr. also, there are a few examples of the elision of a° conj.; thus some instances of क् see in § 152, and of त् in § 153; others of त are, Pr. राई or रत्ती *night*, Skr. रात्रिः (H. C. 2, 88. Vr. 3, 58), but E. H. राति; Pr. काउणा *having done* (Vr. 4, 23) for *कातूणा or *कतूणा (cf. Vr. 10, 13), Skr. कृत्वा (or *कृत्वानं), E. H. *deest*; Pr. काअव्वं (Spt. 229) *what is to be done*, Mg. कायव्वं (Wb. Bh. 398) or कादव्वं (Vk. 67) *to be done* for *कातव्वं or *कत्तव्वं, Skr. कर्तव्यम्, E. H. *deest* (it forms 'कर्त्र); Pr. वअस्साअ° (Spt. A 53) *companionship*, Skr. वयस्यकत्व°. An instance of क्ल is Pr. तेलोक्कं or तेल्लोक्कं *the three worlds* (Vr. 3, 58), Skr. त्रैलोक्यम्, E. H. *deest*; and of ग्न, Mg. निग्गंथे *devotee* (Wb. Bh. 397) or निग्गंठे, Skr. निर्ग्रन्थः, E. H. *deest*. See also Wb. Bh. 398. Ls. 273. 274.

dd) Miscellaneous.

158. क्क, ग्ग, ग्घ, क्ख, च्छ *become* क्, ग्, घ्, ख्, छ् *respectively*; thus क्क in E. H. कंकर् *limestone*, Pr. *कक्कोड, Skr. कर्करम्; E. H. कंकरोल्

a kind of gourd, Ap. Pr. कक्कुडु (cf. H. C. 4, 429), Skr. कर्कटः[1]); again ग्न् in E. H. नंग् *naked*, A. Mg. नग्गे (cf. Wb. Bh. 185. H. C. 2, 78), Skr. नग्नः, and in its derivatives as नंगा, नंगो *naked*, नंगाई *nakedness*, etc.; again क्ष् in E. H. पंख् *wing*, A. Mg. पक्खे (cf. Wb. Bh. 427. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. पक्षः, and in its derivatives पंखा, पंखी *fan*, पंखड़ी or पंखड़ो *flower-leaf* (Ap. पक्खडिआ), पंखी *bird* (from Skr. पक्षिन्)[2]); again ग्घ् in E. H. महंग् *high-priced*, see § 145. exc. 2; again च्छ् in E. H. पंछी *bird*, Pr. पच्छिओ, Skr. पक्षिकः (from पक्षिन् + क), and in its cognates पंछाला *tail of a paper-kite* (Ap. *पच्छअउ) from Skr. पक्ष *tail*[3]).

Note: There are instances of this change in Pr.; as Pr. वंक, Skr. वक्रम्, E. H. बाँङ् *crooked*; Pr. मंसू, Skr. श्मश्रु, E. H. झाँसू *tear*; Pr. मंसू, see § 56; Pr. पुंछ, Skr. पुच्छम्, E. H. पूँछ् *tail*; Pr. मंसू, see § 44; Pr. मंजारो, Skr. मार्जारः, E. H. मंजार् *cat*, etc., see H. C. 1, 26. Vr. 4, 15; but E. H. बिन्छ् or बीछ् *scorpion* (M. विंचू) for Pr. विंछिओ or विंचुओ (H. C. 2, 16), Skr. वृश्चिकः.

159. ंस् *and* ंह् *become* न्स् *and* ङ्; *always*; thus ंस् in E. H. हन्स् or हाँस *goose*, see p. 29; E. H. मन्स् or माँस् or मास् *flesh*, see p. 30; E. H. हिन्सा *slaughter*, see § 39, etc.; again ंह् in E. H. सिंघ् or सींघ् *lion*, see p. 29; E. H. संघार् *collection*, Pr. संघारो or संहारो (H. C. 1, 264), Skr. संहारः, etc.

Note: The change of ंह् to ङ् is optional in Pr. already, see H. C. 1, 264. As to the spelling of ंह् and ंस्, see §§ 38. 39; and of ंघ् see § 13.

160. ङ् *and* ञ् *become* ङ् *and* ञ्; *rarely*; thus ङ् in E. H. कंगाल् (i. e., कङ्गाल्, see § 13) *destitute*, Mg. *कंकाले (i. e., कङ्काले, see H. C. 1, 30), Skr. कङ्कालः (lit. skeleton, see Bs. I, 98); E. H. कंगन् *bracelet*, Pr. कंकणं (Spt. 68), Skr. कङ्कणम्; E. H. पलंग् *bed*, Mg. पल्लंके (cf. H. C. 2, 68), Skr. पर्यङ्कः; E. H. पलंगरी or पलंगड़ी *small bedstead*, Ap. पल्लंकडिआ, Skr. पर्यङ्किका; E. H. पाँग् or पाँक् *mud*, see p. 29; E. H.

1) But E. H. ककरी or ककड़ी *cucumber*, Pr. कक्कडिआ, Skr. कर्कटिका.

2) Also regularly पाँख्, पाँखा, पाँखो, cf. § 149.

3) पंछो and पंछाला might be corruptions for पुंछो, पुंछाला, from Pr. पुंछ, see note.

पाँगा *salt* (obtained from sea-mud), Mg. पंकए, Skr. पङ्कः; E. H. पंगति *row* (cf. §§ 102, 2. 138, usually पाँति p. 30), Skr. पङ्क्तिः; E. H. धाँगा *high ground*, Ap. डंकउ, Skr. डङ्कम् (lit. *curved*); again ङ्क in E. H. कुंजी *key*, Pr. *कुंचिआ, Skr. कुञ्चिका.

161. ल् *and* न् *become* ल्ह् *and* न्ह्; *optionally*; thus ल् in E. H. काल् or काल्ह् *yesterday* or *to-morrow*, Pr. कल्लं (H. C. 2, 186. Spt. 46), Skr. कल्यम्; E. H. चील् or चील्ह् *kite*, Mg. चिल्ल, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. चीलर् or चील्हर् *louse*, Ap. चिल्लडु, Skr. चिल्लः; E. H. पेलर् or पेल्हर् *testicle*, Ap. पेल्लउं (cf. H. C. 4, 143 पेल्लट्), Skr. पेल्लम्, etc. Again न् in Bs. दीना or दीन्ह *given*, A. Mg. दिन्ने (cf. Wb. Bh. 402) or दिले (H. C. 4, 302), Skr. दत्तः; Bs. कीन् or कीन्ह *done* (Ap. Pr. किन्नउ H. C. 4, 329 ?), Skr. कृतः; Bs. लीन् or लीन्ह *taken* for *लिन्न, Skr. लब्धः; E. H. इन् or ऐन् or O. H. ऐन्हि suffix of 3. pers. pl. for *एन्ति or *इञ्चन्ति, Pr. इञ्चंति, Skr. इतन्ति (see §§ 497, 6. 503); e. g., E. H. पढ़िन् or पढ़ैन् or O. H. पढ़ैन्हि *they read* for *पठिञ्चन्ति, Pr. पठिञ्चंति, Skr. *पठितन्ति (denom.); E. H. चलैन् or O. H. चलेन्हि *they walked* for *चलिञ्चन्ति, Pr. चलिञ्चंति (Skr. चलिता भवन्ति), etc.

Note: In Pr. पल्लत्तं (H. C. 2, 66) and पल्हत्थं (H. C. 4, 258), Skr. पर्यस्तम्; Pr. एण्हिं (Vr. 4, 33) for एह्मिं (Ls. 129), Skr. इदानीम्.

162. स्म् *becomes* म्ह्; *rarely*; as E. H. ग्रिहस्त् *husbandman, householder*, Mg. °हस्ते (cf. H. C. 4, 291), Skr. गृहस्थः (semitats.), and its derivative ग्रिहस्ती *husbandry*.

163. ष्ट् *becomes* ण्ड् *or* ण्ठ्; *rarely*; E. H. गन्ना or गन्ढा or गाँडा *sugarcane* (lit. having joints), Mg. गंडए, Skr. गण्डकः; E. H. गंढेरी or गंडेरी *joint of sugarcane*, Ap. गंडइल्लिआ, Skr. गण्डक°.

164. ङ्क् *becomes* न्क्; *very rarely*; E. H. कुन्ना *dog* (G. कुतर्), Ap. कुक्कुर, Skr. कुक्कुरः (usually E. H. कूकर् or कुक्कुर्); and its derivative E. H. कुनर् *puppy*.

165. त्य् *and* थ्य् *become* च् *or* त् *and* छ् *or* थ् *respectively*; *very rarely*; thus E. H. नित्त् or नित्, A. Mg. निछे (cf. Wb. Bh. 414), Skr. नित्यः; E. H. मधि, O. H. मठि, Skr. मध्ये; but see § 144.

166. च् *and* त् *become* छ् *and* ग्; *always in semitats.*; see §§ 36. 37.

c) CHANGES OF INITIAL SOUNDS.

a) VOWELS.

167. अ *becomes* इ; *rarely*; E. H. इमली or अमली *tamarind* (cf. § 138), Mg. अमलिआ (cf. Wb. Bh. 377), Skr. अम्लिका.

168. आ *becomes* अ; *sometimes*; thus E. H. अचारू *teacher*, Skr. आचार्यः (§ 129); E. H. अचार or आचार *conduct*, Skr. आचारः; E. H. अया or आया *command*, Skr. आज्ञा (all semitats.).

169. ए *becomes* अ; *rarely*; E. H. अकेला *solitary*, A. Mg. एक्कल्लए (cf. H. C. 2, 165) or *एक्किल्लए, Skr. एकलकः.

170. ए *becomes* इ; *sometimes*; as E. H. इग्यारह or ऐग्यारह *eleven*; इक्यावन् or ऐक्यावन् *fifty one*, see § 135; and other compounds of एक.

171. ए *and* ओ *become* अ *and* उ *respectively*; *sometimes*; thus ए in E. H. अक् or ऐक् or एक् *one*, Mg. एक्कि (Wb. Bh. 424), Skr. एकः; E. H. अह or ऐह (or ई) *he, this*, Ap. एह or एहु (H. C. 4, 362), Skr. ईदृशः; again ओ in E. H. अह or ओह (or ऊ) *he, that*, Ap. *एवेह or *एवेहु (see § 438, 1. 5), Skr. *एवादृशः (= एवंविधः); E. H. अनइस् or ओनइस् *nineteen*, see § 123; and other compounds of ऊन; cf. § 98.

172. अ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. भीतर् *within*, A. Mg. अब्भिंतरं (Wb. Bh. 206), Skr. अभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीजै *he is afflicted with grief*, Pr. *अब्भिज्जइ, Skr. अभ्यर्थते (pass. of अर्द्); E. H. भीजै *he is wet*, Pr. *अब्भिज्जइ, Skr. अभ्यार्द्र्यते (denom. of आर्द्र *wet*); E. H. काढै *he sweeps*, Pr. *अक्कड्डइ, Skr. अभ्यर्दयति (caus. of अर्द्) or Skr. अभ्यादयति (caus. of अद् *roam*, cf. Pr. कोड्डइ H. C. 4, 161); E. H. कंगा *upper garment*, A. Mg. अक्कंगए, Skr. अभ्यङ्गकः; E. H. कंगिया *child's vest*, Pr. अक्कंगिआ, Skr. अभ्यङ्गिका; E. H. रहट् or अरहट् *waterwheel*; E. H. तीसी *flax*, see §§ 55. 109, note.

Note: Such elisions occur especially in A. Mg.; see Wb. Bh. 405, as रयणी, Skr. अरणिः, etc.

173. उ *is elided*; *sometimes*; thus E. H. छाहै *he desires*, see § 145, exc. 2; E. H. बैठै or अइठै *he sits*, Pr. उवविट्ठइ, Skr. *उपविष्टति

(denom. of उपविष्ट, cf. Ap. Pr. बइट्ठउ H. C. 4, 444, see § 352); E. H. पै *upon*, see § 124; E. H. पाधा *teacher*, see § 144.

Note: For such elisions in Ap. Mg. see Wb. Bh. 406; e. g., पोसह, Skr. उपवसथ, etc.

β) SINGLE CONSONANTS.

174. न् *and* ल् *become* ट् *and* ड्; *rarely*; thus न् in E. H. टूटै or नूटै *it breaks*, Pr. तुट्टइ (H. C. 4, 230), Skr. त्रुट्यति; E. H. टट्टू or तट्टू *pony*, Mg. *तट्टए (cf. H. C. 3, 44. 1, 131), Skr. तर्कः (*of* R. तॄ; cf. तुरग *horse*); E. H. टीक् or टीका (fem.) *sectarian mark on the forehead*, Skr. तिलकः (masc.), cf. § 125; E. H. ठोंठू or ठोंठ् *beak* for *ठोंठ्, Pr. तोंडं (Vr. 1, 20), Skr. तुण्डम्. Again ल् in E. H. ठीठ् or ढीठ् or ढीठि *sight*, see § 43; E. H. डाढी or डाढो *beard*, Pr. दाढिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रिका (also दाढिका); E. H. डाङ् or दाङ् *tooth, tusk*, Pr. दाढा (H. C. 2, 139), Skr. दंष्ट्रा; E. H. डार् or डाल् or दाल् *branch* (fem.), A. Mg. दाली, Skr. दाली; E. H. डारा or डाला *branch*, A. Mg. *दालए or *डालए (cf. H. C. 4, 445. Ap. डालइं), Skr. दाडकः; E. H. डारी or डाली *branch*, A. Mg. दालिआ, Skr. दाडिका; E. H. डेढ़ or देढ़ or डेवढ़ or देवढ़ *one and a half*, see § 114.

Note: Instances in Pr. are; Pr. डोला or दोला, Skr. दोला, E. H. डोर् or दोर् *cord*, whence E. H. डोला or दोला, डोली or दोली *a swing, a dooly*, Pr. डोलखो or डोलिआ or द°, Skr. दोलकः or दोलिका; Pr. डड्ढो or दड्ढो, Skr. दग्धः, E. H. डाढा *burnt, fire* (Skr. दग्धृकः?); Pr. डरो or दरो, Skr. दरः, E. H. डर् or दर् *fear*; Pr. डाहो or दाहो, Skr. दाहः, E. H. डाह् *malice, jealousy* and दाह् *burning*; Pr. डब्भो or दब्भो (Wb. Bh. 293), Skr. दर्भः, E. H. डाभ् *kusa-grass*; Pr. डसइ, Skr. दशति *he bites*, E. H. डसै; Pr. डट्ठो or दट्ठो, Skr. दष्टः *bitten, oppressed*, whence perhaps E. H. डाट् *threat*, डाटै or डाँटै *he threatens*; see H. C. 1, 217. 218; but E. H. दहै *it burns*, Mg. दहइ (cf. Wb. Bh. 155), Pr. डहइ (H. C. 1, 218), Skr. दहति; E. H. दंभ् *arrogance*, Pr. डंभो or दंभो, Skr. दम्भः.

175. कू, टू, डू *become* खू, ठू, ढू, *respectively*; *very rarely*; thus कू in E. H. खाँसो *cough*, Pr. कासिआ (or खासिआ? cf. H. C. 1, 181),

Skr. कासिका; E. H. ठोर् *beak* for *ठोर्, see §174; E. H. ढेँकुना *bug*, Pr. ढंकुणओ (S. C. 1, 3. 130), Skr. मत्कुणाकः.

Note: Pr. examples are: खप्पर् (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कर्परम्, E. H. खपर् *skull, tile*; Pr. खोलओ (H. C. 1, 181), Skr. कोलकः, but E. H. कोला *nail*; again Pr. छुच्छं or चुच्छं or तुच्छं (H. C. 1. 204), Skr. तुच्छम्, E. H. छूछ् *mean*; again Pr. फडिलो or तडिलो (H. C. 1, 194), Skr. तटिलः, E. H. *deest*.

176. भ् *becomes* ह्; *rarely*; E. H. हाँड् or भाँड् *pot*, A. Mg. भंडे (Wb. Bh. 274), Skr. भाण्डः.

Note: In Pr. होइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति, E. H. होय् *he is*.

177. *Aspiration is transferred*; E. H. म्हेस् or भेँस् or महिस् or म्हिस् *buffalo*, A. Mg. महिसे, Skr. महिषः, see §178; E. H. भूखा *hungry* for *बुहुक्षा, Mg. बुभुक्खए (or भुक्खे Wb. Bh. 290?), Skr. बुभुक्षितः; E. H. भभूति or भभूति *ashes of cowdung*, Skr. विभूतिः (semitats.); E. H. भाप् or भाफ् or आफ् *steam*, see §143; E. H. फुप् or फूफ् *flower*, see §132.

178. म् *becomes* व्; *very rarely*; in E. H. म्हिस् or महिस् *buffalo*, see §177. 134.

Note: In Pr. वम्महो (Vr. 2, 39), Skr. मन्मथः, E. H. *deest*.

179. ल् *becomes* न्; *very rarely*; E. H. नोन् or लोन् *salt*, Pr. लोणं (H. C. 1, 171), Skr. लवणम्, see also §§31. 111.

Note: In Pr. णाहलो, Skr. लाहलः, E. H. नाहर् *tiger*; Pr. णंगलं *plough*, णंगूलं *tail*, Skr. लाङ्गलम्, लाङ्गूलम्, but E. H. लाँगल् and लाँगूल्, see H. C. 1, 256.

180. न् *becomes* ल्; *very rarely;* E. H. लोल् or नील् *dark-blue* (§31), A. Mg. नील (Wb. Bh. 160. H. C. 3, 32), Skr. नीलः; E. H. लूरी or नूरी *a kind of parrot;* E. H. लीमू or नीमू *lime-tree* (S. लिमु or निमु), see p. 20.

Note: In Pr. लिम्बो or निम्बो (H. C. 1, 239), Skr. निम्बः; but E. H. नीमू *Nimb-tree*.

181. य् *and* व् *become* ज् *and* ब् *respectively;* always; thus य् in E. H. जतन् *effort*, Skr. यत्नः (semitats); E. H. जोग् *worthy*, Mg. योग्गे (cf. Vr. 3, 2), Skr. योग्यः; E. H. जानै *he knows*, Mg. याणइ् (cf. Wb. Bh. 394, note) or याणहि (H. C. 4, 292), Skr. जानाति (see

pg. 22); etc.; again E. H. जान्, see § 143; E. H. जाते or जन्ते *it is sounded*, Pr. वज्जइ (H. C. 4, 406), Skr. वदते, etc.; also as initial of the second of a compound; as E. H. पुराणी *citizen*, Skr. पुरवासी (semitats); see § 17.

182. स् *becomes* ह्; *very rarely;* E. H. होंचे *or* सोंचे *he sprinkles*, see § 149.

Note: In Pr. हत्थवत्तो (Vr. 2, 41), Skr. सपूर्वार्थः; E. H. *deest.*

183. ह् *is prefixed; very rarely;* E. H. होंठ् *lip*, see § 149.

Note: Frequently in S.; as एडो or हेडो *so large*, जेडो or होडो *so large*, एत्तिरो or हेत्तिरो *so many* (Tr. 224), एक्कु or हेक्कु *one* (Tr. 157), इत्ति or हित्ति *here* (§ 468, a). Sometimes in B. and M., as B. एथा or हेथा *here*, सेथा or हेथा *there* (§ 468, a); M. इकडे or हिकडे *hither* (§ 468, b).

184. *Consonants are elided;* only in alliterative phrases; thus ट् in रोटी बोटी *meal* (lit. bread, etc.); or न् in जाना जाना *dinner;* very commonly प्, as पानी जानी *water;* जास् पास् *close by;* उलट् पुलट् *topsy-turvy;* पछतावे पहतावे *he repents deeply;* etc.

γ) CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

185. ह *is interpolated;* often; thus E. H. नहान् *bathing*, Ap. Pr. णहाणु (H. C. 4, 399), Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. नहाए *he bathes*, Pr. णहाइ (H. C. 4, 14), Skr. स्नाति: E. H. नहाटे *he flees*, Pr. *णहट्टइ, Skr. *सन्त्वयति (denom. of part. सन्त्त); E. H. पहोन्न् *carriage*, Ap. पवहणं (cf. H. C. 4, 398) or Pr. पवहणं (Mchh. 109, 18), Skr. प्रवहणम्; E. H. पहट or पहगट *manifest*, see § 102; E. H. पहास् *clearness*, Ap. Pr. पगासु (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. प्रकाशः; E. H. पहासे *he displays*, Ap. Pr. पगासइ or पगासेइ, Skr. प्रकाशयति; E. H. पसन्न् *pleased*, Ap. Pr. पसण्णु, Skr. प्रसन्नः; E. H. पहोह *leathern waterbucket*, Ap. Pr. पवहउ or पवाहउ (cf. H. C. 1, 68), Skr. प्रवहकः or प्रवाहकः; E. H. सहाहे *he praises*, Pr. सलाहइ (cf. H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघते; E. H. सहान् *praise*, Pr. सलाहणं, Skr. श्लाघनम्; E. H. सहेस् *glue* (lit. *adhesion*), A. Mg. सिलेसे (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. श्लेषः (or Pers. سریش *sirish*?); E. H. मलान् *faded*, Pr. मिलाणं (H. C. 2, 106), Skr. म्लानम्; and in semitats; as E. H. सलोक् *verse*, Skr. श्लोकः (Pr. सिलोओ H. C. 2, 106.

Ls. 183); E. H. पऱोतन् *necessity*, पराग् *Allahabad*, पाचित् *penance*, see § 144.

Note: In Pr. सलाहा (H. C. 2, 101), Skr. श्लाघा, E. H. सराह् *praise*.

186. ह् *is interpolated; sometimes;* thus E. H. तिऱपन् *fifty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिपण्णं (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; E. H. तिऱसठि *sixty three*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिसट्ठी, Skr. त्रिषष्टिः; E. H. तिऱिका or त्रिका *triad*, see § 408; E. H. गिऱहन् *eclipse*, Ap. Pr. ग्रहणं, Skr. ग्रहणम्; E. H. पिलही *spleen*, Pr. *पिलहिआ, Skr. प्लीहिका; E. H. गिलानि *fatigue*, Pr. *गिलाणो (cf. H. C. 2, 106), Skr. ग्लानिः; E. H. तिऱिया *woman*, Ap. Pr. *त्रिआ, Skr. स्त्रिका.

Note: In Pr. सिणेहो (Wb. Bh. 405. Ls. 182) or सणेहो or नेहो (H. C. 2, 102), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. सिनेह् or सनेह् or नेह् *love;* Pr. सिरी (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. श्री, E. H. सिरि *prosperity;* Pr. किरिआ (H. C. 2, 104), Skr. क्रिया, E. H. किरिया *oath;* Pr. किलेसो (H. C. 2, 106) *trouble*, see § 58, note.

187. उ *is interpolated; rarely;* thus E. H. सुमिरन् or सुमरन् *recollection*, Ap. Pr. सुमरणु (H. C. 4, 426. cf. 4, 74), Skr. स्मरणम्.

188. *The first consonant is elided; always;* thus E. H. भीतर् *within* for ऊभीतर्, A. Mg. ऊभिंतरं (§ 172), Skr. ऊभ्यन्तरम्; E. H. भीजै, काढै, कंगा, कंगिया, for ऊभीजै, ऊकाढै, ऊकंगा, ऊकंगिया, see § 172; E. H. छमा *forgiveness* for *ऊछमा, Skr. क्षमा, see §§ 36. 191; E. H. छाहै *he desires* for *ऊछाहै, see § 173.

Exception. य् remains, as E. H. ग्यान् *knowledge*, Skr. ज्ञानम्, see § 191; in the *khari bhásha* optionally also र् following a cons., as प्रगट् or पगट् *manifest*, § 185.

Note: In Pr. also; as a rule, see H. C. 2, 89. Vr. 3, 50; thus Pr. काणं (H. C. 2, 26), Skr. ध्यानम्; Pr. काओ or धाओ for *ऊकाओ or ठाओ (H. C. 2, 27), Skr. ध्वतः; Pr. छमा or खमा for *ऊछमा or *ऊखमा (H. C. 2, 18 gives छमा in the sense of *earth* and खमा as *patience* or *forgivenes;* but in E. H., the latter does not exist, and the former means *forgiveness* or *patience*), Skr. क्षमा; Pr. ठाणं or थाणं for *ऊठाणं or *ऊथाणं (H. C. 4, 16), Skr. स्थानम्; etc.; but A. Mg. apparently has occasionally ऊक्; as ऊकाणा° (Wb. Bh. 315. 319),

Skr. ध्मान°; or स्नूषित्रा (Wb. Bh. 295), Skr. ध्मुषित्वा, etc.; see Wb. Bh. 389. 390.

189. *The second consonant is elided;* only ह्; thus E. H. नाउ *barber*, A. Mg. पहाविए or नाव्हिए (cf. H. C. 1, 230), Skr. नापितः (or *स्नापिकः).

Note: In Pr. नेहो (H. C. 2, 102) for *पेहो (not for *स्नेहो as in H. C. 2, 77), Skr. स्नेहः, E. H. नेह् *love, oil;* Pr. निठं (H. C. 2, 109) for *पिह्ठं, Skr. स्निग्धम्, E. H. *deest.*

190. *ष or ह् is prefixed to स् preceding any consonant; only in semitats;* thus E. H. थ्तुति or ह्स्तुति *praise*, Skr. स्तुतिः; E. H. थ्नान् *bathing*, Skr. स्नानम्; E. H. थ्नेह् *love*, Skr. स्नेहः; E. H. ह्स्त्री *woman*, Skr. स्त्री; or in foreign words, as E. H. थ्कूल् or ह्स्कूल् *school*; E. H. ह्स्पञ् *sponge*; etc.

Note: A curiosity is the E. H. चचपल् *restless* for Skr. चपलः.

191. *श् and ह् become ह् and ग्;* only in semitats; see §§ 36. 37. In tadbh. ह् becomes ह्; e. g., E. H. ज्ञानी or ज्ञान् *sage*, Pr. ज्ञाणो (H. C. 2, 83. Vr. 3, 5), Skr. ज्ञानी; but as a semitats. it is E. H. ग्यानी.

SECOND SECTION. ON SUFFIXES AND ROOTS.

FIRST CHAPTER. SUFFIXES.

192. The E. H. suffixes may be divided into two great classes, which I shall call the *pleonastic* and the *derivative*. The former are those, by the addition of which the meaning of a noun is not changed, thus पट् and पटा *board*, आगि and अगिया *fire*, चाम् and चमरा *leather*, मीठ and मिठका *sweet*, etc. The latter are those which change the meaning of a noun. These may be subdivided into two classes; the *primary* and *secondary*. The former are those which are added to (verbal) roots and form primary bases; e. g., R. खा *eat*, खाउ or खानिहार् *eater, glutton;* हँस् *laugh*, हँसी *laughter;* बढ् *grow*, बढनी *growth*, etc. The latter are added to the bases

of nouns and form secondary bases; as बूढा *old*, बुढापन् *old age*; हलुक् *light*, हलुकई *lightness*; बंगाल् *Bengal*, बंगालो *a man of Bengal*; भेडू *ram*, भेडो *ewe*; etc.

Note: The pleon. suff. are called by Pr. gramm. स्वार्थे or स्वार्थिक (cf. H. C. 2, 164. 429); and the deriv. suff., भवे (cf. H. C. 2, 183). — In Skr., the primary suffixes are called *krt* and the secondary *taddhita*. The pleon. suff., as being added to nouns only, would belong to the taddhita class.

193. *Affinities.* In Pr. it had already become customary, and is now almost the rule in E. H. (and Gd. generally) to augment verbal roots (called *dhâtus* in Skr.) by the denominative suffix आपि (Pr. आवि or आव, E. H. आव् or आ) and nominal bases (called *prâtipadikas* in Skr.) by the pleonastic suffix क (Pr. and E. H. अ). It is the coalescence of the original (Skr.) krit or taddhita suffixes with this radical or basic increment, that — besides the usual effect of phonetic decay — accounts for the difference, which, in many cases, appears between them and their modern representatives; thus Skr. वृद्धि *growth* from R. वृध् and suff. क्ति, but E. H. बढति of R. बर्धाप् and suff. ति (cf. § 325); or Skr. उच्चता *height* from base उच्च and suff. ता, E. H. उचाई from base उचअ and suff. इआ (= उचक-तिका cf. § 223). — Many of the Skr. suffixes, however, have been long since disused both in Pr. and E. H. *as suffixes;* though, of course, they may be met with in E. H. words (especially in tatsamas) as *nominal terminations* and variously modified by the effect of phonetic laws; thus the Skr. suff. क्ति, in E. H. मुक्ति *sage*, Skr. मुनि; suff. मन् in E. H. कामू (tats) or काम् (tadbh) for Skr. कर्मन्; suff. त्रि, in E. H. धरती *earth* for Skr. धरित्री; or in E. H. रात् *night*, Skr. रात्रि; etc. These will not be noticed in the following lists. Most of the other Skr. suff., which are still used as such in E. H., are expressly mentioned also by Pr. grammarians.

1) PLEONASTIC SUFFIXES.

194. The E. H. pleonastic suff. may be divided into two groups, the elementary forms of which are: 1) क or अ and 2) ड

or र् or ल or न्. Their other forms are reduplications or combinations of these.

First Group.

195. Set. Masculine.

1. आ, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or आक्, ईक्, ऊक्.
3. अका, इका, उका; or आका, ईका, ऊका.
4. अवा, इवा, उवा; or आवाँ, ईवाँ, ऊवाँ.
5. अकवा, इकवा, उकवा; or आक्वा, ईक्वा, ऊक्वा.
6. औता, इयवा[1]), उअवा[1]); or औतां, इयवाँ[1]), उअवाँ[1]).

Feminine.

1. ई, ई, ऊ; or इउँ.
2. अक्, इक्, उक्; or आक्, ईक्, ऊक्.
3. अकी, इकी, उकी; or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी.
4. इया, इया, उवा; or इयाँ, इयाँ, उवाँ.
5. अकिया, इकिया, उकिया; or आक्विया, ईक्विया, ऊक्विया.
6. इयवा[1]), इयवा[1]), उअवा[1]); or इयवाँ[1]), इयवाँ[1]), उअवाँ[1]).

Note: Observe in adding these suffixes, that their initial vowel always supersedes the final vowel of the word. A long antepenultimate is shortened (see § 25). The semivowels य् and व् may or may not be inserted after इ, उ and औ (cf. § 28); e. g., उवा or उआ, इया or ईआ.

196. The first set may be added to either subst. or adj. The forms thus made I shall call their *strong forms;* those without the suff. their *weak forms.* The suff. आ (m.), ई (f.) are added to nouns in अ (*quiescent*). As to adj., all may take them; thus m. साँच् or साँचा *true;* f. साँच् or साँची; or m. मीठ् or मीठा *sweet,* f. मीठ् or मीठी; but the strong form is generally used with fem., while with masc. the weak form is rather the more common. In the case of subst., the usage is more or less fixed; some occurring only in the

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1) Sometimes pronounced ईवा, ऊवा or ईवाँ, ऊवाँ; contracted like औता for *अवता § 203; and see §§ 83. 84. exc.

weak form, others only in the strong, while many again may be used in both; on the whole those in the weak form preponderate in E. H., as compared with W. H. Thus m. घर् *house* (not घरा), f. बात् *event* (not बाती); m. घोरा (or घोडा) *horse*, f. घोरी *mare* (not घोर्); but m. पट् or पटा *board*, f. मेड् or मेडी *sheep*, etc. The suff. ई and ऊ (both *gen. com.*) are added to nouns in इ and उ respectively; but in most cases, at present, only one of the two forms exists. Thus adj. occur only in the strong form, as भारी *heavy*, गर्‌ु *heavy*, हलु *light, slow* (not भारि, गरु, हलु). Subst. as a rule, have either the one or the other; e. g., मालो *gardener*, हाथी *elephant*, बालू *sand* (not मालि, हाथि, बालु); on the other hand आगि *fire*, मुनि *sage*, गुरु *teacher* (not आगी, मुनी, गुर्‌ु). There are, however, a few examples of the existence of both forms; as ज्ञानि or ज्ञानी *sage*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, पतोहु or पतोहू *son's wife*, etc. See also §§ 42—53.

197. The suffix इउँ (*com. gen.*) can be added to adj. in ई only; as m. f. भारी or भरिउँ *heavy*. The form in इउँ I shall call the *uncontracted*, that in ई the *contracted*.

198. The second, third and fifth sets can be added to adj. of the weak form only. The forms made by the two former I shall call their long forms. Those in का, की or क्का, क्की contain the suff. आ, ई of the first set and are therefore strong, while those in क् or क्क् are weak. As a rule, the strong long forms only are used in E. H. Thus m. मिठ-का or मिठक्का, f. मिठ-की or मिठक्की, of मीठ् *sweet*; छोट-का, छोट-की or छोटक्का, छोटक्की, of छोट् *small*; भरिका, भरिकी or भरिक्का, भरिक्की *heavy*, of *भारि (only used in the strong form भारी, § 196); हलुक् or हलुक्क् (gen. com.) or हलुका, हलुकी or हलुक्का, हलुक्की *light*, of *हलु (only in the strong form हलू § 196). In a few cases the long form alone exists; as तनिक् or तनिका *small*, of *तनु (see § 61); रुचिक् *small*. As to the forms in अकवा, etc. of the fifth set, see § 199.

Exception. There are a few subst. with the suff. क्, का, as भिखुक् *beggar* beside भिखू; बालक् (or बालका) *child* beside बालू and बाला; छोकरा *boy*, छोकरी *girl* beside छोरा, छोरी, from *छोक्° or

*ह्रो° (= Skr. ह्रद°, Pr. हद° Vr. 2, 41) with the pleon. suff. ग, ी superadded. — Such nouns as लड़िका *boy* (H. H. लड़का), बैठिका *or* बैठिक् *seat* (H. H. बैठक्), *etc.* contain not the pleonastic, but the derivative suff. का (see §§ 252. 334).

Note: The forms in क्का, क्की have the accent on the syllable immediately preceding it; as मिठक्का *miṭhákkā*, भरिक्का *bharíkkā*, हलुक्की *halúkkī*; but the others on the first syllable; as हलुक्क् *hálukk*, हलुका *hálukā*, छोट्की *chhóṭ'kī*, *etc.*

199. The fourth set may be added 1) to any subst. of the weak form, 2) to any adj. of the weak long form; in the latter case resulting in the fifth set. The forms thus made will be called, in the case of subst., their *long*, in the case of adj., their *redundant* forms. The suff. ड्डा (m.), ड्डी (f.) are added to nouns in ड, and the suff. ड्डी and उड्डा (both gen. com.) to nouns in ड् and उ respectively. Thus, *subst.*, m. घर् or घर्ड्डा *house*; f. घात् or घतिया *event*; m. घोड़ा (wk. f. घोड़्) or घोड्डा *horse*; f. घोड़ी (wk. f. घोड़्) or घोड़िया *mare*; m. मालो (wk. f. मालि) or मलियार *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुआ *sand*; f. बागि or बगिया *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुआ *teacher*, etc. Again *adj.*, m. हलुक्'or हलुकवा *light*; f. हलुक् or हलुकिया; m. छोट्का (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोट्कवा *small*; f. छोटक्की (wk. f. छोटक्) or छोटक्किया.

Note: Bs. II, 40 and Bates H. Dict. 67 give the form उड्डा for ड्डा; and Bates 58. ड्ड for ड्डी. If these be not merely inaccurate spellings, they must be considered as local peculiarities.

200. The sixth set can only be added to subst. of the weak form. The forms thus made, I shall call their *redundant* forms. The suff. m. ौवा, f. ड्डवा (or ड्डवा) are added to subst. in ड, and c. g. ड्डवा and उड्डवा (or उवा) to subst. in ड् and उ respectively. Thus m. घर् or घरौवा *house*; f. घात् or घतिवा (or घतौवा) *event*; m. घोड़ा (wk. f. घोड़्) or घोड़ौवा *horse*; f. घोड़ी (wk. f. *घोड़्) or घोड़ियवा *mare*; m. मालो (wk. f. *मालि) or मलियवा (or मलौवा) *gardener*; f. बालू (wk. f. *बालु) or बलुवा (or बलुवा) *sand*; f. बागि or बगियवा *fire*; m. गुरु or गुरुवा *teacher*. The suff. ौवा and उड्डवा may be con-

tracted to ओ; e. g., घोड़ौवा or घोड़ौ; अलुअवा or अलौ. The suff. ओवा may be also contracted into अउ; as घोड़ौवा or घोड़उ.

Note: The contracted suff. औ always takes the accent; as घोड़ौ *ghŏraú*, not *ghórau*.

201. All these suff. are, generally speaking, very commonly employed. The sixth set, however, is very vulgar. As a rule, they change in no way the meaning of the word. Occasionally, those of the fourth and sixth sets may imply contempt or affection or smallness, and those of the second and third sets the comparative degree (see § 388).

202. *Affinities.* The existence of these sets of pleonast. suff. in the various Gḍ. languages has been hitherto but little observed by grammarians; if, at least, we exclude the first, which is very common in them all. It consists, in E. and S. Gḍ., of आ, ई and ऊ; in N. and W. Gḍ. of ओ (or औ), ई and ऊ; see §§ 49—54. As to the others, I have not been able to learn whether or not they exist in N. and W. Gḍ.; excepting the W. H. In this latter and in E. and S. Gḍ., some of them certainly do occur; whether or not all do, it is impossible to say at present. The fourth set is in B. (m.) आ, ए, ओ contracted for E. H. अवा, इया, उआ; as B. रामा, E. H. रमवा *Rám;* B. हरे, E. H. हरिया *Hari;* B. शंभो, E. H. संभुआ *Sambhú;* (f.) B. ई contracted for E. H. इया; as B. राधी, E. H. रधिया *Rádhá*, etc. There are, however, many anomalies [1]). See S. Ch. 71. 72. In M. the fourth set has (m.) अया for E. H. अवा and (f.) ई for E. H. इया; as M. राम्या (for रामन्या cf. § 6, note), E. H. रमन्वा *Rám;* Mg. दुर्गी, E. H. दुर्गिया *Durgá.* See my V[th] Essay on Gḍ. Gramm. in J. B. A. S. XLIII, 36. The W. H. has अया, ऐया, अई, ऐ for E. H. अवा, ओवा, अउ, औ of the fourth and sixth sets respectively; e. g., W. H. कन्हया, कन्हैया, कन्हई, कन्हे *krishna* [2]);

1) E. g., sometimes इ migrates into the preceding syllable, as in B. काशे or केशे for E. H. कसिया *káśi* (abbreviated for *káśináth*).

2) By way of illustration compare तलैया *pond* = Mg. *तलायये* = Skr. तडाकक: of तडाक, with कन्हैया = Mg. कण्हयये = Skr. *कृष्णाकक: of कृष्ण.

गड्डिया, गड्डेया, गड्डई, गड्डे *pit; etc.* In H. H. these pleonastic forms, being more or less vulgar, are not usually employed; but there are a few exceptions, such as बछवा *calf*, कड़वा or करुआ *bitter;* etc.

203. *Derivation.* The original of all these suff. is the suff. क which is sometimes employed in Skr. to form diminutives, as पुत्रकः *little son*, but is more often merely pleonastic. In Pr. it is still more extensively used in the latter way; see Vr. 4, 25 in Cw. 140. H. C. 2, 164. Ls. 258. Wb. Spt. 69. 70; especially in the Ap. Pr.; see H. C. 4, 429. 430. Ls. 341. 475. E. H. employs it, in some cases (*cf.* § 204), even more frequently than Pr. In the latter the suff. क generally becomes ग, but sometimes remains unaltered. The latter is especially the case in Ps. Pr. (cf. H. C. 2, 164), in Sr. and Mg. Pr. (K. I. 12, 1 in Ls. Ap. 50. cf. Ls. 378. 396), and in Ap. Pr. (K. I. 13, 8 in Ls. 449. 457). The Mg. Pr., moreover, — particularly in its lower types — has not only a tendency to retain क्, but even to prolong the preceding vowel[1]), thus making the suff. आक, ईक, ऊक Md. 12, 16; cf. Wb. Bh. 348. Ls. 431)[2]). In one case, Mg. shortens the preceding आ and compensates it by doubling क्; viz. in हड्डके *heart* (Md. 12, 13. Vr. 11, 6. K. I. 11, 3 in Ls. 393), for *हडाकं, Skr. हृदयकम्, Ps. हितकं (Vr. 10, 14) or हितपकं (H. C. 4, 310), but Mh. हिअयं (cf. H. C. 2, 164). Further the suff. क is sometimes *reduplicated* in Pr., thus making it क्क (for कक, H. C. 2, 164. 4, 430)[3]) or in Mg. क्ख or आकख,

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1) Thus in the Mchh. the Mg. form केलक is much more common than its alternative केलख. It may be remarked, that since the natural tendency in Pr. is to elide hard consonants, the effort to retain them would tend either to their being doubled or to the lengthening of the preceding vowel.

2) Md. 12, 16 के दीर्घो वा । कप्रत्यये परे पूर्वो दीर्घो वा स्यात् । i. e. „the vowel preceding the suff. क may optionally be long". The MS. reads पूर्वादीर्घो (?); the example is: लाउलाके । लाउआके (?).

3) The example in H. C. 2, 164 is बहुक्कं, E. H. बहुक्कवा.

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ईकष, उकष. Thus in Mg. the suff. क may have the following forms (in the nom. sing. incl. final of base): 1) अए, इए, उए by elision of क्; 2) अके, इके, उके or आके, ईके, ऊके by retaining क्; 3) अकए, इकए, उकए or आकए, ईकए, ऊकए by reduplicating the suff. and retaining क्; 4) अअए, इइए, उइए by reduplicating the suff. and eliding क्. In E. H., the first Pr. set is either *contracted* to आ, ई, ऊ (cf. §§ 47. 49. 98, exc.), or separated (by inserting य् or व् § 69) into अया, इया, उवा[1]); the result being the 1st and 4th E. H. sets. Exceptionally the Pr. hiatus is retained in E. H. इउँ, which is apparently the same as the Ap. Pr. termination इउं. The second Pr. set becomes in E. H. either अक्, इक्, उक् (cf. § 45) or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् by doubling क् and shortening the preceding vowel; thus forming the E. H. 2nd set. The third Pr. set again is in E. H. either *contracted* to अका, इका, उका and अक्का, इक्का, उक्का, or *separated* into अकवा, इकवा, उकवा and अक्कवा, इक्कवा, उक्कवा; thus producing the E. H. 3d and 5th sets. Finally the fourth Pr. set becomes in E. H. अीवा (contracted for *अवव्वा, cf. § 34), इयवा (or इव्वा or contr. ईवा § 83, exc.), उवा (or उवा or contr. ऊवा § 84, exc.) by inserting य् or व्; thus constituting the E. H. 6th set. E. g., Skr. घोटकः *horse*, Mg. घोउए or (gen.) घोउस्साह (§ 369, 2), E. H. घोआ or घोव्वा; Skr. *घोटककः, Mg. (gen.) घोउअस्साह्, E. H. घोअीवा (for *घोअवा); or Skr. मिष्टकः *sweet*, Mg. मिट्ठए or मिट्ठके or मिट्ठाके, E. H. मीठा or मिठक् or मिठक्क्; Skr. *मिष्टककः, Mg. मिट्ठकए or मिट्ठाकए, E. H. मिठका or मिठक्का or मिठकवा or मिठक्कवा; etc. Similarly in the feminine: 1) Pr. इआ and उआ = H. H. ई and ऊ (§ 51) or इया and उवा; 2) Pr. *अकी, *इकी, *उकी[2]) or आकी, ईकी, ऊकी = E. H. अक्, इक्, उक् or अक्क्, इक्क्, उक्क् (§ 43); 3) Pr. अकिआ, इकिआ, उकिआ or आकिआ, ईकिआ, ऊकिआ = E. H. अकी, इकी, उकी or अक्की, इक्की, उक्की or अकिया, इकिया, उकिया or अक्किया, इक्किया, उक्किया; 4) Pr. *इअआ, *उअआ[2]), (= *इकका, *उकका) = E. H. इयवा, उवा (or उवा). Thus Skr.

1) For an explanation of the final आ of these forms see §§ 365, 1. 369, 2.

2) When क् is retained or the suff. reduplicated, the fem. appears to have been formed irregularly.

मृत्तिका *earth*, Mg. मट्टिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 29), E. H. माटो or मटिया; Skr. *मृत्तिकका, Mg. मट्टिअआ, E. H. मटियआ; or Skr. मिष्ट or मिष्टिका *sweet*, Mg. मिट्ठ or मिट्ठिआ, E. H. मीठ or मीठो or मिठिया; Skr. *मिष्टको, Mg. मिट्ठओ or मिट्ठाओ, E. H. मिठक् or मिठक्कु; Skr. *मिष्टकिका, Mg. मिट्ठकिआ or मिट्ठाकिआ, E. H. मिठको or मिठक्को or मिठकिया or मिठक्किया; etc.

204. *Origin.* The original of the suff. क I am inclined to believe to be the past part. pass. कृत *done* for the following reason. There are two main elements क and त or त. Each of them exists in a twofold use, as a pleonastic or a derivative suffix. It will be shown, that the latter (त or त) in its two uses is essentially the same element and has the same origin (Skr. दृश), see §§ 218. 244. 248. 251. The same, probably, is true of the former (क) also. It will be shown in §§ 280. 338 that the suff. क — as a derivative one, at least — has originated from the part. कृत; and in § 377, that the genitive affix क has the same origin.

205. *Origin of the pleonastic forms.* Skr. possesses bases in अ, इ and उ. The declension of the bases in इ and उ is intricate; at least, as they form a very small minority, it was much less familiar, than that of the अ-bases. Hence the custom sprang up in Pr., of adding the suff. क to the इ- and उ-bases, in order to turn them into अ-bases; and from habit, it was extended to the अ-bases themselves; thus tending to produce a uniform kind of declension. We shall observe (§ 347) a similar levelling tendency of Pr. in regard to the treatment of the verbal roots whereby the diversity of the Skr. conjugation was reduced to a uniform pattern. In E. H., this uniformity of declension has become an established fact. In the meanwhile, however, the result of the Pr. habit of adding the suff. क was, to produce a double set of forms of the same meaning; the *weak* forms in इ, ई, उ, and the *strong* in (Mg.) अए, ईए, उए. This must have been felt to be inconvenient. In Gd., therefore, the custom grew up of using only one set; and in the struggle for existence, thus ensuing between the two

sets, the hardier one (i. e., that of the *strong* forms), will naturally survive. The tendency to extinction of the weak forms is, indeed, unmistakeable in Gd. In E. and W. H., the weak forms in ई and ऊ (probably from having suffered longest the addition of the suff. क) are altogether extinct in adj., and, to a considerable extent, in subst. also. The case of the weak form in अ, in W. H., is not very different from this. But the E. H. has more nearly preserved the older, i. e. Pr., stage, particularly in regard to adj.; though it also shows signs of the same general tendency, in preferring strong fem. in ई and strong long forms in का, को (see §§ 196. 198). — Another reason for the frequent addition of the suff. क in Pr. was its preference (common to all popular languages) for the use of diminutives. This habit continued in Gd., in whose more uncultivated forms, like the E. H., it is very marked. But as the Pr. strong (or diminutive) forms in अए, इए, उए, in their contracted Gd. forms आ, ई, ऊ, had been generally substituted in Gd. in the place of the (more or less) extinct Pr. weak (or non-diminutive) forms, Gd. was obliged to distinguish its diminutive (but, in vulgar speech, pleonastic) forms by some new device. Accordingly व् and ल् were inserted in the Pr. strong terminations, and thus were produced the long termin. अवा, इया, उवा of the E. H. The excess of this popular tendency is exhibited in the reduplication of those forms in the redundant terminations ओवा, इयवा, उअवा.

Second Group.

206.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	अह्	अहा	अही
2.	आइ्	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others containing the suff. आ, ई of the 1st set 1st group are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

207. These suff. are sometimes added to adj. or subst. of the weak form: Thus: अह् in गउह् or गड्ह *fort*, from गढ् *enclosure;* अहा in गउहा (or गढा), from गाड or गढा *cavity;* m. अउरहा, f. °ही, from अउर् or m. अउरा, f. °री *mad* (W. H. आवल् or आवला); m.

भिरकटहा, f. °ही *feeble* (also भिकुटहा), from भरकट् *monkey* (?); again बाह् in m. f. बउराह् *mad*.

208. *Derivation.* These suff. are closely allied to those of first group. Their original is the Skr. pleon. suff. क, the क् of which is elided in Pr. and replaced in Gd. by ह् (see § 69). Thus we have in Mg. Pr. (in the nom. sg., and incl. of the final अ of the base) अए (i. e. अकः), in E. H. अह् (for अह); or adding pleon. अ (= क, i. e., doubling क) we have Mg. m. अअए, E. H. अहा, Mg. f. अइआ, E. H. अही, In Mg. the vowel, preceding क, may be lengthened, m. आके, f. आकी, or (eliding क्) आए, आई; whence, inserting ह्, arises E. H. m. f. आह् (= आह, आही). E. g., Skr. गर्तक, Mg. गड्डके or गड्डए, E. H. गढह् or गड्ढ; Skr. वातुलकः, Mg. वाउलाके or वाउलाए, E. H. बउराह्; or Mg. m. वाउलकके or वाउलअए, E. H. बउरहा, f. Mg. वाउलइआ, E. H. बउरही. By way of illustration compare E. H. घटिहा *inferior, low-priced*, Mg. घडिअए, Skr. घटितकः.

Third Group.

209.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1) a.	अइ् or अइ्	अआ or अआ	अई or अई
	b.	— —	अइ् or अइ्	अइ् or अइ्
	2)	एइ् or एइ्	एआ or एआ	एई or एई
	3)	ओइ् or ओइ्	ओआ or ओआ	ओई or ओई
	4)	अल् or अइ्	अला or अआ	अली or अई
	5) a.	एल् or एइ्	एला or एआ	एली or एई
	b.	ईल् or ईइ्	ईला or ईआ	ईली or ईई
	c.	इल् or इइ्	इला or इआ	इली or इई
	6) a.	ओल् or ओइ्	ओला or ओआ	ओली or ओई
	b.	उल् or उइ्	उला or उआ	उली or उई
	c.	उल् or उइ्	उला or उआ	उली or उई
	7) a.	अन्	अना	अनी
	b.	उन्	उना	उनी

The forms with इ् are properly W. H., and are rarely used in E. H. (see § 29). Most of the forms with ल् may be, and commonly are pronounced with इ् (see § 30); some, however, have always ल्, others always इ्. All forms of com. gen. are weak, the others con-

taining the pleon. suff. of the 1st set 1st group are strong. The forms अड़ or अड़ू, contracted from Ap. Pr. अडउ = *अडकः, are properly W. H., and occur only exceptionally in E. H. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

210. The first set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus m. गठड़ or गठड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of गाठ् (or गठा) *bundle*; चमड़ा, of चाम् *leather*; चीकड़ (or कीचड़), of चीक् (or कीच्) *mud* (cf. § 138); अब्भोड़, of अब्भू *glutton*; टुकड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of टुक् (Skr. स्तोक) *piece*; पटड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of पट (or पटा) *board*; पलंगड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of पलंग् *bedstead*; बछड़ा, f. °ड़ी or m. f. बछड़ *calf, colt*, of बछ् (or बछा) *young*; भूखड़, of भूख् (or भूखा) *hungry*; भुलकड़, of भूलक् *forgetful*; मोटड़ा, of मोट् *bundle*; मेहाड़, of मेह् *woman*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as सैकड़ा *a hundred*, of *सैक् (A. Mg. सयक्क, Skr. शतक); टोकड़ा *basket*, of *टोक्; थोड़ or थोड़ा, f. °ड़ी *little*, of *थो (Pr. थोअ, Skr. स्तोक, cf. § 97); छोकड़ा or छोड़ा *boy* and छोकड़ी or छोड़ी *girl*, of *छोक् or *छो (see § 198 exc.); छेड़ा, f. छेड़ी *goat*, of *छे (Mg. छाय, Skr. छाग); अगाड़ी *front*, of *आगा (Skr. अग्र); पछाड़ी *back*, of *पाछा (Skr. पश्च); पहाड़ *mountain* and पहाड़ा, *multiplication-table*, of *पहा (Skr. प्रथित *extended*, see § 118); etc. See also § 104.

211. The second and third sets occur in subst. and adj.; very rarely; thus अछेड़ा *colt*, अछेड़ी *filly*, of अछ् (or अछा) *young*; घनेड़ or घनेड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of घन् *much*; गडोड़ा, of गाड़ (or गड़ा) *pit*.

212. The fourth set occurs in subst. and adj.; often; thus मोटल् or मोटला, f. °ली, of मोट् (or मोटा) *fat*; जेठड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of जेठ् (or जेठा) *eldest*; रस्सड़ा, f. °ड़ी, of *रस्स् or रस्सा *cord*; मुहाड़ा *vanguard*, मुहाड़ी *cuff, bore of a gun*, of मुह् *mouth*; हथल् or हथली, of हाथ् or हथा *handle*; सुतला or सुतड़ा, f. °ड़ी *string*, of सूत् *thread*; परला, f. °ली, of पार् *beyond*; etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as अगला, f. ली *former*, of *आग (Skr. अग्र; Ap. Pr. अगलउ H. C. 4, 341); मउली *mother*, of M. माउ, E. H. माई (Skr. मातृ, cf. § 63).

213. The fifth and sixth sets occur in subst. and adj.; rarely; thus the 5th set in पतोल् or पतोला or पतिला, of पात् *pot, pan*; अपरेल्, of अपर् (or अपरा) *tile* (see § 175, note); मुरेला, of मोर् *peacock*; सपेला, of साप् *snake*; अधेला, of आध् *one half*; पउला, of पाव् *a quarter*;

अकेला or इकेला, of एक् *one, solitary.* The 6th set in सपोला, of साप् *snake;* ककरोला, of ककर् (or ककरी) *gourd;* अतोला, of बात् *talk;* बाँसुली or बाँसुरी *flute,* of बाँस् *bamboo* (see § 128); बाँकुरा *swaggerer,* of बाँक् *fop;* etc. Sometimes the original word is disused; as in अगिला *foremost,* of आग् (Skr. अग्र); मकेला or मकिला or मझोला *middle,* of °माझ् (Skr. मध्य); पछिल् or °ला *last,* of °पाछ् (Skr. पश्च); पहिल् or °ला *first* (cf. § 118).

214. The seventh set occurs in pronouns and sometimes in nouns; thus pron. अइसन् *of this kind,* तइसन् *of that kind;* कइसन *of which kind,* नइसन् *of which kind,* of °अइस्, °तइस्, etc.; see §§ 111. 456—458; एतना, f. °नी *this much,* ओतना, f. °नी *that much;* तेतना, f. °नी *so much;* केतना, f. °नी *how much;* जेतना, f. °नी *as much,* of एत्, तेत्, etc.; see §§ 111. 452—454; आपुन् or आपन् or अपुना or अपना, f. °नी *own,* of °आप् (Skr. आत्मीय), see § 111; नवन्, f. नउनी *he, that;* कवन्, f. कउनी *who;* जवन्, f. जउनी *which,* of °नव्, °कव्, °जव्, see §§ 106. 438, 2. Again nouns: छौना, f. छौनी *young of an animal,* from °छौ, see § 210; घुरना, f. °नी, of घोघ् *mouth of an animal;* जामुन्, of जाम् *rose-apple,* see § 111.

215. None of these suff. alter the meaning of the word; though sometimes they restrict it to some particular application; as बछ or बछा is *any young animal,* but बछरा is a *calf* or *colt* and बछेरा a *colt;* मझोली or मझोलो a *kind of carriage of middling size;* घिठरी a *particular kind of sweetmeat;* etc. Sometimes, they imply smallness, as मुरेला a *peachick;* सपोला a *young snake;* चँवरी a *wink,* lit. a small आँख् or *eye.* Sometimes, again, they express likeness, in which case they are more properly to be considered derivative suff., see §§ 241. 245; thus तमरा *a certain jewel of copper color* (lit. *like* ताम or *copper*); जलरी *a false stone resembling a* लाल् or *ruby;* पातुर् or पतुरा *thin, weak,* lit. *like a* पात् or *leaf.* Sometimes both; thus पुतरा or पुतला, f. °री or °ली *idol, doll,* lit. *a little* or *like a* पूत् *son;* चीलर् or चीलहर् *louse,* lit. *a small* or *like a* चील् *hawk.* — It should be remarked, however, that in the nouns in री or ली which imply smallness, as गठरी, पलंगरी, पटरी, टुकरी, टोकरी, मोटरी, पतोली, सुतली, रसरी, etc. (cf. §§ 210. 213), that quality is denoted by the gender

(cf. §§ 256. 257), not by the suffix; for their corresponding masculines always imply largeness; e. g., गठ्ठा *large bundle*, गठ्ठी *small bundle*, etc.

216. *Affinities.* All Gd. languages possess this group of pleon. suff., see Bs. II, 115—122. As to S., especially, see Tr. 71. 77—79; as to M. see Man. 34. 113. 114. Their forms do not materially differ in any of them from those in use in E. H. But S. has always एरो for एलो; M. has sometimes ए for ए (§ 217), and S. sometimes ए for ल, as in लिखंदेउ *writer* from लिखंदो, but generally लु, as डिठलु *seen* from डिठो (Tr. 71). Here S. uses the pleon. लु or ए to turn part. into adj.; in the same way G. uses लो (Ed. 113) and M. एला (e. g., मेला *part.* or मेलेला *adj. dead*, Man. 63, 2. 64, 2). For the same purpose Mw. uses डो and N. को, though more in the manner of an affix; e. g., Mw. लिख्यो *part.* and लिख्योडो *adj.*, N. लिख्यो or लिखियो *part.* and लिख्याको *adj. written.*

217. *Derivation.* All these pleon. suff. occur in Pr. (H. C. 2, 164. 165. 166. 173); more especially in Mg. Pr. (Wb. Bh. 437) and Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 429. 430). Here (in the Ap. Mg.) they have, in the nom. sg. and incl. of the final of the base, the following forms: 1) m. अडे, f. अडी (H. C. 4, 431) or, with the pleon. suff. अ added, m. अडए, f. अडिआ. These change into the first E. H. set, m. f. एड or अड and m. अडा or आडा, f. अडी or आडी; e. g., Ap. Mg. गंठडे (Skr. ग्रन्थ H. C. 4, 120), E. H. गठ; Mg. गंठडए, E. H. गठा; Mg. गंठडिआ, E. H. गठी. 2) The same, with the pleon. अ added to the base of the word, m. अअडे, f. अअडी and m. अअडए, f. अअडिआ. These, by inserting य (§ 69) and contracting अय to ए (§ 121), result in the E. H. second set, m. f. एअ or एअ and m. एआ or एआ, f. एई or एई; or by inserting व (§ 69) and contracting अव to ओ (§ 122) result in the E. H. third set, m. f. ओअ or ओअ and m. ओआ or ओआ, f. ओई or ओई; e. g., Ap. Mg. अणाअडे or अणाएडे, E. H. अनेअ; Ap. Mg. अच्छअडए or अच्छएडए, E. H. अछेआ; Ap. Mg. अच्छअडिआ or अच्छएडिआ, E. H. अछेई; again Ap. Mg. गडुअडए or गडुएडए (Skr. गर्त H. C. 2, 35), E. H. गडोआ. 3) Mg. m. अल or अले, f. अली or अली or, with pleon. अ added, m. अलए or अलए, f. अलिआ

or ऊलिआ. These produce the E. H. fourth set, m. f. ऊल् or ऊ and m. ऊला or ऊआ, f. ऊली or ऊई; thus Mg. नवल्ले *new* (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. नव), E. H. नवल्; Mg. एक्कल्ल (H. C. 2, 165. Skr. एक) *solitary*, E. H. इकला or इकाआ; Mg. एक्कुलिआ, E. H. इकली or इकाई; again Mg. पोक्खल *yellow* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पीत), E. H. पोला or पोआ (§ 97); Mg. धंधल *blind* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. अन्ध), E. H. धंधला or धंधाआ; Mg. पत्तलं *dish* (H. C. 2, 173. Skr. पात्र), E. H. पत्तल् or पत्तऊ; Mg. विज्जुलिआ *lightning* (Ls. 2, 194. H. C. 2, 173. Skr. विद्युत्), E. H. बिजुली or बिजुई; Ap. Mg. आगल *anterior* (cf. H. C. 4, 141. 444. Skr. अग्र), E. H. आगला. 4) Mg. m. इल्ले or इले, f. इल्ली or इली or, with pleon. अ added, m. इल्ल or इल्ल, f. इल्लिआ or इलिआ. These constitute the E. H. fifth set, m. f. एल् or ईल् or इल् and m. एला or ईला or इला, f. एली or ईली or इली; thus Mg. m. मल्लिल्ल or मल्लिल *middle* (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. मध्य), E. H. मकेला or मकिला; Mg. f. मल्लिल्लिआ or मल्लिलिआ, E. H. मकेली or मकिली; Mg. पढमिल्ले (Wb. Bh. 437. Skr. प्रथम), E. H. पहेल् or पहिल् (§ 118); again Mg. तेन्निल (cf. H. C. 2, 157 see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना, G. तेटलो, S. तेतिरो; Mg. f. तेन्निलिआ, E. H. तेतनी, G. तेटली, S. तेतिरी; again Mg. पत्तिल्लअं or पतिलअं *dish, vessel* (Skr. पात्र), E. H. पतीला or पतिला, etc. 5) Mg. m. उल्ले or उले, f. उल्ली or उली or, with pleon. अ added, m. उल्ल or उल्ल, f. उल्लिआ or उलिआ. These give rise to the E. H. sixth set, m. f. ओल् or ऊल् or उल्, and m. ओला or ऊला or उला, f. ओली or ऊली or उली; thus Ap. Mg. m. मज्झुल्ल *middle* (Skr. मध्य), E. H. मझोला; Ap. Mg. f. मज्झुल्लिआ, E. H. मझोली; Mg. मुहुल्लअं (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. मुख), E. H. मुहुरा *vanguard*; Mg. हत्थुल्लिआ (cf. H. C. 2, 164. Skr. हस्त) *handle*, E. H. हथुरी or हथरी; Mg. अप्पुल्ले (see §§ 60. 111), E. H. आपुन् or आपन्; Ap. Mg. तेत्तुल (cf. H. C. 4, 435., see §§ 58. 111), E. H. तेतना; etc. 6) with pleon. अ added, m. णाए, f. णाआ, n. णाअं. These become the E. H. seventh set, m. ना, f. नी; thus Mg. अप्पणाए (§ 60, note), E. H. अपना; Mg. अप्पणिआ, E. H. अपनी. I believe this is the only example of the pleon. suff. ना in Pr. A comparison with E. H. shows: 1) that the Pr. अप्पणअं (H. C. 2, 153) stands for *अप्पुणअं = अप्पुल्लअं (H. C. 2, 163); and 2) that the न् of this set is a substitute for an original ल्

(or ल्), as in E. H. तामुन् (see § 111). Further a comparison of the various sets tends to show, that the Pr. suff. इल्, इल and उल्, उल are modifications of original forms एल and ओल, and that the latter are contractions of अवल and अवल, formed, by the insertion of ए् and व्, from अवल and, by the prefixion of the pleon. अ, from the simple suff. वल. The latter (वल) itself is, probably, a mere modification of वउ, through the common interchange of उ् and ल् (H. C. 1, 202); as shown by the S. बिजुरी *lightning* for Pr. बिजुली [1]). As to the origin of वउ, see § 218. Of the change of वउ to वउ, now almost universal in W. Gḍ., there are apparently a few examples in Pr.; viz., Pr. दीहं or दीहं *long* (H. C. 2, 171. Skr. दीर्घ), E. H. दोर् *a long while ago;* Pr. बाहिं or बाहिं *external* (H. C. 2, 140. of Skr. बहिस्), E. H. m. f. बाहिर्, m. बाहिरा, f. °री. For it should be remembered that the old Pr. र् is a cerebral (= ऱ्, see § 15), not (like the E. H.) a dental. The Skr. suff. क and र (i. e. ऋ), sometimes (espec. in later Skr.) used pleonastically, are, no doubt, identical with the corresponding Pr. ones. — The Skr. pleon. suff. ट (as in कर्कः or कर्कटः or कर्कटकः *crab*, Pr. कक्कडो or कक्कडओ, E. H. केँकर् or केँकरा) is probably a hardening of the Pr. suff. ड, and adopted into Skr. in the ancient period of the Ps. Pr. With this would seem to agree the fact, that Psh. and, occasionally, S. possess a diminutive suff. ओटे or उटे (Tr. 77. Bs. II, 122). There are a few nouns of apparently similar formation in H.; but they may well be compounds; e. g., चमोटा *a strip of leather* = Skr चर्म + पत्रिका; बाम्हनेटा *young brâhman* = Pr. बम्हण + बिट्टओ (*brâhman's son*); हिरणोटा *fawn* = हिरण + पुत्र. B. has आटे (S. Ch. 100) and M. ट (Man. 114).

218. *Origin.* The original of these pleon. suff. I believe to be the Skr. suff. (properly a noun) दृश *like*, which is added both to nouns and pronouns. In Pr. it appears as दह; e. g., in एदहं (H. C. 2, 157) = Skr. ईदृशम् (lit. *इयादृश = इयत् + दृश); and in

1) Thus: Skr. मध्यक° (or मध्यम°), Mg. *मक्कअडे = *मक्कअले = *मक्कयले = *मक्केले = मक्किले or मक्किले, E. H. मकेल् or मकिल्.

Ap. Pr. it occurs as डो or डु; e. g., in एवडो or एवडु (H. C. 4, 407) = Skr. *एवादृशः (from Ved. ईदृश् or Skr. एवम्). These Ap. forms डो and डु are, evidently, contractions for *इहो and इहु resp., where इ would easily arise from the Skr. ऋ (just as Pr. इ from Skr. ई H. C. 2, 86. 87) and °अह° would be suppressed, as e. g. in S. इते or इत्थे *here* = Ap. इत्थे (H. C. 4, 436., see §§ 468, a. 469). And the Ap. suff. डो and डु, being once established, would be treated in their further evolutions precisely as any other suff., and thus produce all the alternative sets, enumerated in § 209. Their initial ड would be (as usual) liable to change to ड् or ळ्, ळ् or ड्, and न्. In the Gd. pronouns it actually has undergone all these changes; see §§ 104. 105. 106. 438, 2. 4. 454. — In confirmation of this theory, it is to be remarked: 1) that as shown in § 215, the original meaning *like* of the suff. ड or ल may still be traced in some words; 2) that a suff., meaning *like*, would easily come to be used diminutively and thence pleonastically, as may be seen in such English words as *such* and *such-like*, *kind* and *kindly*, or in the German *froh* and *fröhlich*, *krank* and *krānklich*; the intermediate *diminutive* sense is more often preserved in S. and M. (see Bs. II, 117. 118); 3) that such a suff. may easily become a *derivative* one; as in the English *kingly*, i. e., *like a king* or *belonging to a king*, or in the German *tödlich*, i. e., *full of death*, *mortal*, *peinlich*, i. e., *full of pain*. Accordingly, as will be shown in §§ 241. 245. 249., all these pleon. suff. occur also as derivative ones in Pr. and Gḍ.; 4) that in M. the suff. sometimes have the forms डा, डो (for डा, डो), which have preserved the original ड् of the Ap. Pr. *इहो, *उहो, as in M. तेवढा (Man. 125) for Ap. Pr. तेवडु.

2. SECONDARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

219. The secondary derivative suff. may be divided into eighteen groups. Of these the eleven first consist of suff. which already existed as such in Pr., the remaining seven contain those which have become such in Gḍ., but were full nouns in Pr.

First Group.

220. Set. 1. Fem. ঈ. Set. 2. Fem. আই.

Both, containing the suff. ई of § 196., are strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

221. These suffixes are used to derive abstract nouns from adjectives. Weak and long forms take the first, strong forms the second set. Thus ঈ, in হলুক্কঈ *lightness*, of হলুক্ক *light*; ঢংঈ *coldness*, of ঢংহু *cold*; সধুঈ *simplicity*, of সধুআ *simple*; ভরিঈ *heaviness*, of ভরিআ *heavy*; etc. Again আই, in ভলাই *goodness*, of ভলা *good*; অড়াই *greatness*, of অড়া *great*; মিঠাই *sweetness*, of মীঠা *sweet*; গোলাই *roundness*, of গোলা *round*; etc.

222. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., though in M. they appear to be considered as non-indigenous and introduced from Hindí (see Man. 112). As to S. see Tr. 58. In P. the suff. is occasionally added also to the long form of adj. in আ, not only (as in E. H.) to that of adj. in অ. That long form ends (as in W. H. see § 202) in অআ, and অআ is vocalized to ইআ (cf. § 121); thus অড়া *great*, lg. f. অড়আ, whence অড়িআই *greatness* (see Ld. 13. Bs. II, 79). The আ in such forms is anomalous for ঈ, as will be seen by a reference to § 221; unless we suppose the base to have been the redundant, not the long form of the word. W. H. and H. H., too, have the anomalous আ; but E. H. has regularly ঈ; e. g., W. H. গহুআই, but E. H. গহুঈ *heaviness*. The H. H. often superfluously adds আই to tats. or semitats., which contain already the identical suff. ता; as H. H. কোমলতাই *comeliness*; যোগ্যতাই or লোগতাই *worthiness*, etc.

223. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddhita ता (fem.), in Pr. ত্তা or আ (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154). With the pleon. क superadded, it is Skr. तिका, Pr. ত্তিআ or ইআ or, incl. of the final অ of the base, অইআ, and Gḍ. ঈ (§ 51). And with pleon. অ (= क) added to the base we have Pr. অইআ, contracted in Gḍ. আই. Thus Skr. মিষ্টতা or *মিষ্টতিকা, Pr. মিট্ঠইআ, E. H. মিঠই; and Skr. *মিষ্টকতিকা, Pr. মিট্ঠঅইআ, E. H. মিঠাই; again Skr. *সাধুকতিকা, Pr. সাধুঅইআ, E. H. সধুঈ; etc. This derivation is

illustrated by E. H. अड्ढाई *two and a half*, which is contr. from Mg. अड्ढइज्जा (cf. Wb. Bh. 425. H. C. 1, 101 and § 416), Skr. अर्धतृतीय.

Second Group.

224. Set. 1. Masc. आउ or आव्. Set 2. Masc. आन्., Both sets are weak forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

225. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from a very small number of adj., expressive of dimension; viz., ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव् or ऊँचान् *height*, of ऊंचा *high*; गहिराउ or गहिराव् or गहिरान् *depth*, of गहिरा *deep*; खोंडाउ or खोंडाव् or खोंडान् *depth*, of खोंडा *deep*; चौराउ or चौराव् or चौरान् *breadth, width*, of चौरा (H. H. चौड़) *broad, wide*; लम्बाउ or लम्बाव् or लम्बान् *length*, of लम्बा *long*. The forms in आन् are properly and generally masc.; but are sometimes used as fem.

Note: There are also the ordinary forms in आई (§ 229); as ऊँचाई, गहिराई, लमाई, etc.

226. *Affinities.* These suff. are not strictly E. H., but introduced from the W. H.; and occur in all W. Gds. See Bs. II, 80. 81. Tr. 59. In S. they are fem., in G. neuter, and in P. masc. The fem. gender in S. is a Gd. formation, like that of the suff. पी, पणी §§ 228. 230. The tendency of abstract nouns is to become fem.; also in Mg. Pr. there is fem. आ or neut. अं for Skr. neut. त्वम्, see Wb. Bh. 437. S. appears to have occasionally आइणि for आणि, the former of which, probably, stands for अयानि and is to be explained like the P. इआई for आई, see § 222. In S. the suff. आनि may be used with any adj. expressing an inherent quality; as धळाणि *whiteness*, कराणि *blackness*, अड्डाणि *greatness*; etc.

227. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (cf. Wb. Spt. 68. 69). They become in Pr. (nom. *sg.*) अं or अणं (Vr. 4, 22. H. C. 2, 154) or, incl. of the final अ of the base, अअं or अअणं or (eliding अ, see § 153) अइं or अइणं (see Spt. A. 52. अधस्सअरणा = Skr. अयस्यकत्वन) or in Ap. Pr. अउ or अअणु (cf. H. C. 4, 331). Now the Ap. form अउ or, with pleon. अ added to the base, अअउ contracts in H. to आउ or आव्;

and the Ap. form उच्चणु contracts to H. ऊचान्. E. g., Skr. उच्चत्वम् *height*, Pr. उच्चत्तं or उच्चत्तं, Ap. उच्चउ, E. H. ऊँचाउ or ऊँचाव्; again Skr. *उच्चत्वनम्, Pr. उच्चणं or उच्चणं, Ap. उच्चणु, E. H. ऊँचान्. S. has, apparently, preserved the न् in मुखिनणु[1]) *duty of a मुखी headman* (Tr. 61), but not in चोकिराटु *boyhood*, which is probably a comp. of चोकर् and वट्टु (Ap. for Skr. वृत्तम्).

Third Group.

228.

Set.	Masc.	Fem.
1) a. प्पा	b. प् or पा	—
2) a. प्पन्	b. पन् or पना	पनी

The suff. in प्पा and ई are strong, the others are weak forms. Those with प्प् are added to weak, those with प् to strong bases; but पना, पनी to either.

229. These suff. are used to derive abstract nouns from subst. or adj. The forms प्पन् or पन्, however, are those commonly employed. Thus प् in बुड्डाप् *old age*, of बूड्ढा *old*; प्पा or पा in बुड्डापा *old age*, होट्प्पा or होटापा *smallness*, of होट् or होटा *small*; मोटप्पा or मोटापा *fatness*, of मोट् or मोटा *fat*; रंडप्पा *widowhood*, of रंडुं *widow*; etc.; प्पन् or पन् in बड्डप्पन् or बड्डापन् *greatness* (cf H. C. 4, 437), of बड्ड or बड्ढा *great*; सुधापन् *simplicity*, of सूधा *simple*; गरुप्पन् or गारुप्पन् *heaviness*, of *गरु or गारु *heavy*; बालकपन् *childhood*, of बालक् *child*, etc.; पना or पनी in होटप्पना *smallness*; लुचप्पना or लुचप्पनी *profligacy*, of लुच् *profligate*; ज्ञानप्पनी *knowingness*, *knowledge*, of ज्ञान् (Skr. ज्ञानी § 191) *knowing*; पातीपना *profligacy*, of पाती *profligate*, etc.

Note: Exceptionally the suff. appears to be added to a verbal root, as in खुतलापन् *itching*, from खुतलाव् *to itch*; but in reality it is added to the noun *खुतला (cf. M. खाजरा Man. 115) *itch*, which, however, is now used only as a fem. खुतलो.

230. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; though they seem to be less common in B. and O., than in the others

1) It is more probably the Ap. Pr. suff. णणु (see H. C. 4, 422, 20); viz., Ap. मुखिणणु scil. वट्टु.

(see Bs. II, 73). M. has पण् n., पणा m. (Man. 112); S. ण fem., णे m.; णाई f., णी f., णपु m., णणे m. (Tr. 59—61); G. णे m., णण् m., णणुं n. (Ed. 14); P. णा m., णुणा or णुणा m. (Ld. 13., e. g., उचक्कणुणा *business of a* उचक्का *pickpocket*); B. has पन् m., पना or (Bs. II, 71) anomalously णाना; O. has णण् m., णणिआ f. (e. g., भाँउणणिआ *roguery*). B. and O. have more commonly मि (or आमि); as लुचामि *profligacy*, भाँडामि *roguery*, हिलामि *lasiness* of होला, see Bs. II, 77.

231. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. (neut.) taddh. त्व or (vedic) त्वन (see § 227). They become in Ap. Pr. (nom. sg.) पं or प्पणं (H. C. 4, 437. Ls. 460) or, with pleon. क added, प्पकं or प्पणकं. The Ap. पं and प्पकं become in E. H. प् and प्पा or पा respectively; and the Ap. प्पणं and प्पणकं become E. H. प्पन् or पन् and पना, whence E. H. makes fem. पनी. Thus Skr. वृठत्वम्, Ap. वुट्ठपं (cf. H. C. 1, 131), E. H. बुडाप्; Skr. *वृठत्वकं, Ap. बुट्ठप्पकं, E. H. बुडप्पा or बुडापा; Skr. *वृठत्वनम्, Ap. वुट्ठप्पणं, E. H. बुडप्पन् or बुडापन्; Skr. *वृठत्वनकम्, Ap. वुट्ठप्पणकं, E. H. बुडापना or बुडापनी; etc. The आ in the E. H. forms आपा, आपन् might be the usual result of the simplification of the conjunct प्प्, but is more likely to be the strong termination of the base, as shown by the M., which changes that आ to ए, as भलेपण् *goodness* (Man. 112) for E. H. भलापन्; i. e., M. adds पन् to the strong form भले = भलय = Pr. भल्लअ = Skr. भद्रक. In the B. and O. मि the प् has been apparently softened to म्.

Fourth Group.

232.	Set.	Com. gen.	Fem.
	1)	वंत् or वत्	वंती or वती
	2)	मंत् or मत्	मंती or मती

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. Strong masc. forms (ac वंता, etc.) do not exist.

233. The weak suff. are used to derive *possessional* adj. from subst. of the weak form. Thus वंत् or वत् in धनवंत् or धनवत् (m. f.) *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*; भागतवंत् or °वत् *faithful*, of भागत *faith*; सोगवंत् or °वत् *sorrowful*, of सोग् *sorrow*; पुनवंत् or वत् *virtuous*, of

पुन् *virtue;* णयवंत् or वत् *victorious,* of णय् *victory;* मानवंत् or °वत् *proud,* of मान् *pride;* भागवंत् or °वत् *fortunate, excellent,* of भग् *fortune, excellence,* etc. Again मंत् or मत् in सिरिमंत् or सिरिमत् (m. f.) *excellent,* of सिरि *excellence;* हनुमंत् or °मत् *monkey,* of हनु *jaw;* भत्तिमंत् or °मत् *devoted,* of भत्ति *devotion;* पुनमंत् or °मत् *virtuous,* of पुन् *virtue;* etc.

234. The strong fem. suff. are commonly used to derive abstract nouns from their respective possessional adj., as धनवंती *wealthiness,* of धनवंत् *wealthy;* सोचवंती *thoughtfulness,* of सोचवंत् *thoughtful,* of सोच् *thought,* etc.; see §§ 256. 257.

235. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., exc. S. See Bs. II, 106. As to M. see Man. 114. H. H. and the H. Gds. generally are fond of using the tats. forms, m. वान्, f. वती; as रूपवान् *beautiful,* f. रूपवती; धनवान् *wealthy,* f. धनवती; दयावान् *merciful,* f. दयावती, etc. In E. H., however, as distinguished from H. H., the tats. forms do not occur, except in a few proper names, as भगवान् *God,* भगवती *the goddess Gaudi,* etc.; हनुमान् *the monkey-god,* etc. S. has the suff. वानु m., वानी f. (Tr. 76. 99), as m. सीलवानु, f. सीलवानी, E. H. m. f. सीलवंत् or °वत्; H. H. m. सीलवान्, f. सीलवती *amiable.* This S. form has in exceptional cases crept into the other Gds.; as H., M., G. गाडीवान् or गाडीवान् *coachman* (see Man. 113. Ed. 14).

236. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. taddh. वत् and मत्, which become in Pr. वंत and मंत (Vr. 4, 35. H. C. 2, 159). Whence in the Mg. nom. sg. m. वंते and मंते, f. वंती and मंती; in E. H. m. f. वंत् and मंत् (§§ 43. 45) or वत् and मत् (§§ 143. 146). Or with pleon. क added, in Mg. f. वंतिआ and मतिआ, E. H. वंतो and मंतो or वतो and मतो (§ 51). Thus Skr. m. धनवान्, Mg. धणवंते, E. H. धनवंत् or °वत्; Skr. f. धनवती, Mg. धणवंती, E. H. धनवंत् or °वती; again Skr. f. *धनवतिका, Mg. धणवंतिआ, E. H. धनवंती or °वती (scl. वृत्ति *condition*). The S. वानु, f. वानी, though, probably, ultimately connected with the Skr. suff., are independent of the Pr. m. वंतो, f. वंती; for they exist also in Pers., and there are no forms मानु, मानी in S., corresponding to Pr. मंतो, मंती.

Fifth Group.

237. Set. 1) Com. gen. आइत् (§ 82). Masc. अइत्रा or ऐत्रा. Fem. अइत्री or ऐत्री (§§ 25. 77)

The suff. of com. gen. is a weak, the others are strong forms.

238. These suff. occur only with a very few subst. from which they are used to derive possessional adj.; and from the latter abstract nouns are derived by means of the fem. strong form (see § 257). Thus ढलाइत् *shield-bearer*, ढलइत्री or ढलैत्री *office of sh.*°, from ढाल् *shield*; भरुआइत् *spearman*, of भरुआ *spear*; कड़ुआइत् *warrior-bard*, of कड़ुआ *war-song*; लिंगाइत् *a ling-worshipper*, of लिंगे *phallus*; चरचाइत् *talker*, of चरचा *talk*; नताइत् *kinsman*, of नाता *kin*; कराइत् or करइत्रा or करैत्रा *the name of a very poisonous snake*, of कारा or काला *black*; उकाइत् *robber* and उकइत्री or उकैत्री *profession of robbery*, of उाका *robbery*; अहुताइत् (fem.) *abundance*, of अहुत् *much*.

239. *Affinities.* These suff. are properly W. Gd., more especially S., whence they have exceptionally passed (mostly in technical terms) into the other Gds. In S. they are: 1) m. एत्रो, f. एत्री (for *अइत्रो, *अइत्री) added to weak bases, as पुऐत्रो *having a son*, of पुऽ son (base पुऽ, Skr. पुत्र); and 2) m. आइत्रो, f. आइत्री added to strong bases, as वारैत्रो *opportune*, of वारे *time* (base वारा = वारक, Skr. वारक). P. has occasionally the form ऐंत् or ऐंदू (see Bs. II, 102).

240. *Derivation.* These suff. may have been originally connected with those of the fourth group. For in Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159 the Pr. originals ईत or ईअ are mentioned in close connection with वंत and मत. The latter, incl. of the final अ of the base, would be अवंत and अमंत or (eliding व् and म्) अअंत, or (inserting य्, § 69) अयंत, or (vocalizing य्, § 121) अईत, or (again detaching the अ of the base) ईत. Thus Pr. माणईत्रो or माणाईत्रो *proud* (H. C. 2, 159) would be = माणयंतो = माणअंतो, माणवंतो = Skr. मानवान्. With pleon. अ added to the suff., they are Pr. m. अइत्रओ, f. अइत्रिआ; S. m. एत्रो, f. एत्री. Or with pleon. अ added to the base, Pr. m. अअइत्रओ, f. अअइत्रीओ, E. H. m. or f. आइत्; and with pleon. अ added to both the base and suff., Pr. m. अअइत्रओ, f. अअइत्रिआ; S. m. आइत्रो, f. आइत्री; E. H. m. अइत्रा or ऐत्रा, f. अइत्री or ऐत्री. — There are, however, a few

words of a similar form, such as चढाइत् or चढइता or चढैता *rider, trooper*, ढंगाइत् or f. ढंगाइती or ढंगैती *quarrelsome*, धकडाइत् *swaggerer*, etc., which seem to require a different explanation. They are clearly *primary* derivatives of the Rs. चढ् *mount*, ढँग् *quarrel*, धकड् *strut*; viz., probably, part. pres. of the denom. verbs चढाव्, ढँगाव्, धकडाव् (see §§ 349. 352). The suff. of such part. would be in Skr. शापयन्, in Pr. शावेंतो or शावंतो. The latter would change to शाअंतो, शायंतो, शाइंतो or शाइन्तो, and in Gd. शाइत्. Possibly the first mentioned derivatives, also, are to be explained in this way, as denominative participles, instead of possessional adj. This is the explanation suggested by Ls. 289. 290. It is favored by the fact that both examples in Vr. 4, 25., viz., रोसाइंतो *angry* and पाणाइंतो *alive*, end in शाइंतो with long *á*. Those in H. C. 2, 159., viz., कव्वुइन्तो *poëtical* and माणाइन्तो *proud*, indeed, end in शइन्तो with *ă*; but this need be no objection; as Pr. may, optionally, shorten the denom. suff. शाव to शव, see H. C. 4, 37. Wb. Spt. 65.

Sixth Group.

241.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	शाल् or शालू	शाला or शारा	शाली or शारी
	2)	शालु or शाहु	शालू or शारू	शालू or शारू

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, and the use of the alternative forms with लू and रू, see § 195, note.

242. These suff. are used to derive possesional adj. from subst. In some cases, the word has been restricted to some particular secondary meaning. Thus the first set in तोंदाल् or तोंदालू or m. °रा, f. °री *pot-bellied*; of तोंदू *belly*; रसाल् *sugar-cane* or *mango-tree* (lit. *juicy*), of रस् *juice*; पखाल् f. or पखालू or °ला m. *a large double water-bag of leather carried across a bullock's back, with one half suspended on each side of it* (lit. *two-sided*), of पास् *side*; रेताला *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; दुधालू or दधाल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk* (M. दुधालू), etc. Again the 2nd set in दयालु or दयालू m. or f. *merciful*, of दय् (Skr. दया) *mercy*; लज्जालु or लज्जालू *bashful*, of लाज् *shame*; perhaps also झगडालू *quarrelsome* of झगडा *quarrel*; but see §§ 308. 312.

Note: In some words the suff. is probably pleonastic (cf. § 209), as in मेहर् or मेहारू *woman*; घडी or घडिया f. or घड्याल् or घरियार् m. *clock, gong*. In others, where the suff. exists only with ऱ्, it is probably of a different kind, as in चिन्हार् *acquaintance*, etc.; see §§ 272. 273.

243. *Affinities.* These suff. occur only as an exception in the E. Gd. and P., but are very common in S. and W. Gd.; especially the second set. M. has, as a rule, ळ, sometimes ल्; thus केसाळ or केसाळू *hairy*, खेळगडू *frolicsome*, see Man. 114. G. also has ळ; as रेताळ or रेताळू *sandy*, S. has ल् or ऱ्, like E. H., and sometimes ळ् (Tr. 66. 69); as धणार्- *herdsman*, ग्रव्हाल् (*wheat*) *mixed with barley*; साताऱ् *right-handed*. P. has ळ् or ल्; as उनाळा *woollen*, कसाला *distressed*; see Bs. II, 90—94.

244. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr. suff. आल and आलु (Vr. 4, 25. H. C. 2, 159). They occur, however, especially the latter, in Skr. also. The suff. आल becomes in Mg. (nom. sg.) m. आले, f. आली and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलए, f. आलिआ, whence arise the E. H. first set m. or f. आऱ् or आल् and m. आरा or आला, f. आरी or आली. E. g., Skr. ऱ्साल:, A. Mg. ऱ्साले (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. ऱ्साल् or ऱ्साऱ्; Skr. दुग्धाला, Mg. दुड्डाला or °ल्ली, E. H. दुधाल or °ऱ्; Skr. *तुन्दालक: (cf. तुन्दिल M. W. 378, 2), Mg. तोंदालए (cf. H. C. 1, 116), E. H. तोंदारा; f. Skr. *तुन्दालिका, Mg. तोंदालिआ, E. H. तोंदारी. The suff. आलु becomes in Mg., nom. sg., m. or f. आलू and, with pleon. अ added, m. आलुए, f. आलुआ, whence the E. H. second set, m. or f. आलु and m. or f. आलू. E. g., Skr. द्यालु:, Mg. द्याळू (cf. H. C. 2, 159), E. H. द्याळु or °ऱ्; Skr. लज्जालुका, Mg. लज्जालुआ (H. C. 2, 159), E. H. लजाळू or °ऱ्. As to the origin of the suff. आल and आलु, they are probably derivatives of the Skr. suff. दृश *like*; see § 251.

Seventh Group.

245.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अइल् or अइऱ्	ऐला or ऐरा	ऐली or ऐरी
2)	इल् or इऱ्	इला or इरा	इली or इरी
3)	अउल् or अउऱ्	औला or औरा	औली or औरी
4)	उल् or उऱ्	उला or उरा	उली or उरी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others are strong. In the two first sets ल् is commonly used, in the two others र्; for the rest see § 195, note.

246. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst. Sometimes the word is restricted to some particular meaning. The first and third sets are those commonly used. Thus the 1st set in दंगड्ल् m. or f. *quarrelsome*, of दंगा *quarrel*; गँठैला, f. °लो *knotty*, of गाँठ् *knot*; पनैला, f. °लो *swampy*, of पानी *water*; पथर्ल् m. or f., or पथरैला, f. °लो *full of stones*, of पथ्र् *stone*; उँकैला *having a sting*, of उँक् *sting*; छपर्ड्ल् *a tiled house*, of छपरा *tile*; बोकड्ल् *beast of burden*, of बोक् *load*; दुधड्ल् *milch-cow*, of दूध् *milk*; etc. Again the 2nd set in रेतिला, f. लो *sandy*, of रेत् *sand*; बोकिल् *loaded*, of बोक् *load*; etc. Again the 3d set in पथउर् m. or f., or पथौरा, f. °री *full of stones*, of पथ्र् *stone*; उँकउर् m. or f., or उँकौरा, f. °री *having a sting, a wasp*, of उँक् *sting*; रसउर् m. or f., or रसौरा, f. °री *juicy*, of रस् *juice*; घमौरी or घमौलो *prickly heat*, of घाम् *warmth*; बकौला *hood* and बकौलो *green caterpillar*, of बाँक् *a bend*; etc. Again the 4th set in पातुर् *moth*, of पात् (Skr. पत्र) *wing*; पातुर् or पतुरी *prostitute*, of पात् (Skr. पात्र) *vessel*; पातुर् *weak* (H. H. पतला; lit. *leaf-like*), from पात् *leaf*; बाउर् or बउरा, f. °री *mad* (H. H. बावला), of बाए् *wind* (lit. *inflated*). Occassionally, the suff. expresses relation generally, as in बनैला, f. °लो *wild, savage*, of बन् *a wood*; घरैला, f. °लो *tame*, of घर् *house*; कखौरी or कखौलो *tumour in the armpit*, of काख् *armpit*.

247. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., but in the W. and S. Gḍ. they have an initial ए or ई for ऐ, and ओ or ऊ for औ, and in H. H. also अ for इ or उ. The M., G. and O. have ड्, and S. often र् for ल्. Thus W. H. एलो or ईलो, H. H. एला or ईला or अला, M. एळा or ईळा, G. एळो or ईळो, S. एलो or एरो, ईलो or ईरो, इड् (Tr. 67). The interchange of र् and ल्, however, occasionally occurs in all Gḍs., and, indeed, already in Pr. (see § 248). Thus H. H. गँठीला, W. H. गँठीलो *knotty*; W. H. घमोली, M. घमोळी *prickly heat*; H. H. पतला *thin*, रेतला *sandy*; etc.; further examples see in Bs. II, 95—101.

248. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Pr.

suff. इल् and उल् (Vr. 4, 5. H. C. 2, 159) or, with the pleon. ड added to the base, डइल् and डउल् or, with pleon. ड added to the suff., इल्ल, डइल्ल, उल्ल, डउल्ल, whence the E. H. suffixal forms regulary arise. Thus E. H. पथराइल् = A. Mg. पत्थलइल्लि; E. H. पथरैला = A. Mg. पत्थराइल्लए; E. H. पथराउर = A. Mg. पत्थलउल्ल; E. H. पथरौरा = A. Mg. पथलउल्लए; E. H. पतुरी = A. Mg. पत्तुलिआ, etc. From the Pr. these suff. were probably adopted into the Skr. as taddh. with *one* ल्; thus इल् in Skr. ग्रन्थिल *knotty;* उल् or उल in आतुल or आतूल *gouty;* ओल in गउडोला *raw sugar*, etc. The Pr. taddh. इर (H. C. 2, 145. Vr. 4, 25), which occurs also in Skr., may, perhaps, be identified with the Pr. इल् (or इल), by the interchange of ल् and र् (see § 110); in S. it occurs as इड़ (see § 247); but E. H. has no suff. इर्, except as an alternative of इल. — As to the origin of the suff. इल् and उल् (probably from Skr. दृश), see § 251.

Eighth Group.

249.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	a.	एर् or एड़्	एरा or एडा	एरी or एडी
	b.		एर or एड़	एर or एड़
2)	a.	ओर् or ओड़्	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी
	b.	ओर् or ओड़्	ओरा or ओडा	ओरी or ओडी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. Those with ड़ are properly W. H. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

250. These suff. are used to derive possessional adj. from subst.; but the derivatives are few in number and always restricted to some particular meaning. Thus the first set, in सपेरा or सपेडा *snake-catcher*, of साप *snake;* कटेरा *palings*, of कांटा *thorn;* पखेर *bird*, of पाख् *wing*. The second set in लाकोरा or लाउकोडा *parents*, of लरिका *child;* पखोरा *shoulder-blade*, of पाख् *side;* हथोरा or हथौरा *hammer*, of हाथ् *handle;* करोरा *tax-gatherer*, of कर् *tax*, etc.

251. *Affinities and Derivation.* I believe these suff. and their derivatives are, strictly, W. Gd., and only introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. To this group belong the suff., S. इड़्यो (Tr. 70) and M. आड़्या (Man. 113); e. g., S. पेरिड़्यो *walker*, of पेर् or पैर् *foot*, वाटाड़्या *guide*, of वाट *way*. — On comparing

this group with the sixth and seventh, it will be seen, that there are, in each, identical suff. containing ल् or ड् or ड़्; thus, sixth group, E. H. आलु or आलू, M. आळू or आळू, S. आडु or M. आड़; seventh and eighth groups, E. H. ऐला or ऐला or ऐड़ा, M. ऐड़ा; E. H. ओला, ओड़ा, W. H. ओला or ओड़ा, M. ओड़ा. Further, on comparing these with the third pleonastic group (§ 209), it will be seen that the suffixes in the two classes are identical. Hence it appears probable, that they have the same origin and are derived from the Skr. suff. दृश, as explained in § 218. Skr. दृशकः would, in Ap. Pr., become डिहउ, whence, eliding ह् and contracting the hiatus-vowels, the forms इयो and इया would arise, as contained in S. इड़्यो and M. आड़्या. The initial vowels of the latter must be accounted for by the addition of the pleon. अ to the base, just as in pleon. एड़ा, एला, इला, etc. (see § 218). — That the Skr. suff. दृश *like* would easily lend itself to derive possess. adj., may be seen from the German *peinlich*, i. e., painful, or from the English *lively, prickly, sprightly* = full of life, pricks, spirit.

Ninth Group.

252.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	ई्	—	इकी
	2)	इक्	इका	इनि or इनी

The suff. इक् and इनि are weak, the others strong forms. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

253. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing, in a general way, possession or relation from subst. The first set is the one commonly used; sometimes in its long form इया (see § 199). Thus, 1st set in संगी or सघती *friend, companion*, of संग् or संघत् *companionship;* वारी or कुनही *enemy*, of वार् or कुनह् *enmity;* बकवादी or घतोलिया or बतुनिया *a talkative person*, of बकवाद् or बतोला *talk;* सुखी *happy*, of सुख् *happiness;* दुखी *miserable*, of दुख् *pain;* धनी *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth;* तेली *oilman*, of तेल् *oil;* मालो *gardener*, of माल् or माला *garland;* धोबी *washerman*, of धोब् (§ 311) *washing;* हथोटी or हथोटिया *craftsman*, of हथोटी *handicraft;* अहेलिया *huntsman*, of आह् *shooting;* गडेरिया *shepherd*, of गड् *fold*, etc. And हिन्दुई *belonging to*

a Hindú of हिन्दू *Hindú;* मराठी *bel. to a Maráthá* of मराठा *Maráthá* (man or country); इंग्रजी *English* of इंग्रेज *Englishman* or *England*, etc. Again the 2nd set in धनिक् or धनिका, f. °की *wealthy*, of धन् *wealth*, etc.

254. Derivatives in ई are gen. com., when used adjectively; but when used as subst., they form a fem. in इनि or इनी, on which see the next group (§ 256). Thus बंगाली भाषा *Bangálí language;* अहिरी तिरिया *foreign woman;* but बंगालिनि or बंगालिनी *a woman of Bangál*, अहिरिनि or अहिरिनी *a woman of a foreign country.*

255. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. exist in all Gds.; see Bs. II, 83—89., where examples will be found. — The original is the Skr. taddh. suff. इक; in Mg. (in the nom. sg.) इए or इके (or इक्के § 203, footnote 1) or, with pleon. अ added, इकए; whence E. H. ई or इक् or इका. Thus Skr. धनिकः, Mg. धणिए or धणिके or धनिकए, E. H. धनी or धनिक् or धनिका. Skr. महाराष्ट्रिकः, Mg. महरट्ठिए (cf. H. C. 1, 69. 2, 119), E. H. मराठी (cf. § 32). In the latter and in similar words, the original suff. may also have been the taddh. ईय; practically it makes no difference, as Skr. ईय would be Mg. ईए, E. H. ई. As to the origin of the fem. suff., see §§ 256—262.

Tenth Group.

256. Set. 1) Fem. — ई Set. 2) Fem. इनि or इनी
3) „ आइन् or आइनी „ 4) „ — आनी

The suff. इनि and आइन् are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note; but observe that the final उ of a base is not elided, but changed to उ; हिन्दुइनि or हिन्दुइनी *a Hindú woman* of हिन्दू *Hindú.*

257. These suff. are used to derive feminine from masc. nouns; and it may be remarked, that, with inanimate objects, the fem. generally expresses diminutiveness, while in many other cases it forms abstract nouns. Thus डंगरी *hillock*, of डाँगर् *hill;* बनी *copse*, of बन् *wood;* बाँसी *flute* (lit. *small piece of bamboo*), of बाँस् *bamboo;* गोली *bullet, globule*, of गोला *ball;* डोरी *string* of डोरा *rope;* चोली

bodice, of चोला *waistcoat*, etc. Again सोचवंती *thoughtfulness*, of सोचवंत् *thoughtful*; रखवारी *guarding or guardianship*, of रखवार् *guardian*; ढलैती *shieldbearership*, of ढलाइत् *shieldbearer*; चिन्हारी *acquaintance*, of चिन्हार् *an acquaintance*; पढनिहारी *reading* or *readership*, of पढनिहार् or °रा *reader*; etc.

258. The first set may be used with any adj. or subst. in आ. Thus adj.; साँची *true*, of m. साँचा; बाँकी *crooked*, of m. बाँका; मीठी *sweet*, of m. मीठा; भूखी *hungry*, of m. भूखा; बड़ी *great*, of m. बड़ा, etc. Or subst., छोरी or छोकरी or लड़िकी *girl*, of छोरा or छोकरा or लड़िका *boy*; बेटी *daughter*, of बेटा *son*; काकी *paternal aunt*, of काका *paternal uncle*; नानी *maternal grandmother*, of नाना *mat. grandfather*; बकरी or हेरी *she-goat*, of बकरा or हेरा *he-goat*; घोरी *mare*, of घोरा *horse*; भेड़ी *ewe*, of भेड़ा *ram*; कुकरी *hen*, of कुकरा *cock*; etc. Occassionally the corresponding masc. in आ is not in use (cf. § 196); as सोनारी *fem. goldsmith*, of *सोनारा or सोनार् m.; चमारी f. *leather-worker*, of *चमारा or चमार् m.; कोँहारी, f. *potter*, of *कोँहारा or कोँहार् m.; कहारी, f. *porter*, of *कहारा or कहार् m.; सुतारी, f. *carpenter*, of *सुतारा or सुतार् m.

Note: In a few cases the long form in इया (see § 199) is exclusively used; as in कुत्तिया fem., of कुत्ता *dog*; डिबिया *small box*, of डिब्बा *box*, बुढ़िया *old woman*, of बूढ़ा *old man*; but the short forms कुत्ती, डिबी, बूढ़ी also occur.

259. The second set can be added only to subst. in अ or ई or ऊ, expressing animate objects; never to adj., except when used substantively. Thus in अ; persons; सोनारिनि or °रिनी f. *goldsmith*, of सोनार् m.; चमारिनि or °रिनी f. *leather-worker*, of चमार् m.; गोवालिनि or गुवैं or गु° f. *cowherd*, of गोवाल् m.; घटवालिनि *ferry-woman*, of घटवाल् m., etc. Or animals; पतुरिनी f. *moth*, of पातुर् m.; बाघिनि or बघिनी *tigress*, of बाघ् *tiger*; सीँघिनि or सिँघिनी *lioness*, of सीँघ् *lion*. Again in ई; persons; पड़ोसिनि or °सिनी f. *neighbour*, of पड़ोसी m.; बैरागिनि or °गिनी f. *ascetic*, of बैरागी; मालिनि or °नी f. *gardener*, of माली m.; धोबिनि or °नी *washerwoman*, of धोबी m.; कोढ़िनि or °नी f. *leper*, of कोढ़ी, etc. Or animals; हाथिनि or हथिनी f. *elephant*, of हाथी m. Again in ऊ; नउइनि or नउइनी f. *barber*, of

नाउ m.; पहरूइनि or °नी *watchman's wife, of* पहरू, *etc.*; see § 256. Occasionally the masc. is not in use, as बहिनि or बहिन् or बहिनी *sister* (masc. भाई *brother*).

260. The third and fourth sets are confined to some particular words, as पँडाइन् or °नी *wife of a* पाँडा *a kind of brâhman*; चौबाइन् *woman of the* चौब *caste*; दुबाइन् *woman of the* दूबे (m.) *caste*; ठकुराइन् *lady* of ठाकुर् *lord, chief*; चौधराइन् *wife of a* चौधरी *headman*; पंडिवाइन् *wife of a* पंडा *priest*; गुरुवाइन् *wife of a* गुरु *teacher*; पंडिताइन् *wife of a* पंडित् *scholar*; बनियाइन् *woman of the* बनिया *trader-caste*; पुरोहितानी *wife of a* पुरोहित *family priest*.

Note: These suff. are used even with foreign words, as मेहतरानी or मेहतराइन् *wife of a* मेहतर् (pers. مهتر) *sweeper*; सईसिन् *wife of a* साईस् (arab. سائس) *groom*. — With names of castes or professions the fem. signifies either the wife of a man of the caste, or any woman of that caste, or any woman following that profession.

261. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds. But P. and W. H. have अन् and अनी after nouns in अ; thus E. H. सेठिनि *wife of a* सेठ् *merchant*, W. H. सेठन्, P. सेठन् or सेठनी, S. सेठिणा or सेठिणि or सेठिणी; but E. H. कोरिनि *wife of a* कोरी *weaver*, W. H. कोलिन्, P. कोलिन्, S. कोरिणि or °रिणी (Tr. 99—102. Ld. 13, 41. 42). M. has ईण् as सेठीण्, कोळीण्, वाघीण् (*tigress*), see Man. 24. G. has एण् or अण्, as कोळण् or कोळेण्, वाघण् or वाघण्, धोब्रण् or धोब्रेण् (*washerwoman*), see Ed. 26, 9. B. has इनी or अनी or आनी, as वाघिनी, धोबानी, कामारानी (*a fem. blacksmith*), see S. Ch. 36. 40. 41. For further examples, see Bs. II, 163—170.

262. *Derivation.* The original of the E. H. suff. ई is the Skr. taddh. इका, which becomes in Pr. इआ, and is contracted in E. H. to ई, as explained in § 203. It is, in fact, identical with the pleon. fem. ई of the 1st set, 1st group. — The original of the E. H. second set is the Skr. taddh. इनी or, with pleon. क added, इनिका, in Pr. इणी or इणिआ, E. H. इनि or इनो; thus Skr. base मालिन्, m. मालो, Mg. मालो, E. H. *deest* (*मालि); fem. Skr. मालिनी, Mg. मालिणी, E. H. मालिनि; or with pleon. क added, Skr. मालिक

(i. e., मालिन् + क), Mg. मालिए, E. H. माली; fem. Skr. मालिनिका (i. e., मालिनी + का), Mg. मालिणिआ, E. H. मालिनी. It should be observed that, while in the case of the fem. E. H. preserves both the weak form मालिनि and the strong form मालिनी, on the other hand in the masc. it has only the strong form माली, but not a weak form *माल् or *मालि (see § 196). Again E. H. सोनार् has two fem., सोनारी and सोनारिनि or °रिनी; the former is = A. Mg. सोणआलिआ, Skr. सुवर्णाकारिका fem. of सुवर्णाकारकः pleon. for °कारः; but the latter is = A. Mg. सोणआलिणी or °लिणिआ = Skr. सुवर्णाकारिणी or (pleon.) °रिणिका, fem. of सुवर्णाकारी (base °कारिन्). The latter masc. form exists in E. H. only in the weak form सोनार्, not in the strong सोनारी; though E. H. सोनार् might and probably does also stand for the A. Mg. सोणआले, Skr. सुवर्णाकारः. It is not necessary to assume an anomaly in this and similar words as to the use of the fem. suff. इनि in E. H.; but it appears to be anomalously employed in such words as बाघिनि *tigress* from m. बाघ्, for which fem. form there is no foundation in Skr., which has m. व्याघ्रः, f. व्याघ्री. — The E. H. suff. आइन् arises in various ways. Thus in चौबाइन् it arises from Pr. चउव्वेइणी, Skr. चतुर्वेदिनी; in पँडाइन् and पंडियाइन् it is added anomalously to पाँडा, पंडिया, Mg. पंडिअए, Skr. पण्डितकः, etc. — The E. H. suff. आनी is a tats. for Skr. आनी, as in Skr. इन्द्राणी *wife of Indra*. — The E. H. रस्सी *string* is a regular fem. of the E. H. m. रस्सा, which is derived from the Skr. masc. रश्मिः or pleon. रश्मिकः (or रश्मकः of रश्मन्, see M. W. 835, 1); not *vice versa*, the E. H. masc. रस्सा formed from the E. H. fem. रस्सी (as Bs. II, 149), which would be an unique anomaly.

Eleventh Group.

263. Com. gen. अव्. Masc. आ or अवाँ. Fem. अईं.

The form अव् is weak, the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them see § 195, note.

264. These suff. are used to derive ordinal numbers from the cardinals, with the exception of the four first and the sixth, which are formed differently (see §§ 269. 401). Thus m. or f. पंचव्,

m. पचा or पचवाँ, f. पचई̃ *fifth*, of पंच् *five*; m. f. दसव् or m. दसा or दसवाँ, f. दसई̃ *tenth*, of दस् *ten*; m. f. बारहव् or m. बारहवाँ, f. बारहई̃ *twelfth*, of बारह् *twelve*, etc. They are added pleonastically to the following: दुसरा or दुसरव् or दुसरवाँ *second*, of दुइ *two*; तिसरा or तिसरव् or तिसरवाँ *third*, of तीनि *three*; चौथा or चौथव् or चौथवाँ *fourth*, of चारि *four*; छठा or छठव् or छठवाँ *sixth*, of छ *six*; बीसा or बीसव् or बीसवाँ *twentieth*, of बीस् *twenty*, etc.

265. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight differences: thus B. m. आ, f. ई̃ (S. Ch. 195); M. अवा, f. अवी, n. अवे̃ or (from 19th) आवा, आवी, आवे̃ (Man. 42. 44); H. H. अवाँ, f. अवी̃; W. H. अवी̃, f. अवो̃; P. अवाँ or अमाँ, f. अवो̃ or अमो̃ (Ld. 82—85); G. (and O. H.) अमो, f. अमी, n. अमुं (Ed. 48); S. ओ̃, f. ई̃; e. g., B. पाचा, f. पाचई̃; M. पाँचवा, f. पाँचवी̃, n. पाँचवे̃, but विसावा, f. विसावी̃, n. विसावे̃ *twentieth*; W. H. पाँचवी̃, f. पाँचवो̃; P. पंजवाँ or पंजमाँ, f. पंजवो̃ or पंजमो̃; G. पांचमो, f. पाँचमी, n. पाँचमुं; S. पंजो̃, f. पंजी̃.

266. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. taddh. म or, with pleon. क added, मक; whence nom. sg. (incl. the final स of the base) अमकः, f. अमिका, Mg. अमए, f. अमिआ, Ap. Mg. अवँए, f. अविँआ (cf. H. C. 4, 397), E. H. अवाँ or (contracted, after eliding म् or व्) आ; f. अई̃ (cf. §§ 33. 47. 51). Thus Skr. पञ्चमकः, Ap. Mg. पंचवँए or पंचवँए, E. H. पचा or पचवाँ; f. Skr. पञ्चमिका, Ap. Mg. पंचमिआ or पंचविँआ, E. H. पचई̃. The M. form आवा may be a contraction of the Skr. अतितमकः; e. g., विंशतितमकः, Mg. *वीसइमए (cf. Wb. Bh. 476); or it may have arisen by adding the pleon. अ to the base and be = Skr. *विंशकमकः, Mg. *वीसअमए. In the latter case the addition of the suff. आवा would be pleonastic, as the Skr. विंश itself means *twentieth;* but so it is in E. H. and all other Gds. in चौथवाँ, छठवाँ, बीसवाँ, etc., the regular forms being चौथा, छठा, बीसा, etc.

Improper Suffixes.

267. The suffixes of the following groups are in reality curtailed nouns, and their derivatives modified compounds. This appears from the following facts: 1) that in some cases the base

does not exist in E. H.; e. g., कोँहार् *potter* of *कोँह् (Skr. कुम्भ, E. H. कुंभ्); कँहार् *porter*, of *कँह् (Skr. स्कन्ध, E. H. काँध्); रोआसा *lachrymose*, of *रोद् (Skr. रोदृ); 2) that the various suff. (exc. साहर्) are, severally, found only in a very small number of words; 3) that the terminations of their derivatives are not recognised as suff., and their etymology in many cases unknown to all but Skr. scholars.

Twelfth Group.

268. Com. gen. स् or सर्. Masc. सरा. Fem. सरी.

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

These suff. are extremely rare, and occur only in numerals; thus m. f. टूसर्, m. टुसरा, f. °री *second* (lit. *twice removed*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of दुइ *two*; m. f. तीसर्, m. तिसरा, f. °री *third* (lit. *thrice moved*, i. e., from Nro. 1), of तीन् *three*; m. चौस् or .चउस् or f. चौसरी *a field four times tilled* (lit. *four times moved or turned*).

270. *Affinities.* This curious formation of the second and third ordinal numbers is confined to the E. and S. Gd. and H. H. The W. Gds. have the regular ordinal forms: O. H. टूजो or टूजे; P. टूजा or टूआ = Pr. दुइज्जओ or दुइअओ (H. C. 1, 94. 209); S. बीओ or बीजो, G. बीजो, Pr. विइअओ (H. C. 1, 94) or वीअओ (H. C. 1, 248) or विइज्जओ (H. C. 1, 248); again W. H. तीजो or तीजे, P. तीआ or तीजा, S. ट्रीओ or ट्रीजो, G. तीजो, = Pr. तइअओ (H. C. 1, 101) or तइज्जओ (cf. H. C. 4, 339). But H. H. and M. टूसरा, तीसरा.

271. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. past part. pass. सृतः *moved*, in A. Mg. सलिए or सलिअ, which in Gd. becomes सर् by the successive quiescence of the final अ and इ (cf. §§ 45. 302), and स् by the elision of र् (cf. § 124). Similarly the E. H. सरा is = A. Mg. सलिअए, Skr. सृतकः; and f. सरी = A. Mg. सलिइआ, Skr. सृतिका. E. g., Skr. *द्विस्सृतः (i. e., द्विः + सृत), A. Mg. टूसलिए, *E. H. टूसर्.

Thirteenth Group.

272.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अर् or र्	अरा or रा	अरी or री
2)	खार्	खारा	खारी

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

273. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing (genitive) relation from subst. or pronouns; but they occur very rarely. Thus in the possessive pron.; m. f. हमार् or m. हमरा, f. °री *our* (lit. *of us*), of हम् *we*; m. f. तोंहार् or m. तोंहरा, f. °री *your* (lit. *of you*), of तोंह् *you*; m. f. मोर् or m. मोरा, f. °री *mine, of* **mo I*; m. f. तोर् or m. तोरा, f. °री *thine*, of **to thou*. Again in nouns; e. g., m. f. गँवार् or m. गँवरा, f. °री *rustic, vulgar*, of गाँउ् *village*; m. f. चिन्हार् or m. चिन्हारा *an acquaintance* (lit. *of a mark, marked*), f. चिन्हारी *acquaintance*; भिखार् *beggar*, of भीख् *alms*; perhaps also हथियार् *tools, weapons*, of हथिया *small handle*; m. घसियारा, f. °री *grassier*, of घसिया (or घास्) *grass*; भठियारा, f. °री *innkeeper*, of भठिया (or भठी) *hearth, inn* (Skr. भट्ट).

274. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the gen. affixes कर्, करा, करी, see § 377, where their derivation will be fully explained. The full suffix कर् still exists in the M. गाँवकर् *villager* (Man. 113), खोड़कर् (H. खाड़िल्) *mischievous*, of खोड़् (Man. 114); चिपलुंकर् *a man of Chiplun* (Bs. II, 181), etc. The curtailed suff. अर्, आर्, etc. are employed in B. and O. as their ordinary gen. affixes; as O. घरर् *domestic* or *of a house*, of घर् *house*. H. H. has हमारा *our*, तुम्हारा *your*, गँवार् *villager*.

Fourteenth Group.

275.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	आर्	—	आरा	आरी
	2)	—	आरिनि	आरी	आरिनी
	3)	कार्	—	कारा	कारी

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

276. These suff. are used to derive nouns, expressing „workers of something". They are of a limited number. Thus the 1st set in सोनार्, f. सोनारी or °रिनि or °रिनी *goldsmith*, of सोना *gold*; कोंहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *potter*, of कुम्भ् *pot*; कहार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *porter*, of काँध् *shoulder*; चमार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *leather-worker*, of चाम् *leather*; सुतार्, f. °री or °रिनि or °रिनी *carpenter*, of सूत् *thread*; बंधार् or बंधियार् or बंधारा, f. °री, or बंधियारा m.,

f. °ो *dark* or *darkness*,, of अंधा *dark*. The 2nd set in पुजारी, f. पुजारिनि or °िनी *worshipper*, of पूजा *worship*. The 3d set in छुटकारू or °ारा or °ारी *deliverance*, of छुटा *delivered*.

277. *Affinities and Derivation.* The original of these suffixes is the Skr. noun कार् or कारिन्; e. g., Skr. कुम्भकारः or °ारी, Mg. कुंभाले or °ली or कुंभाले or °ली, E. H. कोंहार् (cf. § 120); Skr. पूजाकारिकः (i. e., °रिन् + क), Mg. पूजआलिए, E. H. पुजारी, N. पूजाहारि, (S. Lk. 1, 5). These and similar words occur in all Gds. As to the fem., see § 259.

Fifteenth Group.

278.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	क्	का	की
	2)	कै	—	—

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong.

279. These suff. are used to derive adj. expressing relation from a subst. Thus काठक् or काठकै or काठका, f. °की *wooden*, of काठ् *wood*; घाकै or घाका, f. °की *domestic*, of घर् *house*; बनकै or बनका, f. की *wild*, of बन् *forest*; etc.

280. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the common genitive affixes; and their derivatives are really genitives of the respective bases. This can be seen from the fact that all the various Gd. gen. aff. may be used in this way; thus M. चा in M. घरचा *domestic* (Man. 113. Bs. II, 110), in S. गोठेचो *of the same village*, of गोठु; वेढीचो *of the jungle*, of वेढि (Tr. 91); again Konkaní ला in M. तेथला *of that place*, of तेथे *there* (Man. 113); again G. णो in S. चोराणो *thievish*, of चोर् *thief*, or बातूणो *oral*, of बातु *mouth* (Tr. 72. 73); again H. का in M. बोलका *eloquent*, of बोल् *word* (Man. 107), मारका *given to beating*, of मार् *beating* (Man. 115), पाटिलकी *office of a* पाटिल् *village accountant* (Man. 113); in P. पिउका *paternal*, of पिउ *father*; in S. हारिका *relating to a* हारी *peasant* (Tr. 71); again Mw. रो in M. खाजरा *itch-producing*, of खाज् (Man 115); and, of course, each in its own language. — As to the origin of all these affixal forms see § 377. — The vowel ए before चो in S. is not (as Bs. II. 110)

the inflected termination of the noun; for the obl. form of गोठु is not गोठे but गोठु; similarly of वेढि it is not वेढो, but वेढि (Tr. 123. 128); but all these long vowels in S., viz. ए in एचो, ई in ईचो, आ in आपो or आकू (Tr. 70), ऊ in ऊपो, ओ in ओको (Tr. 71), have probably arisen by the suff. being added to the strong form (in अय or इय or अव or उव, contracted to ए, ई, etc.), just as in M. भलेपण् *goodness*, of भला + पण् (see § 231).

Sixteenth Group.

281.	Set.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	—	आस्
	2)	आसा	आसो

The form आस् is weak, the others are strong. As to the way of adding them, see § 195, note.

282. Of these suff. the first set is used to derive subst., expressing „desire of anything", and the second set to derive adj. meaning „desirous", from an other subst. The number of such derivatives, however, is small. Thus f. निँदास् *desire to sleep, sleepiness*; m. निँदासा, f. °सो *sleepy*, of नींदू *sleep*; उँघास् *sleepiness*, °सा m., °सो f. *sleepy*, of उँघ् *sleep*; मुतास् f. *desire to make water*, °सा m., °सो f. *desirous of d°*, of मूत् *urin*; हगास् *desire to stool*, °सा m., °सो f. *desirous of d°*, of हग *excrement*; चुटास् f. *lasciviousness*, °सा m., °सो f. *lascivious*, of चोदू *copulation*; पेटास् *gluttony*, of पेट् *belly*; कटासा m., °सो f. *inclined to bite, snappish*, of काट् *bite*. Sometimes the base is not in use, as in रोवास् f. *inclination to weep*, रोवासा m., °सो f. *tearful*. In a few words the suff. has come to signify abstract nouns, as मिठास् f. *sweetness* (lit. *desire* or *tendency to be sweet*), of मीठ् *sweet*; उँचास् f. *height*, of उँच् *high*; ठुरास् *coldness*, of ठुर् (H. H. ठुठ्) *cold*.

283. *Affinities and Derivation.* These derivatives are found also in W. H. and P. (see Bs. II, 82). In the other Gḍs. the (so-called) suff. is probably better preserved in its nominal form. It is merely a curtailment of the nouns वाँस् or वाँछ् (fem.) *desire* = Skr. वाञ्छा, and वाँसा or वाँछा *desirous* = Skr. वाञ्छकः, as may be seen from the alternative form चुटवाँसा *libidinous*. In

the suff., व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted to आ. Thus Skr. निद्रावञ्चा, Pr. निद्दवंचा, E. H. निंदास्; Skr. रोदवाञ्चकः, Mg. लोअवंछए or लोअअंछए, E. H. रोआसा. The change of ह् to स् is very common in M. and Mw., and, though less so, in P., whence it has sometimes passed into the other Gḍs. (see § 11. Bs. I, 218). — Shakespear's (H. Dict.) identification of the suff. with the Skr. noun आशा *hope* is not tenable; neither is the theory of their connection (as Br. II, 81) with the Skr. desiderative. The latter is true only of E. H. पियास् f. *thirst* = Skr. पिपासा, Pr. पिआसा, and E. H. पियासा m., °सो f. *thirsty* = Skr. पिपासितकः m., °तिका f. (not, as Bs., Skr. पिपासुकः, which would be H. पियासू). It exactly corresponds to E. H. भूख् f. *hunger* = Skr. बुभुक्षा, Pr. बुहुक्खा, and E. H. भूखा m., भूखो f. *hungry* = Skr. बुभुक्षितकः m., °तिका f. — The two words कपास् f. and कटास् m. *violent burst of rain* do not belong to this group, but are compounds of कप् or कट् *quick* and Pr. वासा f. or वासं n. *rain* (see H. C. 2, 104), = Skr. वर्षा and वर्षम्.

Seventeenth Group.

284.	Set.	Fem.	Fem.
	1)	आहट् or आवट्	ओटी
	2)	आवत्	ओती

The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 195, note.

285. The first set is used to derive abstract nouns from adj. The form आहट् is the one commonly employed. Thus सचाहट् or सचावट् or सचौटी *truth, truthfulness*, of सच् or सचा *true* (= सचाई § 220); मिठाहट् *sweetness*, of मीठ् *sweet*; गरमाहट् *warmth*, of गरम् (Pers. گرم) *warm*; खराहट् *purity*, of खरा *pure*; तिताहट् *bitterness*, of तीत् or तीता *bitter*; चिकनाहट् *smoothness*, of चिकना *smooth*; रुखाहट् *roughness*, of रूखा *rough*; कड़ुआहट् *bitterness*, of कड़ुआ *bitter*, etc.

286. The first and second sets occur in a few words, which are derived from subst., and express relation generally; as चमरावत् or चमरावट् *perquisites of a man of the* चमार् *caste*; बपौती *patrimony*, of बाप् *father*; सगौती *flesh, animal food*, (probably) of सगा *kin, related* (= Skr. सगर्भ *of the same origin*, hence *animal* as opp. to *vegetable*

(cf. § 120); हिनौती *humility, supplication*, of हीन् *destitute;* हथौटो *handicraft, dexterity*, of हात् *hand.*

287. *Affinities.* These derivatives are properly W. Gd. and have been introduced into the E. H. from the W. H. In the latter and in P. they are very common; also in S., which has the contracted forms आदु or आतु (or अतु) or आठो (probably for *आटो), all masc., see Tr. 60. 62. 68. 74.; e. g., चोकिराडु *boyhood*, of चोकरु; डिअणायातु *debtor*, of डिअणो *debt*; भर्यतु *porter*, of भरो *load*; पाणयाठो *dump*, of पाणो *water*, etc. Also occasionally in M.; as रानवट् *belonging to a desert*, of रान् (Man. 113), or contracted to ईट् (=*आवट्) as in रागीट् *angry*, of राग् (Man. 114).

288. *Derivation.* The originals of these suff. are the Skr. nouns वृत्ति fem. or वृत्त neut., and वार्त्ता fem. or वार्त्त neut.; all meaning *condition, state, mode of life, earnings*, etc. (see M. W. 957. 958). The two former become in Pr. वट्टो or वट्टं (H. C. 2, 29), the two latter वत्ता (or वट्टा) and वत्तं (H. C. 2, 30). Next Pr. वट्टो or वट्टा and, with pleon. अ added, वट्टिआ become in H. वट् and वटो, or, with pleon. अ added to the base, आवट् and औटो (contracted for-अवटो or अउटो, cf. § 78, for आवटो, § 25) or, with ह substituted for व् (see § 69), आहट्. Similarly Pr. वत्ता or वत्तिआ become in H. आवत् or औतो. Thus Skr. *सत्यकवृत्तिः, Pr. सच्चवट्टो or सच्चवट्टिआ, E. H. सचावट् or सचौटो; again Skr. चर्मकारकवृत्तिः or °वार्त्ता, Pr. चम्मआरवट्टो or °वत्ता, E. H. चमारावट् or °वत् (for *चमारावट्, cf. § 25). The S. m. आदु arises similarly from the Skr. neut. वृत्तम्. — Those suff. which form adj., as S. आतु, M. अवट्, arise from the Skr. m. वृत्तः or वार्त्तः, Pr. वट्टो or वत्तो. Thus E. H. गुबरौता or टा *a beetle found in old cow-dung*, from गोवर् + वृत्तकः *living in gobar* or *cow-dung*. — In the E. H. चिकनावट् or °वत् (fem.) *clayey soil*, there is probably an exchange of त् and व्, see § 134, 2; E. H. also चिकनो माटो. — The suff. of this group should be carefully distinguished from those of the fifth group (§ 322) which are primary, and have an altogether different origin. Practically they are often confounded, and the dental त्, which is proper to the primary group, given to the secondary, the proper cons. of which is ट्; and *vice versa*.

Eighteenth Group.

289. Com. gen. सू. Masc. सा. Fem. सी.

The form सू is weak, the others are strong.

290. These suff. occur in a very few nouns, which more or less distinctly imply „likeness". Thus आपुम् f. (H. H. आपस्) *kindred* (lit. *like self*); especially in the phrase आपुस् मे" *among themselves*, of आपु *self*; पैसा m. *a copper coin, the fourth part of an annā*, of पाइ् or पाई् *a pice* (lit. *like the pāda* or *quarter of a weight of gold*, cf. M. W. 564); पनसा m., पनसी f. *insipid* (lit. *like water*), of पानी *water;* m. ऐकसा, f. °सी *similar, identical* (lit. *like one*), of ऐक् *one.*

291. *Affinities.* These suff. exist. in all Gḍs. in the above mentioned words (cf. Bs. II, 330). — In M. they may be added, as a pleon. or dimin. suff., to any adj. in the following forms: m. सा, f. सी, n. से" or, less curtailed, com. gen. सू; e. g., काऊसू, c. g. *blackish*, of काऊ *black*; m. लहानसा, f. °सी, n. °से" *littleish*, of लहान् *little* (Man. 114). For the same purpose m. सो, f. सी are used in W. H. (H. H. सा, सी), but as an affix, not as a suffix; that is, the adj., to which they are added, is itself inflected; thus H. H. ऊँचा सा पहाड़ *a rather high mountain*, नीली सी चिड़ियाँ *rather blue birds*, बड़े से घोड़े *rather large horses* (see Kl. 91)[1]). — In W. H. and H. H. the same aff. is also commonly employed to express resemblance; as मेरी सी दशा *a condition like mine;* मुझ सा पापी *a sinner like me*; पंडित् की सी बोली *speech like that of a pandit* (examples of Kl. 91. Eth. 58). In E. H. सा, सी are not employed as affixes; in their place it uses ऐसन् *such* with subst. (e. g., हाथी ऐसन् *like an elephant*, आदमी ऐसन् *like a man*) and ऐक् *one* or ऐसन् *such* with adj.; as छोट् ऐक् (usually spelled छोटेक्) or छोट् ऐसन् *rather little* (cf. German *etwas klein*); थोरेक् or थोर् ऐसन् *rather few, some few*; बहुतेक् or बहुत् ऐसन् *rather many.*

1) The examples are from Kl. The aff. never denotes *intensity*, as Kl., Eth. (H. Gr. 48) and Bates (H. Dict. 740) state. It expresses the English *rather*, not *very*. It has no connexion with the Skr. सम *like*, still less with the Skr. suff. आस् *fold* (as Kl. 91, a). Bates gives the correct derivation.

292. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. सदृश *like*, as evidenced by the E. H. use of ऐसन्, which is the same as Skr. ईदृश (§§ 111.458). Skr. सदृशः becomes in A. Mg. सरिसे (Wb. Bh. 422, cf. H. C. 1, 142) or सरिए (cf. H. C. 4, 300 for सरिह, with ह् as in तेहूं H. C. 2, 157 or in तेहु = *तइहु H. C. 4, 402 = Skr. तादृशः). The latter becomes in Gḍ. *सरिअ, *सरि, whence M. सर् or, by eliding र् (cf. Ap. तइसो H. C. 4, 403 = Skr. तादृशः, see § 124) and dropping इ, E. H. स. Similarly Skr. m. सदृशकः = A. Mg. सरिसए or Ap. Mg. *सइसए, contracted *सइसा or (dropping इ and contracted) E. H. सा; fem. Skr. सदृशिका, A. Mg. सरिसिआ, Ap. *सइसिआ, E. H. contracted *सइसी or सी. Precisely similar are E. H. भा or भवा or भइआ *been* = Mg. भविअए, Skr. भूतः; E. H. गा or गवा or गइआ, Ap. Mg. गइअए, Skr. गतः; E. H. का (§ 278) = S. कयो = Ap. कइअउ, Skr. कृतः, see § 307; E. H. सु or सू = A. Mg. सरिए, Skr. सृतः (§ 268). — The E. H. use of ऐक् may be compared with its analogous use in the indefinite numerals (§ 425), as दस् ऐक् *about ten, some ten.*

Nineteenth Group.

293. Com. gen. वाऱ् or वाल्. Masc. वारा or वाला.

Fem. वारी or वाली and वारिनि or वालिनि.

The forms in वा and ई are strong, the others weak.

294. These suff. are used to derive nouns implying possession or relation generally, from subst. Thus गोवाऱ् or गोवाल् c. g. or गुवारा or °ला m. or गुवारी or °ली or गुवारिनि or °लिनि f. *cow-keeper, cowherd*, of गो *cow*; घरवाऱ् or °वाल् c. g., °वारी or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *wharf-keeper, wharfinger*, of घाट् *landing-place*; नावोवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *boat-keeper, boat-man*, of नाव्हो *boat*; m. कपडावारा or °ला, f. °री or °ली *cloth-keeper, cloth-merchant*; दिल्लीवारा or °ला m., °री or °ली f. *belonging to or native of Delhi*, etc. Even with foreign words; as बकस्वारा or °ला m., °री or °ली or °रिनि or °लिनि f. *box-keeper, pedlar.*

295. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. or S. Gḍ., but W. Gḍ., whence they have been introduced into E. H., B. (see S. Ch. 88, cf. 154; spelled m. उयाला, f. उयाली; e. g., B. टूपिउयाला *holding or wearing a* टूपि *cap*) and M. (see Man. 113, 2; e. g.,

दूधवाला *milkman*). In W. Gd. they are very commonly used. S. has वारो m., वारी f. (Tr. 76, 36); e. g., घरवारो *owner of a house*; G. has वाळो m., वाळी f. (Ed. 14); e. g., दुधवाळो, रोपोवाळो.

296. *Derivation.* The original of these suff., certainly in the two first examples, probably in all, is the Skr. noun पाल *keeper* or, with pleon. क added, पालक. Thus Skr. m. गोपालः or °लकः, f. °लिका, Mg. m. गोवाले or °लए, f. °लिआ, E. H. m. गोवाऱ् or °रा, f. °री. Practically, however, these suff. are confounded with the primary suff. वाला, °लो (in धनेवाला, °ली), see § 315. — The fem. in लिनि is probably an anomalous formation, see §§ 259. 262; though it might be referred to a Skr. base पालिन्.

3. PRIMARY DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

297. The primary derivative suffixes may be divided into eight groups, traces of all which already existed, more or less distinctly, in Pr.

First Group.

298. Com. gen. अत्. Masc. अतो. Fem. अती (or अति). The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong form is not much used in E. H., except in the oblique form अते, as an adv. part., see § 488.

Note. Observe, in adding these suff., that य् is inserted after ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; and अ is elided after आ and ए and after R. हो *be*.

299. These suff. are used to derive the participle present from any root. Thus हसत् *laughing*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पठत् *reading*, of R. पठ् *read*; पीयत् *drinking*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअत् or चूवत् *dripping*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअत् or रोवत् *weeping*, of R. रो *weep*, etc. But खात् *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; देत् *giving*, of R. दे *give*; होत् *being*, of R. हो *be*, etc. The fem. in ई is only used as a component part of the pret. conj.; as करितिस् (f.) *thou didst*, of करि + स्; see § 507.

300. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gds., with very slight modifications; thus B. इत् (only in the obl. f. इते, S. Ch. 148);

O. *अंत् (only in the obl. f. अंत, Sn. 28); H. H. m. अता, f. अती; W. H. m. अतु (Br.) or अतो (Mw.), f. अती; P. m. अदा or अंदा, f. अदी or अंदी (Ld. 24), N. अदो, f. अदी; S. अंदो or ईंदो, f. अंदी or ईंदी (Tr. 268. 269); G. m. अतो, f. अती, n. अतुं (Ed. 113, 53); M. c. g. अत् or m. अता, f. अती, n. अते (Man. 63. 73); O. H. m. अंतो or अंत् (Kl. 222. 240. 241). The O. has also उ (e. g., करु *doing*, Sn. 28).

301. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अत् (or अन्त); in Pr. अंत (Vr. 7, 10. H. C. 3, 180. 181), or occasionally in Sr. Pr. अंद् (H. C. 4, 261. cf. Ls. 362). Hence nom. sg. Mg. m. अंत, f. अंती (H. C. 3, 182) or, with pleon. स added, m. अंतए, f. अंतिआ; and E. H. m. f. अत् or m. अता, f. अती (cf. §§ 143. 146). Thus Skr. m. हसन्, f. हसन्ती; A. Mg. हसंत, f. हसंती; O. H. m. f. हसंत्; E. H. हसत्; again Skr. *हसन्तकः, A. Mg. हसंतए, E. H. हसता; fem. Skr. *हसन्तिका, A. Mg. हसंतिआ, E. H. हसती. — The S. अंदो, P. अंदा, N. अदो, Gw. अदो or अंदो (Kl. 215) are similarly derived from the Sr. Pr. अंद्ओ. — The O. उ has, perhaps, arisen from अन्तु (or अंतु) by the elision of न्? (see § 153). — The E. H. खात is = Mg. खाते or खाअंते (cf. H. C. 4, 228); E. H. देत् = Mg. देंते (cf. H. C. 2, 206. 4, 379) = *दृअंते, Skr. ददत् (or *ददन्तः); E. H. होत् = Mg. होंते (cf. H. C. 3, 180) or हुअंते or भवंते (cf. H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवत्.

Second Group.

302. Set. Com. gen. Masc. Fem. Masc. Fem.

1) इल् or अल् — इलि or अलि इला or अला इली or अली

2) इअ or इ अ ई आ ई

The forms in आ and ई are strong, the others weak. The masc. strong forms in ला are not much used, except in the obl. f. इले or अले, as adv. part., see § 488. The forms with इल° are peculiar to the Maithilí and Magadh in the eastern, and the forms (m.) अ or आ, (f.) इ or ई to Baiswári in the western part of the E. H. area. The latter (Bs.) dialect does not use the first set at all; the other E. H. dialects use both, see § 303.

Note: Observe, in adding the suff. beginning with अ, that य्

is inserted after आ and ई, and optionally व् after ऊ and ओ; before those beginning with इ neither य् nor व् is inserted.

303. These suff. are used to derive the past participle from any root. Thus हसल् or हसिल् *laughed*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् *read*, of R. पढ़् *read*; पीयल् or पीइल् *drunk*, of R. पी *drink*; चूअल् or चुवल् or चूइल् *dripped*, of R. चू *drip*; रोअल् or रोवल् or रोइल् *wept*, of R. रो *weep*; खाइल् or खायल् *eaten*, of R. खा *eat*, etc. The derivatives of the second set, and those of the fem. श्लि are never used by themselves, but only as component parts of the pret. indicat. (exc. in Bs), see §§ 502. 504, thus हस्यौं *I laughed*, of हसिअ + उं; खाइस् *thou eatest*, of खाइ + स्; again हसलिस् (f.) *thou laughedst*, of हसलि + स्, etc. But in Bs. हसा m., हसी f. *laughed*; पढ़ा m., पढ़ी f. *read*; खावा m., खाई f. *eaten*; etc.

Note: This part. is used *passively* in the formation of the passive voice, but *actively* in that of the pret. tense active.

304. *Exception.* The following part. pass. are formed irregularly: R. कर् *do*, P. P. 1) कइल् or कयल् or कैल्, or 2) किइअ° or किहि° or Bs. कया or किया *done*; — of R. धर् *place*, P. P. 1) धइल् or धयल् or धैल् or 2) धइअ° or धिहि° or Bs. धया; also regularly धरिल्, धरा, etc. *placed*. — R. मर् *die*, P. P. 1) मुइल् or मुअल् or 2) मुइअ° or मुई° or Bs. मुआ; also regularly मरिल्, मरा *died*, etc. — R. जा *go*, P. P. 1) गइल् or गयल् or गैल् or 2) गइअ° or गई° or B. गया *gone*; also regularly जाइल् or जायल् (§ 479. exc.); — R. हो *be*; P. P. 1) भइल् or भयल् or भैल् or 2) भइअ° or भई° or Bs. भया or भवा *been*; also regularly होइल् or होयल् (§ 479. exc.). — R. दे *give*, P. P. 1) दिहल् or 2) दिइअ° or दिहि° or Bs. दया or दिया *given*. — R. ले *take*, P. P. 1) लिहल् or 2) लिइअ° or लिहि° or Bs. लया or लिया *taken*. — R. आव् *come*, P. P. 1) आइल् or आयल् or 2) आइअ° or आई° or Bs. आया or आवा *come*. — R. पाव् *obtain*, P. P. 1) पाइल् or पायल् or 2) पाइअ° or पाई° or Bs. पाया or पावा *obtained*.

305. *Affinities.* The second set occurs in all Gḍs., exc. M.; but the first set in the E. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ. only. Thus 1) both sets; in B., wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a cond. part.,

S. Ch. 148), and wk. f. इय (only in the obl. f. इया as past part. and in the pret. tense, S. Ch. 148. 144), or st. f. या m., ई f. (only in the pass. sense and to form the pass. voice, S. Ch. 148. 142); in O., st. f. इला (e. g., पडिला *fallen*, Sn. 29) or wk. f. इल् (only in the obl. f. इले as a condit. part., Sn. 28); and wk. f. इ (as past part., Sn. 28) or इअ (only in the pret. tense, Sn. 30), or st. f. या m., ई f. (as past part., Sn. 30; and in the pass. voice, Sn. 39). — 2) Only first set; in M., st. f. ला or इला m., ली or इली f., ले or इलें n. (Man. 63. 64. 67. 68, note; e. g., सुटला or सुटिला = E. H. कुटल् or कुटिल् and M. सोडिला or सोडला = E. H. होडल् or होडिल्). — 3) Only second set; in O. H. (Chand), wk. f. इय् (= Mg. इए, इअ) or इव् (= Ap. इउ) or st. f. एव् (= Ap. इअउ), see Kl. 213. 215.; in H. H., st. f. या m., ई f.; in W. H., st. f. यौ or यों m., ई f.; in P., st. f. इया m., ई f. (Ld. 24); in G., st. f. यो m., ई f., युं n. (Ed. 113. 50); in S., wk. f. इउ or इअ or इ (Tr. 289), or st. f. इयो or यो m., ई f. (Tr. 271. 289); in N., wk. f. इअ or ए or इ, or st. f. यो m., ई f. In all W. Gds. the P. P. is used in the pass. sense only, see § 487. — It is worth noting, that both sets exist in *Pashtú* (see Tr. J. G. O. S. XXIII, 116); e. g., wk. f. *kar* or *krah* (= कृतः); st. f. *karai* (= कृतकः); and wk. f. *kral* (= *कृतिः, B. कृत्), st. f. *karalai* (= *कृतिकः, O. कृिला). Trumpp distinguishes the weak and strong forms as part. pret. and part. perf., but these names, being the same in import, do not explain the difference.

Note: Some Gds. add. a pleon. suff. to the past part. in order to make it more of the nature of an adj.; viz., M. adds ला (Man. 63. 64), G. लो (Ed. 50. 113), S. लु or ड़ो (Tr. 272. 69), Mw. ड़ो (Kl. 209, 393), N. को (see § 216). The term. of the part. suffers various modifications before these suff., which may be seen from the following examples: M. पढलेला, G. पढेलो, S. पढिघलु or पढिघड़ो, Mw. पढ़्योड़ो or पढोड़ो, N. पढ़्याको *read*, from the resp. part. M. पढला, G. पढ़्यो, S. पढिघो, Mw. पढ़्यो, N. पढ़्यो.

306. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit त or, with the connecting vowel इ added, इत. The addition of इ is very common in Pr., even with such roots, as do not take

it in Skr. (see Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156. Ls. 363. Wb. Spt. 65. Wb. Bh. 432. 433). In Gḍ. it has become almost universal; though there are a very few exceptions, as P. दिट्ठा or डिट्ठा *seen* (Pr. दिट्ठो, Skr. दृष्टकः), but also regularly देखिआ (Ld. 66); G. दीठो *seen*, पेठो *entered* (Pr. पइट्ठो, Skr. प्रविष्टकः); S. डिठो *seen*, पेठो *entered*, लधो *obtained* (Pr. लठ्ठो H. C. 3, 134., Skr. लब्धकः), and some others, see Tr. 273—279. Ed. 50.— The suff. इत becomes in Pr. either इट् which is the older form preserved in Sr. (H. C. 4, 269), Mg. (see Vr. 11, 11. H. C. 4, 291. 292) and old Ap. (H. C. 4, 396), or इअ which is the later form of the Mh. (Vr. 7, 32. H. C. 3, 156) the A. Mg. (Wb. Bh. 433) and the later Ap. (e. g., हसिउ H. C. 4, 396. = Mh. हसिओ; Ap. धल्लिउ H. C. 4, 439 et passim; compare the treatment of the similar suff. इतव्य = Ap. इएवु H. C. 4, 438). The (older) Mg. form इट् further changes in E. and S. Gḍ. to इल and अल (§ 109). The only instances of this change of ट् to ल् in Mg. are: कले for कटे (H. C. 4, 290. Skr. कृतः) *done*, गले for गटे (H. C. 4, 302. Skr. गतः) *gone*, and मले for मटे (cf. Ls. 423. Skr. मृतः) *died*[1]) and, moreover, they are confined to the lower (or Ap.) types of Mg. (e. g., the Ṣábarí[2]) and Avantí, Ls. 417). This tendency of the Ap. Mg. has become the general rule in its descendants, the E. and S. Gḍ.; though side by side with the special Ap. Mg. forms in इल they have preserved also the general later (A. Mg., Mh., Ap. Sr.) Pr. forms in इअ. There are, then, the following forms, in the nom. *sg.*: 1) Mg. m. इटे, f. इटा, and, with pleon. अ added, m. इटए, f. इटिआ; these result in the E. H.

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1) It is commonly supposed (Ls. 412. Bs. I, 238) that ट् first changed to ड् and then to ल्; and it is true that Vr. 11, 15 gives the three Mg. forms कडे, गडे, मडे; but Md. 12, 28 gives them only as alternatives besides कटे, गटे, मटे. Seeing that the general tendency of the languages of the Mg. class is towards dentalisation (see §§ 15. 16), it seems more probable, that ट् changed at once to (dental) ल्, than that it first became cerebral ड्, and then reverted to the dental ल्.

2) It may be remarked, that O. which is closely allied to the Ṣábarí (see p. XXIV) preserves the three forms कल् *done*, गल् *gone*, मल् *died*.

m. इल् or ञल्, f. इलि or ञलि or इल् or ञल्; and m. इला or ञला, f. इली or ञली. 2) Mg. m. इए, f. इआ, and, with pleon. ञ added, m. इञए, f. इञआ, whence the E. H. m. f. इञ or (dropping ञ) इ, and m. इञा or (suppressing इ) ञा, f. इई or (contracted) ई. E. g., Skr. चलितः *walked*, Mg. चलिए, E. H. चलिल् or चलल्; or A. Mg. चलिए (Wb. Bh. 215) or Ap. चलिउ, O. H. चलिय् or चलिव्[1]), E. H. चलिञ or चलि, Bs. चलि or चल (*chala*). Again Skr. चलितोऽस्मि *I walked*, A. Mg. चलिए म्हि or चलिञ म्हि, Ap. चलिअउं (see § 503, 1. a), E. H. चल्यौं. Again Skr. चलितोऽसि *thou walkedst*, A. Mg. चलिए सि or Ap. a) चलिअसि or b) चलियहि (see § 503, 1. b), N. a) चल्येस् or चलिस्, E. H. चलिस्, S. b) चलिएं. Again Skr. चलितकः *walked*, Mg. चलिटए, E. H. and M. चलला or चलिला, O. चलिला; or A. Mg. चलिञए, P. चलिआ, Bs., H. H., B., O. चला; or Mh. चलिञ्ञो, Ap. चलिअउ, O. H. चलेव् or चलिओ or चल्यो, W. H. चल्यौ or चल्यो, S. चलिओ or चल्वो, G. and N. चल्यो.

307. *Affinities and Derivation of the Exceptional Forms*. Cognate forms are denoted by identical letters. 1) R. खाद् *eat*; Skr. (a and c) खादितः or (b and d) खादितकः, Mg. (a) खाइदे or (b) खाइदए or A. Mg. (c) खाइए or (d) खाइञए, E. H. (a) खाइल् or (b) खइला or Bs. (c) खाइ or (d) खाया (for *खाइआ), B. and O. (a) खाइल or (b) खाइला or (c) खाइ or (d) खिया (for *खया = *खइआ, see below गिया *gone*, cf. Sn. 40), M. (b) खाल्ला (Man. 80), H. H. (d) खाया, P. (b) खाहटा (with euphon. ह्, § 69) or (d) खाया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) खाइद्ध or (d) खाइञउ, Mw. and G. (b) खाधो (for *खाहदो or खाहिदो with euph. ह्, as in P.), W. H. (d) खायौ or खायो. — 2) R. लभ् *take*; Skr. (*α*) लब्धः or (*β*) लब्धकः, Pr. (*α*) लठो (H. C. 3, 134) or (*β*) लठ्ठो, S. (*β*) लधो (Tr. 278); or Skr. (a) *लभितः or (b) *लभितकः, Mg. (a) लहिदे or (b) लहिदए or A. Mg. (c) लहिए or (d) लहिञए, E. H. (a) लिहल् or (b) लिहला or (c) लिहि (in the pret. tense, cf. § 502 exc., for *लहि) or Bs. (d) लेवा (contr. for लइआ with euph. व्, cf. § 69, Kl. 224) or लया or लिया (like गिया *gone*), B. (a) निल् (in the past tense and

1) M., as usual (§ 65, note), changes इउ or इव् to ईव्; e. g., बाँधीव् *bound* or *built*, from R. बाँध् *bind* (see Man. 107. 114).

condit. part., S. Ch. 190), or (d) निया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) नेल or (b) नेला or (d) नेया (Sn. 36), M. (b) घ्याला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) लिया, P. (d) लइआ or लिआ (Ld. 66) or (b) लोता (perhaps contr. for a Ps. Pr. form *लइतए or *लहितए, or made after दित्ता *given*, Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) लहिदउ or (d) लहिअउ, W. H. (b) Mw. लीदो (contr. for *लइदो) or लीधो (contr. like काधो *eaten*, Kl. 213) or लीनो or लीन्हो (with न् or न्ह् for द् or ध्, cf. H. C. 1, 208 गब्भिणो = Pr. *गब्भिदो = Skr. गर्भितः, Pr. घणिउँतयं = Pr. *घट्टिउन्नयं = Skr. घर्षितमुत्तकम्) or (d) लेवो (for *लइओ) or Br. (d) लयो or लियो, G. (b) लीधो (as in Mw., Ed. 50). — 3) R. दध् *give* (substitute for दा or धा); Skr. (*a*) हितः (for *धितः) or (*β*) हितकः, Ap. (*a*) °हिदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (*β*) °हिअउ (H. C. 4, 395), Gḍ. *deest*; again, formed strictly analogous to the P. P. of R. लभ्, Skr. *दधितः, Mg. (a) *दहिदे or (b) *दहिदए or A. Mg. (c) *दहिए or (d) *दहिअए, E. H. (a) दिहल् or (b) दिहला or (c) दिहि (in the past tense, for *दहि) or Bs. (d) देवा (Kl. 224) or दया or दिया, B. (a) दिल् (in the past tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 190) or (d) दिया (S. Ch. 190), O. (a) देल or (b) देला or (d) देया (Sn. 36), M. (b) दिला (Mn. 80), H. H. (d) दिया, P. दित्ता (perhaps for Skr. दत्त, or formed like लोता *taken*, cf. Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) *दहिदउ or (d) *दहिअउ; W. H. (b) Mw. दीदो or दीधो or दीनो or दीन्हो or (d) दयो or Bs. (d) दयो or दियो, G. (b) दीधो (Ed. 59). — 4) R. धृ *place*; Skr. धृतः, Gḍ. *deest*; or Skr. *धरितः, Mg. (a) धलिदे or (b) धलिदए or A. Mg. (c) धलिए (cf. H. C. 1, 36. धरिओ) or (d) धलिअए, E. H. (a) धल्ल् or धरिल् or (b) धल्ला or धरिला or (c) धल् or धरि or Bs. (c) धर् or (a) धरा, B. and O. (a) धरिल or (b) धरिला or (d) धरा, M. (b) धरला, H. H. (d) धरा, P. (d) धरिआ; again Ap. Pr. (b) धरिदउ or (d) धरिअउ, W. H. (d) धर्यो or धर्यो, G. (d) धर्यो, S. (d) धरिओ or धर्यो. — 5) R. कृ *do*; Skr. (*a*) कृतः or (*β*) कृतकः, Ap. (*a*) किदु (H. C. 4, 446) or (*β*) किअउ (H. C. 4, 371), S. (*β*) किओ (Tr. 277); again Skr. *करितः, Mg. (a) कलिदे or (b) कलिदए or A. Mg. (c) कलिए or (d) कलिअए or Ap. (d) किया (H. C. 4, 396; see H. H. below), E. H. (a) कल्ल् (§§ 109. 124) or (b) कल्ला or. (c) किहि (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc., with euph. ह, for *किइ = कइ = करि, formed after लिहि *taken*, दिहि *given*)

or Bs. कर् or (d) करा, B. and O. (a) करिल् or (b) करिला (in the past tense and condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148. Sn. 27) or (d) करा (S. Ch. 148. Sn. 39), M. (b) केला (for *कर्‌ला, Man. 80), H. H. (d) किया (for *कया = कर्‌या, see S. below, formed after दिया *given*, लिया *taken*, गिया *gone*), P. (d) कीता (perhaps for *कर्‌तए, like लीता *taken*, q. v., Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (b) करिट्ठ or (d) करिअ or कियउ (H. C. 4, 378 = कर्‌अउ, see below W. H.), W. H. (b) Mw. कोट्टो or कोधो or कोनो or कोन्हो (formed like लोट्टो, etc., q. v., Kl. 213), or (d) कर्यो or (d) Br. कर्यो or कियो (for *कयो = कर्‌यो, see below S.), G. (b) कीधो (Ed. 50) or (d) कर्यो, S. (d) कयो (for *कर्‌ह्यो, Tr. 277) or (b) कीतो (see above P.). — 6) R. गम् *go*; Skr. (*α*) गतः or (*β*) गतकः, Mg. (*α*) गदे or गडे or (*β*) गद्दए or गउए, O. (*α*) गल् or (*β*) गला (in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 34); or Skr. (a) *गमितः, Pali (a) गमितो (Ms. 131), Mg. (a) गमिदे or (b) गमिद्दए or (c) गमिए or (d) गमिअए (cf. Wb. Bh. 405 गमेयाए = *गमिअयाए = *गमितकया), or Ap. (d) गया (H. C. 4, 376. see H. H. below), E. H. (a) गर्‌ल् or (b) गर्‌ला or (c) गर्‌ (in the pret. tense, § 502 exc.) or Bs. (d) गया (= गर्‌या, see below P.) or contr. गा (Kl. 225), B. (a) गेल् (in pret. tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (d) गिया (S. Ch. 148, for गया, see below P.), M. (b) गेला (Man. 80), H. H. गया (= गर्‌या), P. गर्‌या or गिया (Ld. 66); again Ap. Pr. (d) गमिअउ or गर्‌अउ or contr. गयउ (H. C. 4, 422. 20., see W. H. and above P.), W. H. (d) Br. गयो or Mw. गयो or गीयो (Kl. 213.? गियो?), G. (d) गयो (Ed. 50 or गयलो Ed. 83., see § 216), N. गयो. — 7) R. भू *be*; Skr. भूतः, Pr. हूओ (H. C. 4, 64), Gḍ. *deest*; or Skr. *भवितः, Mg. (a) भविदे or (b) हविदे or (c) हुविदे (cf. H. C. 4, 60) or (d) भविद्दए or (e) हविद्दए or (f) हुविद्दए or (g) भविए or (h) हविए (cf. H. C. 4, 401 परिहविअ° = परिभूत°) or (i) हुविए or (k) भविअए or (l) हविअए or (m) हुविअए, Ap. (m) हुआ (H. C. 4, 351, for हुर्‌आ, see below H. H., and compare Ap. मुआ and मुर्‌आ), E. H. (a) भर्‌ल् or (d) भर्‌ला or (g) भर् or भय् (§ 123) or (h) हव or हो (in the pres. tense, § 514, 3, for *हवि, § 122) or Bs. (k) भवा or भया (= भर्‌या) or contr. भा, B. (b) हर्‌ल (in the condit. part., S. Ch. 144. 148) or (l) हर्‌या (S. Ch. 148), O. (c) होर्‌ल् or (f) होर्‌ला

(in the pret. tense and condit. part., Sn. 35) or (i) होइ (Sn. 35) or (m) हुआ (Sn. 66, see H. H. below), M. (e) काला (Man. 80, for *काला or *हउला), H. H. (m) हुआ (for हुइआ, see P. and Km. below), P. (m) होइआ (Ld. 26); again Ap. Pr. (k) भविअउ or (l) हविअउ or (m) हुविअउ, W. H. (k) Br. भवी (for *भव्यौ) or भयौ (= भइओ) or contr. भौ or Km. भवो or भयो or भो (Kl. 205) or (l) Mw. हियो (suppressing व between हवि°) or हीयो (? Kl. 236) or (m) हुवो or हुयो (Kl. 210, for हुइओ) or contr. हो (Kl. 200), G. (l) हवो (Ed. 69) or (m) होवो (Ed. 69), S. (m) हुओ (Tr. 298, see H. H. above), N. (k) भयो (= भइओ), Km. (m) हुइओ (Kl. 2, 237), Gw. (m) होयो (Kl. 236). — 8) R. मृ *die*; Skr. मृतः, Mg. (*a*) मदे or (*β*) मए (Wb. Bh. 156) or (*γ*) मडे (Vr. 11, 15) or Mh. मुओ (Spt. 144 et passim), O. (a) मल्; or Skr. *मरितः, Mg. (a) मलिदे or (b) मुलिदे or (c) मलिदए or (d) मुलिदए or (e) मलिए or (f) मुलिए or (g) मलिअए or (h) मुलिअए, Ap. (f) मुइअ (H. C. 4, 367. 419., eliding ल् = र्, § 124) or contr. (h) मुआ (H. C. 4, 442., see H. H. below), E. H. (a) मरिल् or (b) मुरिल् or (c) मरिला or (d) मुरिला or (e) मंरि or (f) मुर् or (g) Bs. मरा or (h) मुआ, M. (c) मेला (Man. 80, for *मइला), H. H. (h) मुआ (for मुइआ, see Ap. Mg. above); again Ap. Pr. (g) मरिअउ or (h) मुरिअउ or contr. मुअउ (H. C. 4, 442, for *मुइअउ, see Ap. Mg. above and W. H. below), W. H. (g) मर्यो or मर्यो or (h) मुओ or मुओ (for *मुइओ), G. मुवो (Ed. 50), N. (g) मरियो or मर्यो, S. dto. — 9) R. आप् *come* and प्राप् (= प्र + आप्) *obtain*; Skr. आपः or प्रापः, Pr. पत्तो or पत्तो (cf. H. C. 4, 332), Gḍ. *deest*; or Skr. *आपितः or *प्रापितः, Mg. (a) आविदे or (b) आविदए or (c) आविए (cf. H. C. 4, 387 पाविअ, and see Ap. below) or (d) आविअए, E. H. (a) आइल् or (b) अइला or (c) आइ or आए or (d) Bs. आया (cf. § 423), B. (a) आइल् (in the pret.-tense and cond. part., S. Ch. 188. 189)[1]), M. (b) आला (Man. 80, for *आइला), H. H. (d) आया (for आइआ), P. (d) आइआ; again Ap. Pr. (c) आविउ or आइउ (H. C. 4, 422) or (d) आविअउ (cf. H. C. 4, 432 Bombay Ed. आउइओ = आविओ?), W. H. (d) आयो or आयो (for आइओ), N. आयो. The forms of प्राप् are strictly analogous throughout.

1) The other B. forms आसिल°, etc. are derived from the R. आइस् = Pr. आविस् = Skr. आविश् *enter* (आ + विश्).

Third Group.

308. Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	इत् or अत्	*इता or *अता	इत्रि or अत्रि
2)	आव् or आवू	आवा	अवाई or आई or आवू
3)	अव्यू or आयू	—	—
4)	अवइया or अइया	—	—
5)	अवारू or अवालू	अवारा or अवाला	अवारी or अवाली
6)	आरू or आलू	—	—

The forms of the fourth set are redundant (§§ 200. 202); of the others those in आ, ई and ऊ are strong, the remainder are weak. — The forms with initial इ are not commonly employed, except with Rs. in आ and causal or denom. Rs. in आव् (or आ by § 33). — The masc. strong forms of the first set are never used, exc. in the obl. form इअ or अअ or (by elision of अ) contr. ए. — The suff. आवू is sometimes wrongly spelled आहू, owing to a confusion with the suff. आहू of § 284.

Note: Observe in adding these suff., 1) that in the first set the initial अ is elided after Rs. in आ, ए and R. हो *be*, and इ after Rs. in ई; 2) that before the suff. of the second and fourth sets, the termin. आव् of caus. and den. Rs. is elided, and final radical आ and ए are shortened. For the rest see § 298, note.

309. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act and agency, from any root. Originally their derivatives were part. fut. *passive* only; but in the neuter gender they naturally came to express verbal nouns of act and thus were used as the (so-called) infinitive; for *the "it is to be done" of a thing* is equal to *the "doing" of a thing.* Next the pass. sense was dropped, as in the case of the past part. pass. (§ 301, note), and the part. used actively (e. g., in the formation of the fut. tense act. cf. § 509, 3); and thus it came to express verbal nouns of agency. The latter process was facilitated by the addition of pleon. suff., see § 314. With some intrans. verbs, as होव् *to be*, the part. fut. pass. ne-

cessarily has an active sense; and this may have led the way to the general practice of using this part. *actively*.

310. The first set is used to form the part. fut. or the inf. Thus हसब् or हसिब् *what is to be laughed at* or *to laugh*, of R. हस् *laugh*; पढ़ब् or पढ़िब् *what is to be read* or *to read*, of R. पढ़् *read*; करब् or करिब् *what is to be done* or *to do*, of R. कर् *do*; छुअब् or छुइब् or छूअब् *what is to be touched* or *to touch*, of R. छू *touch*; ओअब् or ओवब् or ओइब् *what is to be sown* or *to sow*, of R. ओ *sow*. But खाइब् or खाब् *what is to be eaten* or *to eat*, of R. खा *eat*; कराइब् or कराब् *what is to be caused to be done* or *to cause to do*, of C. R. कराव् *cause to do*; पीयब् or पीब् *what is to be drunk* or *to drink*, of R. पी *drink*; देब् or देइब् *what is to be given, debt* or *to give*, of R. दे *give*; होब् or होइब् *what is to be, future, possible* or *to be*, of R. हो *be*. Thus मो के or मो से उ कार्ब् आटै *by me that is to be done*, or actively मैं करबो (= कार्ब + उँ) *I shall do*. The fem. in इ is used only as a component part of the fut. tense act., as करिस् (fem.) *thou wilt do* for करि + स्, cf. § 509, 3.

311. The second set is used to form *nouns of act.* Thus अवाई *coming*, of R. आव् *come*; जवाई *going*, of R. जा *go*; खवाई *eating*, of R. खा *eat*; सुकाव् or सुकाई or सुकावट् *seeing*, of R. सूझ् *see*; सिचाव् or सिचाई or सिचावट् *irrigation*, of R. सींच् *irrigate*; डोलाव् or डोलाई or डोलावट् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; लड़ाइ or लड़ावट् *fighting*, of R. लड़ or लड़ *fight*; चलाब् *dispatch*, of C. R. चलाव् *cause to go*. Very commonly the fem. expresses the *wages or price* paid for doing a thing, as रखवाई or रखाई *wages for keeping*, of R. रख् *keep*; कटवाई *wages for cutting*, of R. काट्; बनवाइ or बनाई or बनावट् *making* or *price for making* of C. R. बनाव् *make*; लिखवाई or लिखाई *wages for writing* or *dictation*, of R. लिख् *write* or C. R. लिखाव् *dictate*. The masc. strong form is very rarely used and, as a rule, has some special meaning; thus पहिरावा *dress* (lit., *what is to be put on*), of R. पहिर् *put on, wear*; बुलावा *a call*, of C. R. बुलाव् *call*, but बुलवाई, बुलावट् *calling*; मिलावा *mixture*, of R. मिल् *mix*; चढ़ावा *sacrifice*, of C. R. चढ़ाव् *sacrifice* (lit., *cause to ascend*).

312. The third, fourth, fifth and sixth sets are used to form *nouns of agency*. The fourth set is the one commonly employed. Thus जाबू or जब्बू *glutton* or जवइया or जवैया *eater*, of R. जा *eat*; डराबू or डरब्बू or डरालू or डरवाला or डरवइया *timid, coward*, of R. डर् *fear*; रखवाबू or रखवारा or रखवइया or रखइया *guardian*, of R. रख् *keep*; कजाड़ू or कजड़ालू *quarrelsome*, of R. कज् *quarrel*; छवइया *thatcher*, of R. छा *thatch*; दिवइया *giver*, of R. दे *give*; चढ़वइया *rider*, of R. चढ़् *mount*; देखवइया *observer*, of R. देख् *see*; सुनवइया *listener*, of R. सुन् *hear*; बनवइया *maker*, of C. R. बनाव् *make*, etc. The fem. makes nouns of act., as रखवारे *guarding*.

313. *Affinities.* The first and second sets occur in all Gḍs. as suff. of the part. fut. pass. or of nouns of act. (i. e., of the infinitive), exc. in P.[1]). Thus the first set in B. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. tense act., S. Ch. 146) and (st. f.) इबा or (by elision of ब्) contr. आ (as "gerund or verbal noun", S. Ch. 149, i. e., as part. fut. pass. and inf.); this same आ or (uncontracted) इये (= इबे = इए) is used also in an *active* sense as a suff. of nouns of agency; e. g., घासकाटा *a grass cutter* (S. Ch. 154. 149). Similarly in O. (wk. f.) इब् (in the fut. act. Sn. 27) and (st. f.) इबा or contr. आ (Sn. 30). Also in W. H. (as inf. and part. fut. pass.) (st. f.) Br. अबौं or अबौ or इबौं or इबौ or Mw. अबो or अबा or इबो or इबो (obl. f. अबे or इबे, as in E. H.). In G. it occurs as the suff. of a part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) m. अबो, f. अबी, n. अबुं, and forms the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., माहे छोउबो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*; also as suff. of the infinit., viz. (st. f.) अबुं neut. (Ed. 50. 112); e. g., छोउबुं *to deliver*. Also in S. it occurs; though never to form an inf., but only a part. fut. pass. in इबो (in the fut. tense pass. Tr. 336), and strangely also a part. present pass. (Tr. 54); e. g., छडिबो pres. *being given up* (Tr. 331) or fut. *he shall be given up* (Tr. 336). Perhaps it exists also in the M. inf. termin. ऊँ, a strong form, contr. for इवूँ = इबूँ (Man. 61, 5. 71);

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1) The so-called P. „gerund" (Ld. 24. 45. 81) ending in इआ m., ई f., is identical with the past part. pass.; see the § on compound verbs.

e. g., सोडूँ *to loose* (for *सोडिउँ = Mw. झोडिबों, G. छोडवुं [1]). — The second set, which now forms in E. H. and similarly in W. H. verbal nouns only, is still used in M. to form the part. fut. pass., ending in (st. f.) यावें neut. (called "supine" in Man. 62. 61, 5), with an obl. f. यावया (= E. H. यवे) or (by eliding व्) contr. याया (= E. H. ये, B. इये). It also occurs in M. with the sense of a part. pres. pass. in the formation of the pres. conj. tense, ending in याचा m., याची f., यावें n.; e. g., M. मी सुटावा *I may be loosed* (lit. *I am to be loosed*), or म्याँ सोडावा *I may loose him* (lit. *by me he may be loosed* or *by me he is to be loosed*); see § 509, 3. — The other sets occur also in W. H., except that there is no change of ल् to ड् in the 5th and 6th sets; e. g., W. H. रखवाल् or °ला, f. °ली; काढाल्. The 5th set occurs in M. as यवाडू or यवाकू (see Bs. II, 60; e. g., कन्हवाकू *pitiful*, of R. कन्हू *moan*); and in G. as यवानो (commonly used to form the fut. tense act.; e. g., छोडवानो *he shall deliver*, of R. छोड् Ed. 61), the original pass. sense of which may be seen from its use in the so-called "potential" (Ed. 57); e. g., मारे छोडवानो हतो lit., *by me he should be delivered*. The sixth set occurs in M. as याडू or याकू (see Man. 114. Bs. II, 60; e. g., खेळाडू *frolicsome*, of R. खेल् *play*; खाजाकू *itching*, of R. खाज् *itch*); in S. as यारो or यारू (Tr. 53; e. g., वाराो or वोरारू *pedlar*, of R. वोड् *seek*; पीजारो *cotton-carder*, of R. पिज् *card*).

314. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तव्य forming the part. fut. pass. It is often added with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतव्य. The addition of इ is general in Pr. (Vr. 7, 33. H. C. 3, 157) and universal in Gḍ. The suff. इतव्यम् (nom. sg. neut.) becomes in Pr. एव्वं or इव्वं (H. C. 3, 157) and in Ap. *एव्वं or एवं (H. C. 4, 438. K. I. 53 in Ls. 469, 5) or इव्वं (K. I. 50 in Ls. 468, 3); finally in E. H. इब् or यब्. Similarly,

1) If it were not the long vowel ऊ, it might be taken as a contr. of the Pr. एउं or इउं = Skr. इतुम् H. C. 3, 157; like the M. conj. part. in ऊपा = Pr. एउपा or इउपा, Skr. *इत्वानम्.

with the pleon. अ added, Skr. इतव्यकम्, Pr. एअव्वअं or इअव्वअं, Ap. Sr. (a) एअव्वउं (H. C. 4, 438. 4, 354) or Ap. Mg. (b) एआ (= *एअए or *एअव्वं, cf. § 54), W. Gḍ. (a) इअौं or अअौं or E. Gḍ. (b) इआ or अआ or S. Gḍ. (b) आवें (= *एअव्वं). Thus Skr. कर्तव्यम् (or *करितव्यम्), Pr. कोएव्वं or करिअव्वं, Ap. *कोएवुं or करिएवुं or कोएवं, E. H. करिअ or कारअ; again Skr. कर्तव्यकम्, Pr. कोएव्वअं or करिअव्वअं, Ap. (a) *कोएवअं or (b) कोएवउं or (c) कोएवा; Gḍ. (a) M. कारावें, (b) W. H. करिअौं, (c) O. करिबा. It should be remarked, that H. C. expressly gives the neut. wk. f. एवं (H. C. 4, 441) as an inf. suffix, while the corresponding st. f. एवुं and एवा (H. C. 4, 438) are mentioned as suff. of the part. fut. pass. — The suff. अवाई is a comp. of the suff. अव् or आव् + suff. आई of § 220; and the suff. अवइआ a comp. of suff. आव् + pleon. suff. एआ (of the redundant form, § 202); and the suff. अवारू or अवारा a comp. of suff. आव + pleon. suff. अरू or अरा (§ 209); and the suff. आवट् a comp. of suff. आव + ट्. The nature of the latter element (ट्) is obscure. Perhaps it represents the Skr. suff. ता of abstract nouns (§ 220, also contained in the suff. अवाई) or त्वम् (or fem. *त्वा in Mg., see Wb. Bh. 437); thus Skr. इतव्यता or °त्वम् = Mg. इअव्वआ or Ap. *एवडा, E. H. आवट्; the change of ड् to ट् (as in पटूणं for पत्तन H. C. 2, 29) may be owing to a confusion with the suff. आवट् or आहट् (§ 284) derived from the Skr. वृत्त = Pr. वट्ट. — Again the suff. आई, अइआ and आड् (or आल्) are contr. respectively from the suff. अवाई, अवइआ and अवारा (or अवाला), by the elision of व्; just as the E. H. obl. f. ऐ is contr. for B. इये (= इवे), and the M. obl. f. आया for आवया (§ 313). — The suff. तव्य, in course of time, lost its originally pass. sense and became active, as in B. आ and इये (see § 313); in the other Gḍs., this process was facilitated by the addition of the pleon. suff. एआ and अरा = Ap. Pr. अअअ (= अकके) and अउअ, the उ of which latter suff. changed, as usual in Gḍ., to ऊ or ल् or ड़ or न्. E. g., Ap. रेवुअउउ (Skr. रन्तितव्यः), W. H. रअआली or E. H. °रा; Ap. खेलुवुअउउ, M. *खेलवाडू or contr. खेलाडू. Similarly the originally pass. suff. अनीआ (of the part. fut.) and इत (of the past. part.) have become active

in Gḍ. (see §§ 316. 305). It is a remarkable fact, that the suff. तव्य has suffered a precisely analogous change in the Latin *tivus*. Its derivatives occur very rarely in classic Latin, and, as a rule, are used passively, as *captivus* "prisoner", *votivus* „dedicated"; but *stativus* "appointed" or "stationary" is both pass. and act., and *fugitivus* "fugitive" is active. But in the later (low) Latin they are very common, and, as a rule, used actively; as *effectivus* „effective", *operativus, contemplativus, negativus*, etc.

Fourth Group.

315.

Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
1)	अनू्	अना	अनी
2)	आवनू् or आनू्	अउना or औना	अउनी or औनी
3)	अनिहारू्	अनिहारा	अनिहारी
4)	—	अनेवारा or °ला	अनेवारी or °ली

The forms of com. gen. are weak, the others strong. The second set, on being added to caus. and den. roots in आव्, supersedes that termin. For the rest, see § 298, note.

316. *Meaning.* These suff. are used to derive 1) part. fut., both pass. and act., and 2) verbal nouns, both of act. and agency, from any root. The nouns of agency are, in fact, *part. fut. act.*, implying the habit of doing a thing. As to the change of the sense from pass. to act., see § 309. The verbal nouns of act., formed by these suff. and used as infinitives in W. H. and the other Gḍs., are seldom or never employed so in E. H.

317. All these suff. (exc. the strong femin. of the third set) are occasionally used to form the part. fut. pass., and generally have some particular meaning. Thus देनू् or देना or देनी *what is to be given, a debt*, of R. दे *give*; लेनू् or लेना or लेनी *what is to be taken, a receipt*, of R. ले *take*, as in the phrase लेनू् देनू् *intercourse, traffic*; बातनू् or बतना *what is to be played, a musical instrument*, of R. बत्तू् *be played*; ओढना or ओढनी *what is to be put on, a cloak or sheet*, of R. ओढ्ू *put on, wear*; बिछावनू् or बिछउना or बिछौना or f. °नी *what is to be spread, bed-clothes*, of R. बिछ् or बिछाव् *spread*; खेलउना or खेलौना, f. °नी *what is to be played*

with, a toy, of R. खेल् *play*; भराउना or भरौना *what is to be loaded, a load*, of R. भराव् *load*; कहौनी (H. H. कहानी) *what is to be said, a story*, of R. कह् *speak*; पहिराउन् or पहिरौनी *what is to be put on, garments*, of R. पहिर् *put on*; छउनी or छौनी *encampments, barracks* (lit., *what is to be thatched*), of R. छा *thatch*; पढ़न् or पढ़नी *what is to be read, spell, charm*, of R. पढ़् *read*. Again होना, f. होनी, or m. f. होनिहार् or m. °रा, or m. होनेवाला, f. °री *what is to be, possible, future*, and अनहोना *impossible*, of R. हो (but होनहारी *possibility, futurity*).

318. The third and fourth sets (exc. the strong femin. of the former) are used to form part. fut. act. or nouns of agency. Thus m. f. करनिहार्, m. °रा *one who is going to do or a doer*, of R. कर् *do*; m. f. पढ़निहार् or m. पढ़निहारा or पढ़नेवाला or °ला, f. °री or °ली *one who is going to read, a reader*, of R. पढ़् *read*; m. f. देनिहार् or m. °रा or m. देनेवाला or °रा, f. °ली or °री *one who is going to give, a giver*, of R. दे *give*, etc. Occasionally also the strong forms of the first and second sets form nouns of agency, as हँसना, f. °नी *jester*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; डरउना or डरौना, f. °नी *coward, timid*, of R. डर् *fear*; सुहउना or सुहौना, f. °नी *pleasing*, of R. सुहाव् *please*; घिनउना or घिनौना, f. °नी *disgusting*, of R. घिनाव् *nauseate*; पहिरउनी or पहिरौनी *a tire-woman*, of C. R. पहिराव् *attire*. The fem. in अनी often signifies an instrument, and the masc. in आन् a place; thus fem. खोदनी *a spade* (lit., *digger*), of R. खोद् *dig*; लेखनी *style, pen*, of R. लेख् *write, engrave*; कतरनी *scissors*, of R. कतर् *cut*; सुनगी *sense of hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*, etc.; and masc. उठान् *area, court*, of R. उठ् *rise*; अकान् *place for ensnaring*, of R. आक् or अकाव् *ensnare*; टिकान् *halting-place*, of R. टिक् *halt*.

319. The weak forms of the first and second sets and the strong femin. of the first, second and third sets are commonly used to form nouns of act. Thus m. कहन् or f. कहनी *speaking, speech*, of R. कह् *speak*; सुनन् or सुननी *hearing*, of R. सुन् *hear*; लेन् or लेनी *taking*, of R. ले *take*; करन् or करनी [1]) *action*, of R. कर् *do*; रहन् or रहनी [1]) *existence, living*, of R. रह् *remain, live*; होनी [1]) *occur-*

1) Also करतब्, रहतब्, होतब् or होनिहार्, which are clearly part.

rence, accidence, of R. होने *be*; सुकावन् *direction, advice*, of R. सुकाव् *show*; मनावन् *agreement, respect*, of R. मान् *respect* or मनाव् *persuade*; झगनी *dispute*, of R. झग् *fight*; लिखनी *writing*, of R. लिख् *write*; सिखावन् *instruction*, of R. सिखाव् *teach*, etc. Especially the suff. यान्; as उड़ान् *flying*, of R. उड़् *fly*; कुदान् *leaping*, of R. कूद् *leap*; चढ़ान् *ascent, riding*, of R. चढ़ *mount, ride*; डोलन् or डोलान् *movement*, of R. डोल् *move*; बइठान् *sitting, session*, of R. बइठ् *sit*; धरान् *holding*, of R. धर् *hold*; पकरान् *seizure*, of R. पकर् *seize*; सिचान् *irrigation*, of R. सींच् *irrigate*; उठान् *rising*, of R. उठ् *rise*; चलान् *clearance*, of R. चलाव् *dispatch*; लड़ान् *fighting*, of R. लड़् *fight*, etc.

Note: उड़ान् *flying*, etc. may be also उड़ाव्, उड़ाई, उड़ावर्, etc.; see § 308. — The derivatives of the 1st and 2nd sets must not be confounded with those of the Skr. suff. यन, which are not E. H. formations but received from the Skr. as tats. or tadbh. The suff. यन no longer exists as such in Gd., nor apparently did it do so in Pr. Its derivatives in E. H. can be often recognized by the fact of the non-existence of their roots in it. Thus E. H. पान् *beverage*, दान् *giving*, मान् *respect*, गवन् or गमन् *going*, बधावन् *presents*, etc., whose roots *पा, *दा, *मा, *गम्, *बधाप्, etc. do not exist in E. H., at least in this particular form. But sometimes it may remain doubtful, whether an E. H. word is an old tadbh. deriv. of the Skr. suff. यन or an E. H. formation of the present group.

320. *Affinities.* These suff. occur in all Gds.; but those of the 4th set are not properly E. H., nor generally E. or S. Gd. (cf. S. Ch. 154. Man. 113, 2), but introduced into them from the W. Gd., especially from W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 76 बनवारो or बनेवारो). — The third set is that commonly used in E. H.; it occurs also in W. H., P. (Ld. 24, 80) and S. (Tr. 75); in G. it is contr. to बनार् (forming the fut. act. tense, Ed. 61), also in M. बणार् or बणारा (forming the fut. part. act. or nouns

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fut. pass. and thus disclose the etymological character of the words in the text.

of agency, Man. 63, 3. 64, 4). — The first and second set is used in all Gds. in the same way as in E. H.; moreover, the masc. strong form commonly serves as the (so-called) infinitive in W. H. (अनों or अनौं in Br. and अनों or अनो in Mw.), P. (अणा or अना Ld. 24, 80); also in M. (neuter) अण (called "gerund" in Man. 61, 100. 62); and, in the weak form, in E. अनें or अनि or अनूं or अनि (S. Ch. 149. 186), O. अण or आण (Sn. 30, 38), W. H. (Br.) अनि, S. अणु or इणु (Tr. 54. 251), N. अनु. The strong form exists also as a suff. of the part. fut. pass. in W. H. m. अनों, f. अनी, and S. m. अणो or इणो, f. अणी or इणी (Tr. 279. 55).

321. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अनीय, which in Pr. becomes अणीअ (Vr. 2, 17. H. C. 1, 248) or अणिअ (as in पाणीअ or पाणिअ *water* = Skr. पानीय Vr. 1, 18. H. C. 1, 101) or अणाअ (or अणाय Wb. Bh. 418. H. C. 4, 449. 441). The latter form has already dropped the passive signification and become a suff. of act. or agency. From the Ap. forms अणिअ or अणाअ, by the addition of the pleon. suff. उ or उअ or अउ or अउअ, arise the forms अणाअउ or अणाअउअ, which become अणारू or अनारू or अणारा or अनारा in M. and G.; and the form अणाअउअ, which (inserting euph. व्) appears in S. as अनवारो, W. H. अनवालो; and the forms अणिअउ or अणिअउअ, which (inserting euph. ह्) appear in E. H. etc. as अनिहारू or अनिहारा. The simple Ap. form अणाअ (H. C. 4, 443) appears in E. H. etc. as अना. The simple Ap. अणहं, which forms the inf. (H. C. 4, 441) appears in the W. H. infinitive in अनों or अनौं; and the Ap. inf. suff. अणहिं (H. C. 4, 441) in the W. H. inf. suff. अनै or shortened अनि. — It is probable that in the popular usage the two krit suff. अन (pleon. अनक = Pr. अणाअ) and अनीय have become confused, so as to make a correct allotment of their respective derivatives a matter of difficulty. But as there can be no doubt, that the passive suff. तव्य has become an active suff. of act. and agency (see § 314), it is extremely probable that the same change has occurred in the case of the similar suff. अनीय, the modern derivatives of which exhibit remarkably analogous forms and meanings to those of the

suff. तव्य. — The secondary suff. वाला or वाऱ्या (§ 293) have contributed a further cause of popular confusion.

Fifth Group.

322. Set. 1) Fem. अत् or अती. Set. 2) Fem. आवत् or ओती. The forms in ई are strong, the others weak. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

323. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from a root; but they exist only in a limited number of words. Thus the first set in चुकत् or चुकती *settlement*, of R. चुक् *finish*; चुनत् *plaiting, plaits*, of R. चुन् *plait*; वसती *dwelling, village*, of R. वस् *dwell*; भरती *filling up, enlistment*, of R. भृ *fill*; चढती *rising, gain*, of R. चढ् *rise*; बढती *increase*, of R. बढ् *increase*; घटती *decrease*, of R. घट् *decrease*; लागती *belonging, assessment*, of R. लग् *belong*. Occasionally the root is not in use, as in बढत् *commission* (lit., *increase*), of R. *बढ्; बिनती *information, petition*, of R. *बिन्. The second set in समुकावत् or समुकौती *explaining*, of R. समुकाव् *explain*; छुटौती *release*, of R. छुटाव् *release*; मनौती *security*, of R. मनाव् *cause to trust*.

324. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs. Those of the second set, however, appear to be extinct in B. and O., see Bs. II, 108. In M. they are उत् and अवती; in G. ओती or उती; in P. and W. H. आवत्, ओती. Thus W. H. and P. समुकौती, G. समतुती, M. समतूत; W. H. and P. मनौती, G. मनोती; W. H. and P. चुकौती, M. चुकवती. S. seems to have only the first set in अति (Tr. 49).

325. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit ति (fem.), added to the caus. or denom. radical suff. आप् (§ 349); thus आपि or, with pleon. क added, आपिका; and in Pr. अन्नी or अन्निआ, in E. H. अत् or अती. Thus Skr. विस्तापिका, Mg. विन्नत्तिआ, E. H. बिनती; or Skr. *वर्धापिका (of R. वृध्), Mg. बड्ढत्तिआ, E. H. बढती; or Skr. *वर्धापि: (of R. वृध्), Mg. बड्ढी (cf. T. V. 3, 1. 13)[1]), E. H. बढत्, M. बउत्, O., B., G., S. बाउत् (see Bs.

1) According to H. C. 4, 81 Pr. substitutes बाढ्ढ for the Skr. R.

II, 53). — By the dissolution of the conjunct न्, the forms Pr. ज्ञावती or ज्ञावतिया, E. H. ज्ञावत् or ज्ञौती might arise; thus Skr. *मनाप्तिका, Mg. *मणाअतिआ, E. H. मनौती (for मनअती or मनउती, §§ 25. 34. 78).

Sixth Group.

326. Com. gen. अ. Masc. आ. Fem. ई.

The form अ is weak; the others are strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

327. These suff. are used to derive nouns of act. from any root. As a rule they are fem. Thus दृक् *sight*, of R. दृश् *see*; लथेड् f. *draggling* (W. H. लथेड्), of R. लथेड् *draggle*; चपेट् f. or चपेटा m. *a slap*, of R. चपट् *slap*; खेल् m. or f. *play*, of R. खेल् *play*; चाल् f. *walking, conduct, custom*, of R. चाल् or चल् *walk*; पकड् f. *seizure* (W. H. पकड्), of R. पकड् *seize*; हँस् m. f. or हँसा m., हँसी f. *laughter*, of R. हँस् *laugh*; दउड् f. or दउडा m. or दउडी f. *running, race*, of R. दउड् *run*; रगड् f. or रगडा m. *rubbing*, of R. रगड् *rub*; फेर् m. or फेरा m. or फेरी f. *turning, circumambulation*, of R. फेर् *turn*; दाब् m. *pressure, force, fear*, of R. दाब् *press*; बोल् m. or बोली f. *speech, dialect*, of R. बोल् *speak*; पछताव् m. or पछतावा m. *repentance*, of R. पछताव् *repent*, etc.

328. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs., with very slight differences: W. H. has m. f. अ, and m. ओ or ओ, f. ई; S. m, उ, f. अ or इ, and m. ओ, f. ई (Tr. 46, 47); G. m. f. अ, and m. ओ, f. ई; M., B. and O. have the same as E. H. Thus M. बोल्, बोली *speaking, language* (Man. 107); बाँध्, बाँधा *binding, embankment*, of R. बाँध् (Man. 107), etc.; S. भोल् f. *error*, E. H. भूल्, of R. भुल्; S. घाटि f. or घाटो m. *decrease*, of R. घट्; S. फेरु m. *turning* (Tr. 46. 47). Further examples see in Bs. II, 51. 52.

329. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अ, which (in the nom. sing.) forms m. अः, f. आ and, with pleon. क added, m. अकः, f. इका. These are in Mg. m. ए, f. आ,

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व्याप्; T. V. 3, 1. 13 gives ज्ञावडु; thus H. C. ज्ञावेडु, T. V. ज्ञावडु. The derivation is obscure; but it seems rather to be connected with the R. बध्.

and m. अए, f. इआ; whence E. H. m. f. अ (cf. §§ 42. 45) and m. आ, f. ई (cf. §§ 47. 51). Thus Skr. क्रीडः or क्रीडा (or खेला), Mg. खेल्ले or खेल्ला (cf. H. C. 4, 382), E. H. खेल्; again Skr. हसः or हसिका, A. Mg. हसे or हसिआ, E. H. हँस् or हँसी, etc.

Seventh Group.

330. Com. gen. उ or आउ.

Both forms are strong. Causal roots in आव् take the suff. आउ which supersedes the caus. termination; that is, उ is added to आव्, the व् of which is elided.

331. These suff. are used to derive nouns of (habitual) agency from any root. Thus उ in खाउ *eater, glutton,* of R. खा; उचाटू *vexatious,* of R. उचाट् *vex*; मार्‌ *fighter, beater,* of R. मार् *beat*; मूँड़ *ascetic* (lit., *one who shaves his head*), of R. मूँड़् *shave*; काटू *cutter, biter,* of R. काट् *cut, bite*; कार्‌ *sweeper, broom,* of R. कार् *sweep* (W. H. काड़); जागू *vigilant,* of R. जाग् *wake*; बिगाड़ू *spoiler,* of R. बिगाड़् *spoil,* etc. Again आउ; in कजाउ *quarrelsome,* of R. कज़ *quarrel*; उडाउ *spendthrift,* of R. उडाव् *squander* (lit., *cause to fly*); कमाउ *laborer, bread-winner,* of R. कमाव् *labor, earn*; टिकाउ *stationary,* of R. टिक् *stop*; बिकाउ *saleable,* of R. बिक् *sell* (intrans.); फुसलाउ *coaxer, tempter,* of R. फुसलाव् *coax.* Occasionally the root no more exists in E. H. as डाँकू or डाकू *robber,* of R. *डाँक् *bite* or *overpower.*

332. *Affinities.* These suff. are not properly E. H., nor E. Gḍ., but W. Gḍ., whence they have been introduced. W. H., P. and S., like the E. H. (Tr. 51), have उ and आउ; G. appears to have a weak form in उ, as खाउ *eater,* काडु *broom,* etc.; see Bs. II, 37 where other examples will be found; it may, however, be strong; for G. has a tendency to shorten a strong final उ or ओ; e. g., Ap. Pr. सोणउं, Mw. सोनो is in G. सोनुँ or सोनु *gold* (Skr. सुवर्णकम्).

333. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit तृ or, with pleon. क added, तृक; the ऋ of which has a tendency to change to उ in Pr. (cf. H. C. 3, 44), also in Páli (see Ms. 40. Bs. II, 57). Whence (nom. sing.) Pr. उ or ओ (= *तुः or

*तुकः), W. Gḍ. उ or ऊ; e. g., Skr. भर्त्रा *husband* (base भर्तृ), Pr. भत्तू (H. C. 3, 44), Gḍ. *deest* (E. H. has भत्तारू, Pr. भत्तारा H. C. 3, 44); Skr. पिता *father* (base पितृ), Pr. पिउ or पिउओ (H. C. 1, 131), P. पिउ or पिऊ; Skr. भ्राता *brother* (base भ्रातृ), Pr. भाउ or भाउओ (H. C. 1, 131) or Ap. भाउ or भाउउ (cf. H. C. 4, 398), P. भाउ or भाऊ or भ्राउ or भ्राऊ (cf. Ld. 10, 30), S. भाउ, M. भाऊ. Similarly Skr. दंष्ट्रकः (of R. दंश् or दंष्) *one who bites or overpowers*, Pr. डक्कुओ (cf. H. H. 2, 2 डक्को = Skr. दष्टः *bitten*), Ap. डक्कुउ, W. Gḍ. डाकू *robber*. — The suff. तृ was often added in Skr. with the connecting vowel इ; thus इतृ. This was, probably, generally done in Pr. (see the analogous cases of the suff. इत and इतव्य §§ 306. 314), and universally in Gḍ. Whence we have in Pr. इउ or इउओ and (with absorption of इ) in W. Gḍ. उ (G.) or ऊ (W. H., P., S.). Thus Skr. खादिता *eater* (base खादितृ), Pr. खाइउ or खाइउओ, G. खाउ or W. H. खाऊ; Skr. मारितृ *beater*, Pr. मारिउ or मारिउओ, G. माऱ् or W. H. माऱ्, etc. — The suff. खाऊ contains the caus. or denom. suff. खाप्; thus Skr. कर्मापयितृ *worker*, Pr. कम्मावेउओ or कम्मावउओ, W. Gḍ. कमाऊ, where व् is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted, as usual in caus. or denom. verbs (e. g., W. H. part. pres. कम्मातु *working* = Pr. कम्मावंतो or कम्मावेंतो).

Eighth Group.

334.	Set.	Com. gen.	Masc.	Fem.
	1)	अक्	अका	अकी
	2)	आक्	आका	आकी

The forms of com. gen. are weak; the others strong. As to the manner of adding them, see § 298, note.

335. The first set forms nouns of act. In many cases the original root is no longer in use; and the derivative itself, in its weak form, is employed as a root. The weak form is, as a rule, fem. Thus अइठक् f. or अइठका m. *sitting, seat*, of R. अइठ् *sit*; कसक् f. *pain*, of R. कस् *tighten*; तडक् f. *cracking, cleft*, तडका *daybreak*, of R. *तड् or तड्क् (W. H. तडक्) *crack*; कमक् f. or कमका m., °की f. *glittering*, of R. *कम् (*wave*) or कमक् *glitter*; कलक् f. *glitter*, कलकी f. *glance*, of R. *क्वल् or कलक् *glitter*; कपक् f. or °की m. or

°की f. *snatch, wink,* of R. *कप् *be quick* (Skr. क्षप्?); फटक् f. or °का m. *twitch,* of R. *फट् *be quick* (Skr. क्षप्?); फडक् f. *palpitation,* फडकी *partition, screen,* of R. फाड् *split;* फाटक् m. *gate,* of R. फाट् *split;* सडक् f. *road,* of R. सट् *join?,* etc.

336. The second set is used to derive nouns of agency from roots. Thus चराक् m. or f. *an animal that grases,* of R. चर् *graze;* चलाक् m. or f. *active, clever,* चलाकी f. *cleverness* (see § 257), of R. चल् *walk, move;* दउडाक् m. or f. *runner, racer,* of R. दउड् *run;* लडाक् m. or f. or °का m., °की f. *quarrelsome,* of R. लड् (W. H. लड्) *fight;* उडाक् m. or f. *capable of flying, fledged,* of R. उड् *fly;* पइराक् *swimmer,* पैराकी *act or art of swimming,* of R. पइर् *swim,* etc.

337. *Affinities.* These suff. exist in all Gḍs.; but the W. Gḍs. have final ओ or ओ for E. Gḍ. आ; and S. has आकु or आकू for E. H. आक् or आका (Tr. 52, 9). Examples, see in Bs. II, 31—33. 42. 43. They are exactly the same as in E. H.

338. *Derivation.* The original of these suff. is the Skr. krit अक, which is really a compound of the krit suff. (or nominal termin.) अ and the nominal base क (probably = कृत् *doing,* of R. कृ *do*) meaning *doing, agent.* On this subject see § 353. The derivatives of the suff. अक, therefore, are really compound words, made up of two nominal bases, one ending in अ, the other being क; e. g., Skr. कर्षक = कर्ष + क lit. *making a tightening,* E. H. कसक्. An initial क् of the second part of a compound has a tendency to be preserved or even doubled in Pr.; e. g., अम्हक्केरं or अम्हकेरं (H. C. 2, 99 = अम्ह + केरं), पडिक्कूलं or पडिकूलं (H. C. 2, 93 = प्रति + कूलं), मुक्को or मुओ (H. C. 2, 99 = मू + क lit. *made fast,* i. e., *dumb*). Hence the preservation of it in the Gḍ. suffixes. — The second set, probably, contains the denom. suff. आप्, and is equal to Skr. आपक; thus Skr. उड्डापकः, Mg. उड्डावके or उड्डाअके, E. H. उडाक्, with elision of व् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels.

SECOND CHAPTER. ROOTS.

339. The usual rule in Hindí grammars for ascertaining the form of the root is, to reject the suff. of the infinitive. This rule holds good for the E. H. also. The root is obtained by detaching the suff. बन् or इब् (§ 308). Thus R. पढ़ from inf. पढ़ब् *to read;* R. बूझ् from inf. बूझब् *to know;* R. खा from inf. खाइब् or खाब् *to eat.* In some cases, however, a व् or य् must be either supplied or omitted; thus R. पाव् from inf. पाइब् *to obtain* (for *पाविब § 33); R. जी from inf. जीयब् *to live;* R. चू from inf. चूवब् or चूअब् *to drip;* R. रो from inf. रोवब् or रोयब् *to weep,* etc. It will be found that with a few exceptions (about 25) which have a final vowel, all E. H. roots terminate with a consonant.

340. The same result, however, is obtained by taking the 3d pers. sing. pres. conj. (see § 495) and detaching from it the termination ऐ (or य्); thus R. पढ़, from पढ़ै *he reads;* R. बूझ्, from बूझै *he knows;* R. पाव्, from पावै *he obtains;* R. खा, from खाय् *he eats;* R. जी, from जीवै *he lives;* R. चू, from चूए *he drips;* R. रो, from रोए or रोवै *he weeps.* Moreover, this, unlike the ordinary method, presents the E. H. root in the most convenient form for comparing it with the original Skr. root which it represents. Thus while in such cases as that of the inf. पढ़ब् *to read* and 3. sg. pres. conj. पढ़ै *he reads,* both forms lead equally well to the original Skr. root पठ्, through their respective Skr. and Pr. equivalents (viz., inf. Ap. Pr. पढिब्बं, Skr. पठितव्यम् and pres. Pr. पढइ, Skr. पठति); on the other hand, in such cases as बूझब् *to know,* it is only the 3. sg. बूझै *he knows,* which leads through its equivalents, Pr. बुज्झइ, Skr. बुध्यते (i. e. बुध्-य-ते), to the original (Skr.) form of the root बुध्; for the inf. बूझब् can, by no possibility, be an equivalent of the Skr. बोधितव्यम्. Its Skr. equivalent would be, if it could exist at all, some such form as *बुध्यितव्यम्. Such inf. as बूझब्, in fact, are purely Gd. formations, made from a previously changed radical form बूझ्. For the explanation of this and similar radical changes, see §§ 344—349.

341. *Affinities.* On the whole, the Gds. show a very close agreement with one another, as regards roots; especially the E. and W. H. The differences are, in general, only phonetic. Thus E. H. uses ऱ् and ल्, where W. H. has र् and ल् (see §§ 29, 30); e. g., E. H. पऱ् *fall*, W. H. पर्; E. H. चऱ् *walk*, W. H. चल्. Or E. H. has ड where M. has ळ् (see § 11); e. g., E. H. ऊड् *be loosed*, ढोड *loose*, M. सुट्, सोड. Or E. H. has an aspirate, where M. has a tenuis (see § 145, note); e. g., E. H. सिख् or सीख् *learn*, M. शिक्, etc. Sometimes the difference is greater, and is either phonetic or due to different derivation; e. g., E. H. बैस् *sit*, N. बस्, P. वह्, S. विह (Skr. उपविश्, cf. § 173); or E. H. सूत् *sleep* (den. of the Skr. part सुप्, § 352), W. H. सो (Skr. R. स्वप्). Sometimes the same root, though it may exist in both languages, is common in one, but uncommon in the other; e. g., E. H. गोहरावु *call*, W. H. पुकारु. There are, however, a few roots, especially in S. and M., which do not exist in E. H.; e. g., S. पस् *see*, M. पाह् *see*, but E. H. दिस् or देख्, which are also S. and M.

342. If the E. H. roots are examined, they will be found capable of division into two classes. Firstly, those which, though disguised more or less by phonetic modifications, are direct representatives of old Skr. roots (single or compound); secondly such as, though ultimately connected with Skr. roots, are not directly traceable to any of them. Examples of the first kind are: E. H. चल्, Skr. चल् *walk*; E. H. तप्, Skr. तप् *be hot*; E. H. ञान्, Skr. ज्ञा *know*; E. H. कर्, Skr. कृ *do*; E. H. बो, Skr. वप् *sow*; E. H. खा, Skr. खाद् *eat*; E. H. चू, Skr. च्युत् *leak*; E. H. कोप्, Skr. कुप् *be angry* (§ 148); E. H. बोल्, Skr. वद् *speak*; E. H. मल्, Skr. मृद् *rub*; E. H. तूट् or टूट्, Skr. त्रुट् *break* (§ 174); E. H. घस्, Skr. घर्ष् *rub*; E. H. परिस्, Skr. स्पर्श् *touch* (§ 58, note); E. H. परोस्, Skr. परिविष् *distribute* (§ 122, 5); E. H. देख्, Skr. दृश् *see*; E. H. उठ, Skr. उत्था *rise*; E. H. झाँड्, Skr. झर्झर् *sweep* (§ 172), etc. Of the second kind are: E. H. भूल् *forget*, cf. Skr. भ्रमर्; E. H. झाह् *wish*, cf. Skr. उत्साह (§ 173); E. H. बइह् *sit*, cf. Skr. उपविष्ट (§ 173); E. H. पइठ् *enter*, cf. Skr. प्रविष्ट; E. H. सूत् *sleep*, cf. Skr. सुप्; E. H.

निकाल् or निकाड् *eject*, cf. Skr. निष्कृष् (cf. §§ 113. 114); E. H. ज्ञाव् *make known*, cf. Skr. ज्ञापु; E. H. पलट् or पलव् *turn over*, cf. Skr. पर्वस् (§ 143); E. H. पक् *cook*, cf. Skr. पक्कु; E. H. पहिचान् *recognize*, cf. Skr. परिचयनम् (§ 69); E. H. कौंक् *spy, peep*, cf. Skr. काँ कृ; E. H. ओंक् *vomit*, cf. Skr. वमू कृ; E. H. कडक् *crack, rumble*, cf. Skr. कर्ड् कृ; E. H. फुँक् *blow*, cf. Skr. पुषँ कृ, etc. The first class of roots I shall designate *primary*, the other *secondary*.

1. PRIMARY ROOTS.

343. The phonetic disguises which affect the primary roots and make them differ more or less from their Skr. originals, are generally owing to the following causes: 1) phonetic permutation of the radical consonant or vowel; 2) the incorporation of the Sanskritic „class-suffix" into the root; 3) the change of the Sanskritic „class" of the root; 4) the addition of the pleonastic radical suff. आपि. Not unfrequently several of these causes act together. On the other hand a few roots, favored by peculiar phonetic circumstances, remain altogether unchanged so as to be identical in E. H. and in Skr.

344. *Phonetic permutation.* 1) Final radical consonants are principally exposed to this cause of change, because through the accretion of the (so-called) „class-suffix", they generally become medial, and then, in their progress through Pr. and according to its laws, liable to permutation or elision. Thus E. H. खा *eat* for Pr. खा, Skr. खादु; as 3d sing. pres. Skr. खादति, Pr. खाअइ or खाइ (Vr. 8, 27), E. H. खाए. Sometimes, however, a root contains a final consonant which Pr. tolerates, and thus identical roots arise; e. g., E. H. चल् *walk* for Pr. चल्, Skr. चल्; as Skr. चलति, Pr. चलइ, E. H. चले. Hence, when the E. H. exhibits an (apparently) identical root with Skr. (as E. H. तप् *be hot*), containing a final consonant, which would ordinarily be liable to change in Pr., the identity is open to suspicion, and is, probably, to be accounted for in a different way, namely by the incorporation of „the class-suffix", see § 345. — 2) Initial radical consonants are rarely

liable to change, and, indeed, never change, unless they are compound consonants or a prefix is added, when the initial cons., being now medial, is either changed or elided in Pr.; but such roots are of unfrequent occurrence in E. H.; thus E. H. चू *leak* for Pr. चु (चो); Skr. श्च्युत् or च्युत्; as Skr. श्च्योतति, Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77) or चोअइ, E. H. चूए; or E. H. पोस् *offer food* for Pr. पविस्, Skr. परिवेष् (caus. of परि-विष्); as Skr. परिवेषयति, Pr. परिवेसइ or परिवसइ, E. H. पोसै (§ 122, 5). Very exceptionally a real single initial cons. is changed; e. g., E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव, Skr. भू (§ 176, note), as Skr. भवति, Pr. हुवइ or होइ (Vr. 8, 1), E. H. होए *he is*; but the original भू is preserved in the E. H. past part. भइल् *been*. — 3) Radical vowels occasionally suffer a change; sometimes through the vocalisation of an adjoining semivowel (य् or व्, §§ 121. 122); thus E. H. हो *be* for Pr. हुव or हव, Skr. भू; E. H. मीज् *moisten* for Skr. म्याद् (§ 172); sometimes by the ordinary phonetic laws; thus E. H. मल् *rub* for Pr. मल्, Skr. मृद्, as Skr. मर्दति, Pr. मलइ (H. C. 4, 126), E. H. मलै (§ 109); or E. H. तूट् or टूट् *break* for Pr. तुट्, Skr. त्रुट्, see §§ 143. 147. 174; E. H. कोप् *be angry* for Pr. कुप्प्, Skr. कुप्, see §§ 143. 148. — 4) Exceptionally the initial vowel of the prefix of a compound root is elided; as E. H. झाह् *wish* for Pr. *उच्छाह्, see § 173; or E. H. कौंर् *sweep* for Pr. अत्कर्, see § 172.

345. *Incorporation of the „class-suffix“.* Skr. roots are divided into *ten* classes, according to the suffix which they assume for the purpose of forming the conjugational base for the four principal tenses or moods (pres., imperf., potent., imper.). In all other tenses these „class-suffixes“ are rejected and the root used alone. Already in Pr., however, it had become the custom, sometimes to incorporate the class-suff. and to use the root, thus amended, as the conjug. base in all tenses (or moods) and derivative verbs (passive, causal, etc.). In Gḍ. this usage has been still more extended. Thus E. H. has R. जान् *know* for Pr. जाण् and जा, Skr. ज्ञा, through incorporating the suff. ना of the IXth class, as Skr. जानाति, Pr. जाणइ (cf. H. C. 3, 154. Ls.

348 = ज्ञा + णा + इ) or ज्ञाणइ (Vr. 8, 23 = ज्ञाण् + अ + इ); E. H. जाने; or E. H. चुन् *gather* for Pr. चुण् or चिण् or चि, Skr. चि, through incorporating the suff. नु of the Vth cl.; as Skr. चिनोति, Pr. चिणोइ (cf. Ls. 347 = चि-णो-इ) or चिणइ or चुणइ (Vr. 8, 29. H. C. 4, 238 = चिण् or चुण् + अ + इ), E. H. चुने; or E. H. नाच् *dance* for Pr. णाच्, Skr. नृत्, through incorporating the suff. य् of the IVth cl., as Skr. नृत्यति, Pr. णाअइ (Vr. 8, 47 = णाच् + अ + इ), E. H. नाचे, etc. It should be noticed, that the incorporation of the class-suff. is more or less optional in Pr. and, indeed, exceptional as regards the so-called „general" tenses and derivat. verbs (cf. Wb. Spt. 59); but in Gḍ. it is absolute. It may be surmised that, while this was the case in the literary Pr., in the more vulgar Ap. dialects, from which the Gḍ. took its immediate origin, incorporation was the usual, perhaps the general, practice. That it was a real incorporation of the suff. into the root, even in Pr., can be seen clearly from those forms in which according to Skr. usage the class-suff. could have no place; such as णाणिअं (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानितम्) *known*, but also regularly णादं (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञातम्; or Pr. णाणिऊण (lit., Skr. *ज्ञानित्वा) or regularly णाऊण (H. C. 4, 7), for Skr. ज्ञात्वा *having known*; or Pr. णाणावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), for Skr. ज्ञापयति (lit. *ज्ञानापयति) *he caused to know*; or Pr. चिणिहिइ or चिणिहिइ (H. C. 4, 243), for Skr. चेष्यति (lit. *चिनिष्यति or *चिन्विष्यति, i. e., चिन् or चिनु-इष्यति) *he will gather*; or Pr. चिणइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. चीयते (lit., Skr. *चिन्यते or Pr. *चिणीअइ) *it is gathered*; or Pr. सुणइ (Spt. 46) or सुणीअइ (cf. H. C. 4, 302. Dl. 24, lit. *सुन्यते), but also regularly सुणइ (H. C. 4, 242), for Skr. श्रूयते (lit. *श्रुव्यते) *it is heard*; or Pr. सुणिऊण (lit., Skr. *सुनित्वा) or regularly सोऊण (H. C. 4, 241), for Skr. श्रुत्वा *having heard*; or Pr. णच्चाविअइं (H. C. 1, 33), for Skr. नर्तितानि (lit. *नृत्यापितानि) *caused to dance*; or Pr. करिअ (lit. *कर्य) or regularly करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), for Skr. कृत्वा *having done*, etc. In E. H. this incorporation is so thoroughly established, that the old radical forms have entirely disappeared, and their places have been taken by the new ones, even, e. g., as the base for the formation of the ver-

bal noun in ब्द् which is the source of the modern infinitive (§§ 308—314); thus E. H. ज्ञानब् *to know* for Skr. ज्ञातव्यम् (lit. *ज्ञानितव्यम्); E. H. नाचब् *to dance* for Skr. नर्तितव्यम् (lit. *नृत्यितव्यम्), etc. This process explains why many Skr. roots ending in a vowel terminate in E. H. with a consonant.

Note: In most of the above examples there is not only an incorporation of the class-suff., but simultaneously also a change of the „class"; see § 347.

346. An exactly analogous process is the *incorporation of the passive suff.* य, by which means a few intransitive roots are formed in E. H. from Skr. transitive (active) roots; e. g., the Skr. R. चप् is trans. *press,* but the E. H. R. चप् is intrans. *be put down, be abashed,* and equal to the Skr. pass. R. चप्य; as Skr. pass. चप्यते *he is pressed,* Pr. चप्पइ, E. H. चपै, etc. Sometimes both the Skr. and Gḍ. Rs. are intrans.; e. g., E. H. चाल् (W. H. चाल्) and Skr. चल् *walk,* as Skr. pass. चल्यते (but act. चलति), Pr. चल्लइ (Vr. 8, 53, but act. चलइ H. C. 4, 231), W. H. चालै or E. H. चाल्है (but act. W. H. चलै, E. H. चल्है), etc. In rare cases both are trans.; e. g., E. H. सोच् and Skr. सिच् *irrigate*; as Skr. pass. सिच्यते (but act. सिञ्चति), Pr. सिच्चइ (H. C. 4, 230, but act. सिंचइ H. C. 4, 239), E. H. सीचै (but act. सींचै), etc. Other examples, see § 348.

Note: In most cases of this kind also a change of „voice" from pass. to act. takes place; see § 348.

347. *Change of „class".* The Skr. distribution of roots into ten classes had already in Pr. become, to a considerable extent, obliterated. In Gḍ. it has disappeared altogether. While Skr. has ten classes, of which the I^st^ (incl. VI^th^) and the X^th^ (incl. denom. and causal) include by far the largest number of roots, Pr. has, in the main, only two, of which one corresponds to the Skr. VI^th^ (or I^st^) and the other to the Skr. X^th^ cl. The remaining classes occur in Pr. only in extremely isolated and exceptional cases; but as a rule, roots belonging to them are transferred into the VI^th^ [1]) (or occassionally X^th^) class, either 1) by

1) It is usual to say the I^st^ cl. (cf. Wb. Spt. 59. Ls. 334); but it seems

substituting the suff. श of the VI^th^ (or X^th^) for their proper class-suff. (नु of the V^th^, न of the VII^th^, उ of the VIII^th^, ना of the IX^th^, य of the IV^th^), see H. C. 4, 239; or 2) by incorporating the latter with the root and, when necessary, eliding and changing the final vowel of such class-suff. (उ, या) into श, the characteristic of the VI^th^ and X^th^ classes (cf. Wb. Spt. 59 ff. Ls. 334); or 3) by interpolating the suff. श of the VI^th^ class. For example; R. चि *gather* is in Skr. of the V^th^ cl., base चिनु, hence 3. sg. pres. चिनोति, but in Pr. it becomes of the VI^th^ cl., by incorporating नु and changing उ to श, hence base चिणा, 3. sg. pres. चिणाइ (Vr. 8, 29); or again R. प्राप् *obtain* is in Skr. of the V^th^ cl., hence base प्राप्नु, 3. sg. pres. प्राप्नोति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ cl., by substituting the suff. श of the VI^th^ for नु, hence base पाअ, 3. sg. pres. पाअइ (H. C. 4, 239); or again R. भञ्ज् *break* is in Skr. of the VII^th^ cl., hence base भनज्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ cl., by incorporating न and eliding its श, hence base भञ्ज, 3. sg. pres. भंजइ (H. C. 4, 106); similarly in Pr. पेसेदि or पिसेदि (Ls. 347), for Skr. पिनष्टि, there is a transfer of the R. पिष् from the VII^th^ into the X^th^ cl.; or again R. कृ *do* is in Skr. of the VIII^th^ cl., hence base करु, 3. sg. pres. करोति, but in Pr. of the VI^th^ or I^st^ or X^th^ cl., by changing the suff. उ of the VIII^th^ to अ, hence base °क्क (i. e., कअ) or कर् or करे (i. e., कारय), 3. sg. pres. °क्कइ (as in लुक्कइ Spt. 173 = Skr. लूत्करोति) or करइ (Vr. 8, 13)

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to me, on the whole, that the form which such Pr. roots take, is more accurately described as that of the VI^th^ cl. The I^st^ differs from the VI^th^ cl. by *guṇating* and *accentuating* the radical vowel; the VI^th^ does not guṇate the radicals and accentuates the suffixal vowel. Now in many cases Pr. does not guṇate the rad. vowel; e. g., in चिणाइ, सुणाइ, where if they were of the I^st^ cl., it should be चेणाइ, सोणाइ; for the Rs. are, practically, चिण्, सुण्. Again in many other cases the final rad. sound is a comp. cons., which precludes the guṇation of the rad. vowel and thus renders it impossible to determine the class by this sign; e. g., in भंजइ, पाअइ. Here the class could only be determined by the accent; but as Pr. (and Gḍ.) is devoid of the old Aryan accent, this aid to determine the class also fails. Thus circumstances are in favor of its being the VI class.

or कोड् (H. C. 4, 337); or again R. ज्ञा *know* is in Skr. of the IX cl., hence base ज्ञाना, 3. sg. pres. ज्ञानाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating ना and changing श्ना to ञ, hence base ज्ञाणा or ज्ञाणो (i. e., ज्ञानय), 3. sg. pres. ज्ञाणाइ (Vr. 8, 23) or ज्ञाणोइ (Dl. 15); or again R. ग्रह् *seize* is in Skr. of the IXth cl., hence base गृह्णा, 3. sg. pres. गृह्णाति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by substituting their suff. ह (हय) for ना, hence base गेंह or गेंहे (i. e., गेंहय), 3. sg. pres. गेंहइ (Vr. 8, 15) or गेंहेहि (Dl. 90); or again R. नृत् *dance* is in Skr. of the IVth cl., hence base नृत्य, 3. sg. pres. नृत्यति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Xth, by incorporating व, hence base णच or णच्चे, 3. sg. pres. णच्चइ (Vr. 8, 47) or णच्चहि (Dl. 50); or again R. रुद् *weep* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence irregular base रोहि, 3. sg. pres. रोहिति, but in Pr. of the VIth or Ist cl., by substituting their suff. ह for the irreg. इ of the IInd cl., hence base रुह or रोह, 3. sg. pres. रुअइ or रुवइ (H. C. 4, 226. Spt. 311 or contr. रोइ H. C. 4, 368) or रोवइ or रोवइ (H. C. 4, 226); or again R. या *go* is in Skr. of the IInd cl., hence base या, 3. sg. pres. याति, but in Pr. of the VIth cl., by interpolating its suff. ञ, hence base जाञ्च, 3. sg. pres. जाञ्चइ (H. C. 4, 240 or contr. जाई H. C. 4, 240. 350). Moreover, there was already in Pr. a tendency to run its two (remaining) classes, the VIth and Xth, into *one*, either by transferring the roots of the VIth into the Xth; or *far more commonly* by reducing the roots (whether primitive or denom. or caus.) of the Xth into the VIth, through changing the Xth class-suff. ए into the VIth class-suff. अ (see H. C. 3, 158. 149. Wb. Spt. 60. Ls. 341. 342. 344). Thus 1) change of the VIth cl. into the Xth; e. g., हसइ (H. C. 3, 158), for हसइ (H. C. 3, 158. Skr. हसति) *he laughs*; कोड् (H. C. 4, 337), for काइ (Vr. 8, 13) *he does*; नच्चइ (Dl. 50), for नचइ (Vr. 8, 47) *he dances*, etc.; 2) change of the Xth cl. into the VIth; e. g., कहइ (H. C. 4, 2), for कहेइ (Spt. 35. cf. H. C. 4, 267), Skr. कथयति, from R. कथ् *speak*; or चिंतइ (H. C. 4, 422), for चिंतेइ (Spt. 156. cf. H. C. 4, 265) *he thinks*; or सहइ (Spt. 260), for साहेइ (Spt. 188), Skr. साधयति, from R. साध् *accomplish*; again in causals: दरिसइ

(H. C. 3, 149), for दरिसेइ, Skr. दर्शयति, from R. दृश् *see*; or कारावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for कारावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), Skr. कारयति, from R. कृ *do*; or हसावइ (H. C. 3, 149), for हसावेइ (H. C. 3, 149), from R. हस् *laugh*; or भमावइ (H. C. 3, 151), for भमावेइ (H. C. 3, 151) *he causes to roam*, from R. भ्रम्, etc. In E. H. (and Gḍ. generally) this process reaches its natural conclusion by all roots whatsoever (whether primitive or derivative) having been transferred to a single class, which practically corresponds to the VI[th] of Skr. While, therefore, in Skr. roots belong to ten, and in Pr. (in the main) to two classes, they all belong in E. H. to one and the same. Thus (see the above examples) E. H. चुनै = Pr. चुणइ; E. H. पावै = Pr. पावइ; E. H. भंजै = Pr. भंजइ; E. H. पीसै = Pr. पीसइ or पिंसइ; E. H. करै = Pr. करइ; E. H. जानै = Pr. जाणइ; E. H. गहै = Pr. गेण्हइ; E. H. नाचै = Pr. नचइ; E. H. रोऐ = Pr. रोवइ; E. H. जाए् (W. H. जावै) = Pr. जाइ (or जावइ); E. H. हसै = Pr. हसइ; E. H. कहै = Pr. कहइ; E. H. चिंतै = Pr. चिंतइ; E. H. कारावै = Pr. कारावइ; E. H. हसावै = Pr. हसावइ, etc. Some E. H. roots ending with an anomalous long vowel, as पी *drink*, चू *drip*, are probably to be explained on the principle of the interpolation of the VI[th] class-suff. अ; just as in the case of the above mentioned R. जा *go*. Thus E. H. पीऐ *he drinks* presupposes a Pr. form *पिअइ or *पिअयइ, instead of the common Pr. पिअइ (H. C. 4, 10) or पियइ (H. C. 1, 180), Skr. पिबति, which would be in E. H. either *पीइ or *पिऐ; similarly E. H. चूऐ *it drips* = Pr. *चुअइ, for the ordinary Pr. चुअइ (H. C. 2, 77).

Note: Some Skr. roots are conjugated in several classes, one of which is the usual one, while the others are either rarely used or confined to the Vedas. It will be found, that some Gḍ. roots which have apparently changed their Skr. class, have really preserved such an unusual or vedic class. Thus R. तप् *be hot* is in Skr. both of the I[st] cl., तप, and also, but rarely, of the IV[th] cl., तप्य. The latter is the modern E. H. तप् (Pr. तप्प). The former would have become in E. H. तव or तो, through Pr. तव (*cf.* तवइ H. C. 1, 231). Again R. मृ *die* is in Skr. of the VI[th] cl., म्रिय,

but in the Vedas of the I^st cl., मर्. The latter is preserved in the E. H. मर्, Pr. मर् (Vr. 8, 12 मरइ, E. H. मरै). It is possible that other modern Gḍ. roots, which have apparently changed their class, have really preserved an ancient traditional one of colloquial use, even though in many instances no evidence of it has survived either in Skr. or Pr. literature.

348. An exactly analogous process is the *change of „voice"*. In the case of some simple roots, their passive radical forms, made in Skr. with the suff. य्, are used in Pr. in an active sense and substituted in their place (cf. Wb. Spt. 64. S. Gdt. in J. G. O. S. XXIX, 492). By this process, practically, such roots are transferred in Pr. from their proper Skr. class into the VI^th (or X^th), and in E. H. into the VI^th. Thus R. भञ् *break* is in Skr. of the VII^th cl., hence base भनज्, 3. sg. pres. भनक्ति; its pass. root or base is भज्य, hence 3. sg. pres. भज्यते *he is broken*. Now Pr. treats this form, as if it were an active one of a R. भञ् of the IV^th cl., and, by incorporating the (really passive, but practically IV^th cl.) suff. अ, makes the root to be of the VI^th; hence base भञ्ज, 3. sg. pres. भञ्जइ *he breaks* (cf. Spt. 168 भञ्जंतस्स, Dl. 42 विभञ्ज). Again R. रुध् *hinder* is in Skr. of the VII^th cl., hence base रुणाध्, 3. sg. pres. रुणाद्धि; but in Pr. it is of the VI^th cl., by incorporating न and eliding its अ; hence base रुंध, 3. sg. pres. रुंधइ (Vr. 8, 49). The Skr. pass. base is रुध्य, hence 3. sg. pres. रुध्यते *he is hindered*; in Pr. this becomes रुज्झइ (or रुज्झइ) and is used both in its proper pass. sense (*he is hindered* H. C. 4, 245. 248) as well as in the act. sense (*he hinders* H. C. 4, 218); that is, Pr. transfers the R. रुध् into the VI^th cl., by incorporating the pass. suff. य and employing it in an act. sense. Examples of this kind are not uncommon. Thus R. शक् *can* forms Pr. सक्कइ, for Skr. शक्नोति (Vr. 8, 52. H. C. 4, 230). Now clearly सक्कइ is the equivalent of the Skr. pass. शक्यते, used actively. The real equivalent for the Skr. (V^th cl.) शक्नोति is the alternative Pr. form सक्कणोइ (cf. Dl. 36 सक्कणोमि). Again R. लग् *belong* forms Pr. लग्गइ (Vr. 8, 52), which cannot be = Skr. (I^st cl.) लगति, but = Skr.

pass. लग्यते; again R. स्फुट् *burst* forms Pr. फुट्टइ or फुडइ (Vr. 8, 53). Of these, evidently, the former = Skr. pass. स्फुट्यते, the latter = Skr. act. (VI[th] cl.) स्फुटति. Again R. सिच् *sprinkle* forms both सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 230) = Skr. pass. सिच्यते, and सिंचइ (H. C. 4, 239) = Skr. act. (VI[th] cl.) सिंचति. Again R. हन् *kill* forms either हम्मइ = Skr. pass. हन्यते and used both as an act. (Vr. 8, 45) and as a pass. (H. C. 4, 244), or हणइ (Dl. 72) = Skr. act. हन्ति. Again the R. विक्री *sell* (i. e. वि-क्री) forms both विक्किर and विक्किणइ, of which the latter = Skr. act. विक्रीणीते; but that the former = Skr. pass. विक्रीयते is shown by the E. H. विकै *it is sold* which is still used exclusively in a pass. or intrans. sense. This Pr. form विक्किर, by showing that the termin. एइ may represent the Skr. pass. termin. ईयते, throws light on some strange Pr. forms, which thus are shown to be passives, used actively. Thus Pr. धइ *he places*, of the R. धा, is the same as Skr. pass. धीयते; for from the usual Skr. act. (III[d] cl.) दधाति it cannot be phonetically derived. Thus also देइ (Cw. 99) *he gives*, of R. दा, is probably the Skr. pass. दीयते; and Pr. चेइ *he gathers* (T. V. 2, 4, 72), of R. चि, is the Skr. pass. चीयते rather than an assumed new I[st] cl. चयति (as Wb. Spt. 60); and Pr. °ठेइ or °थेइ (Ls. 345) *he stands*, of R. स्था, is the Skr. pass. स्थीयते rather than an assumed new I[st] cl. स्थायति, of R. स्थै (? as Ls. 135); and Pr. उड्डेइ *he flies* (Cw. 99), of R. उड्ड-डी, is the Skr. IV[th] cl. उड्डीयते (in reality a pass. form) rather than the Skr. I[st] cl. उड्डयते. All these last mentioned forms in एइ, as regards their termination, resemble the Pr. X[th] cl., which likewise ends in एइ, as Pr. कहेइ = Skr. कथयति; and thus they come to be treated as if they were really X[th] cl. formations, and may all be optionally transferred into the VI[th] cl. Just as कहेइ may change to कहइ, so देइ to दइ (Spt. 216), °ठेइ to °ठइ (H. C. 4, 17), and, no doubt, the others similarly, though in their case the Pr. evidence is wanting. But the fact is proved by the E. H., which here again makes the change absolute and transfers all pass.-act. roots to the VI[th] cl. Thus E. H. विकै = Pr. विक्किर or विक्किइ; E. H. °है (in पहिरै *he put on*, see § 133) = Pr.

°धइ् or °धेइ्; E. H. संचे = Pr. संचइ् or संचेइ्; E. H. उठे = Pr. उट्ठइ् or उट्ठेइ्; the only exception is E. H. देइ (or देय) for Pr. देइ्. Again E. H. सके = Pr. सक्कइ्; E. H. लगे = Pr. लग्गइ्; E. H. फुटे = Pr. फुट्टइ्; E. H. चाले or W. H. चाले = Pr. चल्लइ्; E. H. सोचे = Pr. सिवइ्.

Note: The cause, no doubt, of this confusion in Pr. of the pass. and act. was the great likeness between the form of the (active) IV^th cl. and that of the passive. Even in Skr. they can only be distinguished by the accent, which in the IV^th cl. is thrown on the radical, but in the pass. on the suffixal vowel; thus act. नह्यते *nádhyate he binds*, but pass. नह्यते *nahyáte he is bound*. In Pr., where the accent is disused, the identity becomes complete. In this way some passives became associated in the popular mind with the IV^th cl. and came to be used as actives. Most, if not all, the facts might be explained, by supposing a transfer in Pr. of certain roots into the VI^th cl., but such a change of class is otherwise quite unsupported; and the explanation by means of a change of voice seems much simpler.

349. *Addition of the pleonastic suffix* आपि. In Skr. the causal roots are occasionally formed by adding the suff. आपि (Pr. आवि, E. H. आव) instead of the ordinary causal suff. इ्; e. g., caus. R. अध्यापि (3. sg. अध्यापयति *he teaches*), of R. अधी (i. e., अधि-इ्) *read*; see other examples in M. M. 217. 218. In Pr. any C. R. may be formed at pleasure with either of these suff. (Vr. 7, 26. 27. H. C. 3, 149. Wb. Spt. 64. 65. Wb. Bh. 436); e. g., Pr. कारेइ् or कारावेइ् *he causes to do* = Skr. कारयति or *कारापयति. In E. H. the C. R. is *always* formed with आपि; the original C. Rs. formed with इ्, so for as they have survived, having become primitive transitive roots (see §§ 471—473). Thus E. H. करावे *he causes to do*, not *कारे, which does not exist; again E. H. मरावे *he causes to die* (i. e., causing death indirectly), but मारे *he beats* or *he kills*. Now it has been shown in § 347, that, in Pr., roots of the VI^th cl. are occasionally transferred into the X^th cl. (H. C. 3, 158), i. e., practically are formed like causal roots with इ्;

and hence they also occasionally assume the (caus.) suff. ষাপি, which in their case, of course, is practically pleonastic (cf. H. C. 3, 158 সুণাউ perhaps contr. for সুণাবউ or সুণাবউ); e. g., Pr. has the pleon. R. সুহাবি = Skr. সুধ্ or *সুধাপি (3. sg. সুহাবই Spt. 169), E. H. সুহাব্. In E. H. these pleon. roots are still more common; e. g., চুরাব্ *steal*, Pr. *চুরাবি, Skr. চুর্; E. H. গরিআব্ *abuse*, Pr. *গলিহাবি, Skr. গল্হ্, etc. See the List of Roots. There can be little doubt, however, that such Gḍ. pleon. Rs. as well as their Skr. originals are in reality *denominative* roots (see § 352).

2. SECONDARY ROOTS.

350. Secondary roots may be divided into three classes, according to their origin. I shall distinguish them as 1) *derivative*, 2) *denominative*, and 3) *compound*.

351. *Derivative Roots.* In E. H. there sometimes exist pairs of roots, of which one member is intrans. and corresponds to the Skr. simple or (sometimes) passive root, and the other is trans. and represents the corresponding Skr. causal root. In these cases the intrans. has a short and the trans. a long vowel. Thus E. H. সর্ *issue* intrans. = Skr. S. R. সৃ, and E. H. সার্ *accomplish* (lit. *cause to issue*) trans. = Skr. C. R. সারি; or E. H. মর্ *die* intr. = Skr. S. R. মৃ, and E. H. মার্ *kill* trans. = Skr. C. R. মারি; E. H. ডুব্ *sink* intr. = Skr. S. R. ডুভ্ and E. H. ডোব্ *immerse* trans. = Skr. C. R. ডোবি, etc. In a similar manner, by shortening the radical vowel, E. H. sometimes derives new intrans. from trans. roots, when, on phonetic grounds, only the latter can be shown to have an equivalent in Skr. or Pr.; vice versa, in a few cases, by lengthening the radical vowel, E. H. derives trans. from intrans. roots, when only the latter exist in Skr. or Pr. The latter process is resorted to only very exceptionally, because E. H. has its own special means of forming causal (or trans.) roots with the suff. ষাব (see §§ 349. 474). Thus E. H. possesses a number of new pairs of roots, of which one member is original, while the other is derivative. Thus E. H. নিবাহ্ *accomplish*

is trans. and equivalent to the Skr. C. R. निर्वाहि, of the trans. S. R. निर्वह्; from निर्वाह् E. H. derives an intrans. R. निबह् *be accomplished*, which cannot, phonetically, be derived from the Skr. pass. R. निर्वक्ष or निर्वाक्ष; for these forms would become in Pr. निवुक्क, and thence E. H. *निब्बक्. Again E. H. नहा *bathe* is equivalent to the Skr. S. R. स्ना (Pr. ण्हा). From it E. H. derives the intrans. R. नह् *flow*, for which Skr. offers no equivalent. It is, as if नहा were a trans. C. R., and नह् is to it, as कर् *do* is to कार (or कारव्) *cause to do*. On the other hand, E. H. संठ् or साठ् *combine* is intrans. and equivalent to the Skr. intrans. S. R. संस्था (Pr. संठा or संठ). From it E. H. derives a trans. (or caus.) R. साँठ् or साठ्, which cannot be derived, phonetically, from the Skr. C. R. संस्थापि, Pr. संठाव, etc.

352. *Denominative Roots.* Nouns which are used as roots for the purpose of forming new verbs, are called denominative roots. The practice of thus using nouns is very ancient. Even among the recognised Skr. simple roots, there are many which are really denominative. Pr. and Gḍ. have considerably added to their number. Theoretically the power of using nouns as roots is unlimited, and a great variety of nouns are actually thus employed upon occasion in Skr., Pr. and Gḍ.; see examples in M. M. 227—230. Wb. Spt. 60. 65. Wb. Bh. 429. 437. I speak here, however, only of such nouns, as are formally recognised and treated as roots and enumerated as such in *dhâtupâthas* (or lists of roots). Such radical nouns or denominative roots 1) always end in अ; 2) may be either common nouns or participles (see also Wb. Bh. 429); and 3) belong, as regards Skr., generally to the Xth class, but occasionally also to the Ist. In Pr., with its tendency to obliterate class-differences (see § 347), they are all made optionally to belong to the VIth cl., to which they belong without exception in E. H. Thus, e. g., the following roots are derived from common nouns in Skr.: R. मार्ज् *scour*, from मार्ज *scouring*, a krit-derivative of the S. R. मृज् *scour*; or R. मार्ग् *seek*, from मार्ग *seeking*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. मृग् *seek*; both

preserved in E. H. as मॉज् and मॉग्. Again Skr. roots derived from participles are amongst others: R. वेष्ट् *surround*, from वेष्ट *enclosure*, perhaps a past part. pass. of S. R. विष् or विष् with suff. त; or R. कष्ट् *pull* from कष्ट *pulled*, a past part. pass. of S. R. कष् (or कृष्) *rub, pull* with suff. त; both preserved in E. H. as बेङ् and काङ् (cf. Cw. 99. Wb. Spt. 107). Examples from the E. H. and Pr. are: 1) roots derived from common nouns: R. जम् *germinate*, from Skr. जन्म *birth*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. जन् *be born*; thus 3. sg. pres. Skr. *जन्मयति, Pr. जम्मेइ् or जम्मइ् (H. C. 4, 136), E. H. जमै; again R. धार् or ढार् or ढाल् *pour*, from Skr. धार् *flowing*, probably connected with the S. R. धाव् *run*; Skr. *धारयति, Pr. धारेइ् or धारइ् (T. V. 3, 1. 14, where it is said to be a substitute of Skr. निःसरति), E. H. धारै or ढारै *he pours*. Again 2) roots derived from participles: R. पलट् or पलथ् *turn over*, from Skr. पर्यस्त *turned over*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. Cp. R. परि-अस् *turn over* with suff. त; Skr. *पर्यस्तयति, Pr. पल्लट्टइ् or पल्हत्थइ् (H. C. 4, 26. 200), E. H. पलटै or पलथै *he turns over*; again R. पीट् *beat*, from Skr. पिष्ट *beaten*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. पिषू *beat* with suff. त; Skr. *पिष्टयति or पिट्टयति (?, Spt. 173. Comm.), Pr. पिट्टेइ् (Spt. 173 for *पिट्टेइ्) or पिट्टइ्, E. H. पीटै *he beats*. Examples, from the E. H. or Pr., of denominative roots, formed with the pleonastic suff. of the X^th^ cl. णापय (Pr. णावे, H. णाव, see § 349), are the following. One root derived from a common noun is सुहाव् *be pleasant*, from Skr. सुख *pleasure* (said to be a compound of सु *good* and ख *a mine*, a krit-deriv. of the S. R. खन् *dig*), Skr. सुखयति or *सुखापयति, Pr. सुहावेइ् (Spt. 169) or सुहावइ्, E. H. सुहावै *it is pleasant*. A root derived from a participle is चिताव् *make known*, from Skr. चित्र *known*, the past part. pass. of the Skr. S. R. चित् *know* and suff. त; Skr. *चित्रापयति, Pr. *चित्रावेइ् or *चित्रावइ्, E. H. चितावै *he makes known*.

353. *Compound Roots.* The great diversity and intricacy of the old Skr. system of radical „classes" must always have formed a formidable obstacle to its being adopted in the language of the common people. An evidence of this fact has been already

noted in § 347, in the decided tendency of Pr. and still more of Gḍ. to reduce the ten Skr. classes to one. But they made use, besides, of an other remedy, viz., instead of inflecting the root itself, they took some very simple form of a noun derived from it and construed it with the inflected root कृ *do*. This is still a common practice in modern H., where numerous verbs are formed from (especially foreign) nouns by construing them with the verb कर् *to do*; thus जमा कर् *to collect*, बंद् कर् *to shut*, बैल् कर् *to boil*, पास् कर् *to pass an examination*, मेल् कर् *to mix*, ध्यान् कर् *to meditate*, बिचार् कर् *to think* (for बिचारय्, as in English *to make answer* for *to answer*), etc. Even in Skr., paraphrased roots of this kind are often found; thus न्यक् + कृ *make low, degrade*, चिरं कृ *make long, delay*, etc. (see more examples in M. W. Skr. Lex. under Art. कृ). In fact, any suitable noun might be thus turned into a verb. But it is not of these, that I speak here, but of a special and small class from among them, in which the construction of the noun with the R. कृ has become so firmly established by more or less obscure causes, as to produce, through constant usage, a coalescence of its two component parts (N. + R.) into one single simple form, and the recognition and treatment of this compound form as a simple root. Such roots I designate *compound* roots. Thus there is in Skr. a paraphrased verb फुत् + कृ or फुत् + कृ *blow*, whence फुत्करोति *he blows*; this appears in Pr. as फुक्करइ or फुक्कइ and in E. H. as फूँकै. In Skr. the two component parts, N. फुत् and R. कृ, are still separate and clearly recognisable, but they have already in Pr. and still more in E. H. coalesced into *one* form, Pr. फुक्कृ, E. H. फूँक् which is now recognised in E. H. as a simple root; in reality it is compound. This process of amalgamation must have been already at work in old times, for among the recognised simple roots of Skr. are found several, which are clearly compound; as बुक्क् *bark* (cf. H. C. 4, 169) = ब्रू or बद् + कृ; धक्क् *destroy* = धक् + कृ or ध्वत् + कृ (acc. sg. neut. of N. दह् or ध्वस्); फक्क् *swell* = स्फट् + कृ; चिक्क् *pain* = चृत् + कृ; टंक् *bind* = तन् + कृ, etc. There can hardly

be a doubt as to the compound character (as above explained) of such roots; though the exact phonetic process, by which it was produced, may be obscure. The following may be found a probable explanation. It has been shown in § 348, that in Pr. passive roots are often employed in an active sense; and that sometimes they are recognisable by the termination ऱ्ऽ, which is occasionally reduced to ऽ. It is probable, therefore, that the Pr. form केऽ or कऽ (as in ओक्केऽ or ओक्कऽ Spt. 173 = Skr. चुक्रोति) is a passive-active form, or identical with the Skr. pass. क्रियते, used actively. There are in E. H. a few forms which support this view. Thus it has the form धरै which is both active (*he wears*) and passive or intrans. (*it is worn* or *it wears*); the corresponding Pr. forms would be उधऱ्ऽ or उधऱ्ऽ; and in Skr. we find the form उपधियते which is both pass. and act. (VI[th] class). In fact, in this particular case, the properly passive form उपधियते has already in Skr. assumed an active sense; for the usual active form of the R. धृ is धरति, of the I[st] class. Similarly the R. मृ *die* is said to be in classic Skr. an active belonging to the VI[th] class (म्रियते). It is, however, really passive with an active *sense*[1]); for the proper active voice, which has been lost in the classic Skr., but preserved in the Vedic and also in Pr. and E. H., is (like that of R. धृ) of the I[st] cl. (मरति). It is precisely the same with the R. कृ *do*. Its Skr. pass. form क्रियते has come to be occasionally (i. e., in compound roots) used in Pr. as an active (of the VI[th] cl.). Its corresponding proper active form is (like that of the Rs. मृ and धृ) करति, of the I[st] class, and, though lost in classic Skr., still preserved in the Vedic and in Pr. (करऽ) and E. H. (करै). But although the Pr. केऽ or कऽ and the E. H. कै have generally assumed an active meaning, their original passive signification is still apparent enough in some cases. Thus E. H. बहकै,

1) The change, in this case, was facilitated by the R. मृ being intrans. Besides, as both the VI[th] cl. and the pass. accentuate the suffixal vowel, there is absolutely no difference, externally, between the act. VI[th] cl. म्रियते *mriyáte* and the pass. म्रियते *mriyáte*.

from E. H. R. अहक् *stray* (i. e., lit. *be turned out*, scl., *of the right path*) represents the Pr. अहिक्कइ or अहिक्केइ and Skr. अहिक्रियते; or E. H. उचकै, of the E. H. root उचक् *be raised, rise*, representing the Pr. उच्चक्कइ or उच्चक्केइ and Skr. (Vedic) उच्चाक्रियते *he is carried on high*, etc. [1]). It has been stated already that in such compositions the R. कृ was usually constructed with some simple derivative noun. The simplest form of a noun, derived from the simple root, is the root itself; as Skr. R. रुध् *hinder*, N. रुध् *hindrance*. The next simplest is a noun, formed by one of the krit-suffixes तृ or त; as Skr. R. च्यु *cease*, N. च्युत् *ceasing*; or R. कष् *pain*, N. कष *pain*. In constructing such a noun with the R. कृ, it is, if it has the form of the simple root or is formed with the krit-suff. त्, immediately joined with the R. कृ; as N. रुध् *hindrance*, acc. sg. neut. रुत्, whence Cp. R. रुत् + कृ = E. H. रोक् *hinder*; or N. च्युत् *ceasing*, acc. sg. neut. च्युत्, whence Cp. R. च्युत् + कृ = E. H. चुक् *cease*. Or if it is formed with the krit-suff. त, it is joined with R. कृ by means of a connecting vowel, generally ई; e. g., N. कष *pain*, when Cp. R. कषीकृ = E. H. कसक् *pain* [2]). It will be seen that in such compounds the initial कृ *k* of the R. कृ or of its inflected form क्रियते is preceded either by a consonant or a long vowel; hence in Pr., according to its phonetic usages, the कृ is always doubled, either by assimilating the consonant or shortening the vowel; thus Skr. रुत्-क्रियते = Pr. रुक्केइ or रुक्कइ *he hinders*;

1) In the Vedas the R. कृ is also of the IInd cl., thus 3. sg. pres. parasm. कर्ति, atm. कृते. The latter would be in Pr. क्कइ and by transfer into the Xth cl. (§ 347) क्केइ. This may serve as an alternative explanation, if the pass.-act. theory given in the text be not accepted.

2) This ई is, probably, the debris of an old case-ending. In Vedic Skr. occasionally आ is used, which is also without doubt an old case-ending, such as we see, e. g., in Skr. बलात्कृत: lit. *violently treated, forced* (बलात् abl. sg. of बल *violence*); thus Ved. उच्चाक्रियते *he is carried up* = Pr. उच्चक्कइ, E. H. उचकै *he rises*. As these C. Rs. were probably formed in very old times, it was possibly the connecting vowel आ rather than ई, which was used in them. However, it makes no practical difference, whether it was आ or ई; for in E. H. both are equally reduced to अ.

Skr. च्युत्-क्रियते, Pr. चुक्कइ or चुक्कइ *he ceases*; Skr. कर्षक्रियते = Pr. कसिक्कइ or कसिक्कइ *it pains*; indeed the doubling of क् is already insured by the following र् (in क्र्). In E. H., finally, according to its phonetic laws, the double क्क् is reduced to single क् (§ 143). Thus Pr. हक्कइ = E. H. होकै (§ 148); Pr. चुक्कइ = E. H. चुकै (§ 146); Pr. कसिक्कइ = E. H. कसकै (§ 58). This explains the preservation in E. H. of the initial क् of the R. कृ, which, therefore, is an almost unerring indication of the presence of a compound root, in which it now forms the terminal sound; thus E. H. चुक् *cease*, रोक् *hinder*, कसक् *pain*. Similarly E. H. चमक् *glitter*, 3. sg. pres. चमकै, Pr. *चमक्कइ or, *चमक्केइ, Skr. *चमत्क्रियते, comp. of N. चमत् (onomatop.) and R. कृ *do, etc.*

Note: Sometimes, though a C. R. does not exist in E. H., nominal derivatives of it do. Thus नक्क *degraded, vile*, from the unused C. R. नक्, Pr. नक्क, Skr. न्यक्कृ *degrade* = नि-अंच्-कृ.

354. It remains briefly to notice a small number of E. H. roots, which probably belong to the one or the other of the above mentioned two principal classes, but which I am not able satisfactorily to trace to a Skr. origin. They must have been subject to extreme phonetic deterioration. They may be divided into:

1) such as are, probably, primary roots; e. g., टस् *burst*, टूस् *sex*, टेर् *shout*, टेल् *remove*, टेव् *sharpen*, टो *handle, grope*, टौस् *cram*, डो *carry*, तप् *stick*, तच् *be parched*, थिज् *be congealed*, निहुड् or त्योड् or त्योच् *bend*, पतर् *drip*, पसा *skim*, पहुड् or पौह् *repose*, पैना *sharpen*, पो or पोव् or पोह् *make bread* or *thread*, मूच् *shut*, मुर् *acquire a taste*, लच् *bend*, लद् *be laden*, लिड or लील् *swallow*, लेट् *recline*, लौट् *turn over, return*, सन् *be mixed, be soiled* and tr. सान् *mix, soil*, सोड *review*, हठ् *be perverse*, हिच् *loathe*, etc.

2) such as are, probably, secondary roots, and divisible into: a) *denominative*; as सोहराव् *call*, इलमा *be kindled*, etc.; — b) *compound*; as नौंक् *scold*, रोक् *prevent, challenge*, भटक् *go astray*, etc.; — c) to these may be added a class of roots which end in ल् or र्

(or ड़) or ड़; as टहल् or टहड़ *walk to and fro* (cf. N. टहल् f. *service, drudgery*); ठहल् or ठहड़ *stop, remain* (of. ठहड़ or ठाँव् *a place*); ढकेल or धकेल् or धकोल् *shove* (cf. ढक्का or धक्का *a shove*); बहल् *pass agreeably, be amused* (cf. R. बह् *flow*); भिसल् *be dazzled* (cf. Pr. R. भिस् H. C. 4, 203 = Skr. भास्); झगड़ *quarrel*; लथड़ *be draggled* or लथेड़ *draggle*; लताड़ or लतेड़ (lit. *kick*) *insult, exhaust by labour* (cf. लात् or लत् *a kick* and लतड़ *an old shoe*); फपट् *spring* or कपेट् *attack suddenly* (cf. फप् *quick*); चपट् *be flattened* or चपेट् *flatten* (cf. R. चाप् or चाँप् *press* and N. चाप् *a bow*); रपट् *slip* or रपेट् *chase* (cf. रापी or राँपी *an iron scraper* or *knife*); लपट् *adhere* or लपेट् *enclose, fold* (cf. N. लप् *palm of the hand hollowed so as to hold water*); घसट् or घसिट् or घसोट् *drag* (cf. R. घस् *rub*); खुकोड़ *scratch* (cf. खुकड़ or खुक्का *claw, a handful*). The forms with a penultimate long vowel are, as a rule, trans.; those with a short one, intrans. These roots, however, are not properly E. H. or E. Gḍ., but introduced from W. Gḍ. It will be shown (in § 476) that in W. Gḍ. there are causal roots in चाल् or चला (W. H.), चाउ or चवाउ (G.), चाड़ or चड़ा (S.); e. g., W. H. चिठला or चिठाल् *cause to sit*, G. चवाड़ *cause to eat* (Ed. 114), S. डियाड़ *cause to give*, घाड़ा *cause to wound* (Tr. 256. 257). It seems probable, that these W. Gḍ. causals and the above mentioned (W. Gḍ.) secondary roots have an identical origin. There is, moreover, a curious analogy in Pashtu (see Tr. in J. G. O. S. XXXIII, 7 ff.). It has a class of secondary roots in *ēd* (infinit. in *ēdal*), which are, as a rule, intrans.; e. g., *bahēd flow* (cf. E. H. बहल्), *maṛēd be broken* (cf. Skr. मृष्ट *rubbed*); *kēd be done*; but occasionally trans.; e. g., *āvrēd hear, blōsēd torment, puštēd ask* (cf. Skr. पृष्ट *asked*). Occasionally the primary root exists also, as *zang* or *zangēd swing, kṛ do* and *kēd be done*; just as in E. H. चाँप् and चपेट् *flatten*. And further, the causal roots may be made with *ēd* in Pashtu [1]).

1) Trumpp explains the Rs. in *ēd* as being compounds with *kēd be done*. This might suit the intrans., but not the trans. and caus. Rs. in *ēd*; moreover the R. *kēd* itself requires to be explained; for it is clearly a derivative of the R. *kṛ do*.

The origin of these roots is very obscure. Possibly they are denominative roots, derived from nouns which are themselves again derived from others by the secondary or pleonastic suff. अल, उल, अउ, etc. (cf. §§ 209. 245) or वर् (cf. § 285). Or perhaps they may be compound roots, formed from the Skr. R. वृत् (Pr. वट्), of which the terminal ट् (or घट्, एट्, एड्) is the sole remnant, as क् (of R. कृ, Pr. क्क) is in the other compound roots. Thus Skr. घर्षं वर्त्तति *he is occupied in rubbing, he drags* = *घर्षवर्त्तयति den. of *घर्षवर्त्त, Pr. *घस्सवट्ट् = *घस्सघट्ट् = *घस्सघड्ड् = E. H. घसणे or घसोटे. At all events, in some cases, these roots have an alternative form, ending in क्; thus कपट् and कपक्; चपट् and चपक्; लपट् *cling* and लपक् *spring*; cf. also E. H. औचट् and औचक् *suddenly*.

355. There is also in E. H. a very small number of what may be called *tatsama* roots; viz., denom. roots formed from tats. nouns. Some are comparatively modern formations. Thus गज्ज् *thunder* (Skr. गर्ज); त्याग् *abandon* (Skr. त्याग); धूप् *perfume* (Skr. धूप); भोग् *enjoy* (Skr. भोग); लोभ् *be enamoured* (Skr. लोभ), etc.

THIRD SECTION. INFLEXION OF NOUNS.

FIRST CHAPTER. THE SUBSTANTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE SUBSTANTIVE.

356. Every subst. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in dictionaries, and by which it is generally known. It is, as a rule, the only one admissible in good or literary language. The other two forms are more or less vulgar. They are made by adding to the short form the pleon. suff. of the fourth and sixth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 199. 200 (q. v.). E. g., masc. sh. f. मोत् *friend*, lg. f. मितवा or °ड़ाँ, red. f. मितोवा or °ड़ाँ or मितो; fem. sh. f. खाट् *bed*, lg. f. खटिया or °ड़ाँ, red. f. खटियवा or °ड़ाँ;

masc. sh. f. बेटा *son*, lg. f. बेटवा or °वाँ, red. f. बेटौवा or °वाँ or बेटौ; fem. sh. f. सीता *Sitá*, lg. f. सितिया or °याँ, red. f. सितियवा or °याँ; in इ; masc. sh. f. मुनि *sage*, lg. f. मुनिया or °याँ; rel. f. मुनियवा or °याँ; fem. sh. f. आँखि *eye*, lg. f. अँखिया or °याँ; red. f. अँखियवा or °वाँ; in ई; masc. sh. f. भाई *brother*, lg. f. भइया or भैया or °याँ; red. f. भइयवा or भैयवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. धूरी *axle*, lg. f. धुरिया or °याँ; red. f. धुरियवा or धुरीआ or °वाँ; in उ; masc. sh. f. तरु *tree*, lg. f. तरुवा or °वाँ; red. f. तरुअवा or तरुवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. पतोहु *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. पतोहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. पतोहुअवा or पतोहूवा or °वाँ; in ऊ; masc. sh. f. नाउ *barber*, lg. f. नउवा or नौवा or °वाँ; red. f. नउअवा or नौअवा or नउवा or °वाँ; fem. sh. f. बहू *daughter-in-law*, lg. f. बहुवा or °वाँ; red. f. बहुअवा or बहवा or °वाँ, etc.

Note: Sometimes the W. H. long and red. forms are used; as कन्हैया or कन्हई *krishna*, रमैया or रमैया *Rám*.

357. Many subst. (especially among those in अ) admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. Most of them, however, (especially those in इ and उ) exist in one of these forms only. The weak form is the original one; the other is made by adding to it the pleon. suff. of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196 (q. v.). Thus 1) in अ or आ; masc. भेड़ or भेड़ा *ram*, माथ् or माथा *forchead*, बास् or बासा *dwelling*, बाल् or बाला *child*, etc.; fem. भेड़ or भेड़ी *ewe*, लाठ् or लाठी *staff*, मूठ् or मूठी *fist*, etc.; in इ or ई; masc. very rare, e. g., ज्ञान (ज्ञानि) or ज्ञानी *wise man*; fem. बाति or बाती *wick, light*, बहिनि or बहिनी *sister*, etc.; in उ or ऊ; masc. very rare, e. g., पीलु or पीलू *elephant*; fem. बहु or बहू *daughter-in-law*, पतोहु or पतोहू *daughter-in-law*. 2) Only in अ; masc. सोनार् *goldsmith*, कहार् *porter*, देव *god*, बाघ् *tiger*, बैल् *ox*, घर् *house*, नाम् *name*, फूल् *flower*, पेट् *stomach*, पेड़ *tree*, etc.; fem. बात् *word, event*, नाक् *nose*, नींद् *sleep*, etc. 3) Only in आ; masc. लरिका or छोकरा *boy*, बनिया *merchant*, घोड़ा *horse*, काँटा *thorn*, कुत्ता *dog*, मोढा *footstool*, etc.; fem. only tats., as दुर्गा *Durgá*, सीता *Sitá*, or semitats., as कृपा *mercy*, etc. 4) Only in इ, rarely; masc. generally tats., as मुनि *a Muni*, or semitats., as रिषि *a Rishi*, etc.; fem. आगि *fire*, आँखि *eye*, etc. 5) Only in ई; masc. धोबी *washerman*,

बाली *gardener*, तेली *oilman*, हाथी *elephant*, नाती *grandchild*, भाई *brother*, बहिनोई *brother-in-law*, कोढी *leper*, पानी *water*, मोती *pearl*, घी *clarified butter*; fem. घोरी *mare*, बिल्ली *cat*, लडिकी or छोकरी *girl*, माई *mother*, टोपी *hat*, मोरी *drain*, माछी *fly*, etc. 6) Only in उ; rarely, masc. tats. तरु *tree*, गुरु *teacher*, etc.; fem. *deest*. 7) Only in ऊ; masc. नाऊ *barber*, पहरू *watchman*, हिन्दू *a Hindú*, आलू *potato*, पेटू or खाऊ *glutton*, etc.; fem. मेहरारू *woman*, बोहू *wife*, जलू *leech*, बालू *sand*, etc.

Note: On the meaning of these various forms, see § 201.

2. GENDER.

358. There are only two genders, the masculine and the feminine. No practically workable rules can be given to recognise the gender of a subst. by its termination; excepting, that short forms in आ (exc. tats., like दुर्गा) are always masc.; e. g., घोरा *horse*, हाँडा *pot*, गोला *ball*, जूता *shoe*, etc., and that such short forms in ई, as have a synonymous masc. in आ, are always fem.; e. g., घोरी *mare*, हाँडी *pot*, गोली *bullet*, जूती *shoe*, etc. As a rule E. H. subst. retain the gender which they had in Skr.; but Skr. neuters become masc. in E. H. This affords, on the whole, a safe guide for those who can use it. Where there is a natural gender, that of course, determines the grammatical gender also. For the rest, the gender must be learned by practice.

359. The difficulty of determining the gender of E. H. words by their termin., is easily explained. Compare §§ 42 to 53. The termin. ई and ऊ must be uncertain, because they are contractions of the Mg. Pr. termin. masc. इए or उए, fem. इआ or उआ; thus Pr. fem. घोडिआ *mare* = E. H. घोरी; but Mg. Pr. masc. तेल्लिए *oilman* is likewise = E. H. तेली; again Mg. Pr. fem. आलुआ *sand* = E. H. बालू, but Mg. masc. विच्छुए *scorpion* is also = E. H. बिछू. — The E. H. termin. इ and उ must be uncertain, because they were so even in Pr. and Skr., where their nom. sg. in ई and ऊ (Pr.) or इः, उः (Skr.) may be of either gender. — On the other hand, since the Pr. termin. आ, whether masc. or

fem., always becomes ा in E. H. (e. g., Pr. masc. राया or राआ *king*, E. H. राए or रे; Pr. fem. वण्णा *word*, E. H. वण्ण), no E. H. short form in ा can be fem. (always excepting tats., which have not passed through Pr.); and since every final E. H. ा of a short form stands for a Mg. masc. ए, therefore all E. H. short forms in ा must be masc. Similarly, since every final E. H. ी of a short form, which corresponds to a synonymous masc. short form in ा, stands for a Pr. fem. इआ, all such E. H. short forms in ी must be fem. — Finally the termin. ा of E. H. long and redundant forms must be uncertain, because it is a contraction of the Mg. Pr. gen. termin. masc. स्साह, fem. स्सास (§§ 369, 2. 365, 1); e. g., E. H. नत्तिया *grandchild* = Mg. नत्तिस्साह (Skr. नप्तृकः, H. C. 1, 137); but E. H. बुड्ढिया *old woman* is also = Mg. बुड्ढिस्साअ. — The number of words, which are masc. or neut. in Skr., but fem. in E. H., is limited; and in the case of most of them the change had already taken place in Pr. Thus (see Vr. 4, 26. H. C. 1, 35. S. C. 1, 1. 53) Skr. n. अक्षि *eye*, Pr. n. अच्छिं or f. अच्छी or *अक्खी, E. H. f. आँखि; Skr. m. रज्जुः *cord*, Pr. m. or f. रज्जू, E. H. f. रस्सी[1]); Skr. m. अञ्जलिः *handful*, Pr. m. or f. अंजलो, E. H. f. (also m.) अंजलि; Skr. बलिः *offering*, Pr. m. or f. बलो, E. H. f. बली; Skr. m. विधि (*good*) *conduct*, Pr. m. or f. विही, E. H. f. विही; Skr. n. पृष्ठम् *back*, Pr. n. पिट्ठं or f. पिट्ठी, E. H. f. पीठ्; Skr. m. कुक्षिः *belly*, Pr. m. or f. कुच्छी, E. H. f. कोख् or कोख्; Skr. n. चौर्यम्, Pr. n. चोरिअं (Vr. 3, 20) or f. चोरिआ (Spt. 210), E. H. f. चोरी[1]). Again Skr. m. ग्रन्थिः *knot*, Pr. m. or f. गंठो (H. C. 1, 35), E. H. f. गाँठ् (also m.); Skr. m. बाहुः *arm*, Pr. m. बाहू or f. बाहा (H. C. 1, 36. S. C. 1, 1. 54), E. H. f. बाह् or बाँह्; Skr. n. अन्त्रम् *intestines*, Pr. f. अंती (in Ap. अंतडी H. C. 4, 445. T. V. 3, 4. 69), E. H. f. आँत्; Skr. n. अस्थि or अस्थिकम् *bone*, Pr. n. अट्ठिअं (cf. Spt. 100) or f. अट्ठी (H. C. 2, 32), E. H. f. आँठी. To these may

1) The Pr. fem. चोरिआ is really a different word, i. e., = Skr. चौरिका (cf. Wb. Spt. 45); so also the E. H. fem. रस्सी is really derived from the masc. रस्सा; see §§ 257. 262.

be added, as examples of what seem to be purely E. H. changes, E. H. f. आगि *fire*, Skr. m. अग्निः, Pr. m. अग्गी (Vr. 5, 18. S. R. fol. 9[b]); E. H. f. देह *body* (but S. m. देहु), Skr. m. देहः, Pr. m. देहो (Spt. A, 63); E. H. f. साँह *oath*, Skr. m. शपथः or n. शपथम्, Pr. m. सवहो (Vr. 2, 15) or n. सवहं (Spt. 361); E. H. f. बिंद or बिंदी or बूँद or बूँदी *drop*, Skr. m. बिन्दुः, Pr. m. बिंदु or n. बिंदुं (H. C. 1, 34. S. C. 1, 1. 52); E. H. बाई *wind*, Skr. m. वायुः, Pr. m. वाउ (Vr. 5, 18)[1]). The strong E. H. forms बिंदी (or बूँदी) and बाँह seem to be diminutives (Pr. *बिंदिआ, *बाहआ) and to presuppose Pr. fem. forms *बिंदा, *बाहा; just as Pr. fem. बाहा and masc. बाहु *arm*. Curious anomalies are, E. H. वस्तु *thing* (S. regularly tadbh. वथु fem. Tr. 105) and धातु *metal* (also वस्त् and धात्), which are masc., but are sometimes used as fem., though they are *tats.*, which always keep their original gender, in this case n. and m. respectively in Skr. Of words in which the gender has changed from fem. in Skr. to masc. in E. H., there is, I believe, only one; and the change took place in Pr.; viz., Skr. fem. प्रावृष् *rainy season*, Pr. m. पाउसो (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 1, 31. S. C. 1, 1. 50), E. H. m. पाउस् *or* पावस्[2]). As regards the change of Skr. neut. to E. H. masc., it had already taken place in Pr., in the case of all neut. ending in the cons. न् and स् (Vr. 4, 18. H. C. 32. Wb. Bh. 404. 426); thus Skr. n. कर्मन् (base कर्मन्) *work*, A. Mg. m. कम्मे (Bh. 163. 167) or Mh. कम्मो, E. H. m. कम्; Skr. n. यशः *renown*, A. Mg. m. जस (Bh. 420) or Mh. जसो, E. H. m. जस्; Skr. n. उरस् *breast*, A. Mg. m. उरे, E. H. उर्; Skr. n. पयस् *milk*, A. Mg. m. पये, E. H. m. पय् or पै; Skr. n. चक्षुस् *eye*, Pr. m. चक्खू (H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51, also n. चक्खुं), E. H. m. चख्, etc. Sometimes also the change took

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1) E. H. f. नाँह् *string* is not = Skr. m. तन्तुः (as Bs. II, 174 after Tr. 59 says), but = Skr. f. तन्त्री. — The E. H. बाई *wind*, however, is more probably = Skr. f. वातिः.

2) The other word mentioned by the Pr. Gramm., m. सरओ = Skr. f. शारद्, occurs in E. H. only as a fem. semitats. सरद्. — There is, however, also a Skr. m. प्रावृषः.

place in the case of neut. in ु (Skr. nom. sing. ुम्; see H. C. 1, 33. S. C. 1, 1. 51), especially in Mg. (Wb. Bh. 416. Ls. 399. 408. 429) and in Ap. (H. C. 4, 445. Ls. 461. 476); thus Skr. n. कुलम् *family*, Pr. n. कुलं or m. कुलो, Ap. m. कुलु (H. C. 4, 361), E. H. m. कुल्; Skr. n. दुःखम्, A. Mg. n. दुक्खं or m. दुक्खे (Bh. 190. 191), E. H. m. दुख्; Skr. n. नयनम् *eye*, Pr. n. णअणं or m. णअणो or णयणो, E. H. m. नयन् or नैन्; Skr. n. वचनम् *word*, Pr. n. वअणं or m. वअणो or वयणो, Ap. वयणु (H. C. 4, 387), E. H. वयन् or बैन्; Skr. n. लोचनम् *eye*, Pr. n. लोअणं or m. लोअणो or लोयणो, E. H. m. लोयन्; Skr. n. हृदयम् *heart*, Pr. n. हिअअं (Vr. 1, 28) or Mg. m. हिअए (Bh. 394, also हउक्के) or Mh. हिअओ (Urv. 23, 10 in Pl. Diss. 5), E. H. m. हिया; Skr. n. धनम् *wealth*, Mg. m. धणे (Vr. 11, 11) or Ap. धणु (H. C. 4, 358), E. H. m. धन्; Skr. n. शिरस् *head*, Mh. n. सिरं (H. C. 1, 32), but Ap. m. सिरु (H. C. 4, 445), E. H. m. सिर्. In Gd. (exc. M., G. and exceptionally W. H.) the Pr. tendency to change neut. into masc. is extended to all neut.; thus Skr. n. दाम (base दामन्) *string*, Pr. n. दामं (H. C. 1, 32), but E. H. m. दाम् (sometimes even fem.); Skr. n. गृहम् *house*, Pr. n. घर्, M. n. घर्, but E. H. m. घर्; Skr. n. घृतम् *clarified butter*, Pr. n. घिअं, M. n. घीँ, but E. H. m. घी; Skr. n. दधिकम् *sour milk*, Pr. n. दहिअं, M. n. दहीँ, but E. H. m. दही; Skr. n. पानीयम् *water*, Pr. n. पाणिअं (Vr. 1, 18), M. n. पानीँ, but E. H. m. पानी; Skr. n. मौक्तिकम् *pearl*, Pr. n. मोत्तिअं (Spt. 314), M. n. मोतीँ, but E. H. m. मोती; Skr. n. मस्तिष्कम् *head*, Pr. n. मत्थिअं, M. n. माथीँ, but E. H. m. माथी; Skr. n. सुवर्णकम् *gold*, Pr. n. सोवण्णं or सोवण्णअं (cf. Spt. 194), O. H. सोनयं, M. n. सोनेँ, but E. H. m. सोना; Skr. n. अश्रुकम् *tear*, Pr. n. अंसुअं, M. n. अंसूँ, but E. H. m. आँसू (O. H. अंसुअ in Chand Devagiri 22); Skr. n. युगम् *yoke*, Pr. n. जुअं, M. n. जूँ, but E. H. m. जू or strong form जुआ; Skr. -(st. f.) n. कर्त्तव्यकम् *doing*, Pr. n. करिअव्वअं, Ap. n. करेवुउं (H. C. 4, 438) or करिवुउं, W. H. n. करिबौँ or m. करिबौ, O. m. करिआ, E. H. (wk. f.) m. करिब् or करब्.

360. *Affinities.* As regards the gender of nouns, E. H. occupies an intermediate position. The M. and G. have preserved the three genders of the Skr. and Pr. Again B. and O. distinguish

no gender at all. But E. H. has at least two genders, masc. and fem. Generally speaking it agrees in that respect with W. H., P., S. and N.; though traces of the old neut. survive in W. H. in the infinitives in ऩॊ and ऱॊ or ॺॊ, as indicated by the final anunásika. — All the above mentioned E. H. instances of change of gender are common to W. H. and, as a rule, to the other Gds. also.

3. NUMBER.

361. There are only two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plur. of nouns, which signify *rational beings*, is formed 1) generally by adding the noun लोग् *people*, without any change in the sing. noun; or 2) less commonly by using the same form of the noun as in the sing. Thus *disciples* may be either चेलालोग् or less frequently चेला, from sing. चेला; or *daughters* बेटीलोग् or बेटी, from sg. बेटी. The plur. of any other being or thing can, generally, be formed only in the second way. Thus *horses* is घोड़ा but not घोड़ालोल्; *words* is बात्, not बातलोग्, from the sing. घोड़ा and बात्. In such cases, if the noun be in the nom. case, the context must decide its number. The plural, formed with लोग्, I shall call the *compound*, the other the *simple*.

Exception. A few nouns optionally form anomalous plurals, as ऩन् *man*, pl. ऩने; मनुख् *man*, pl. मनड़.

362. The termination of the subst. suffers no change in the sing. nor in the nom. and acc. *proper* of the plur.; but in the oblique cases of the plur. the suff. ऩन्, इन्, उन् are added to subst. in ऺ or ॻा, इ or ई, उ or ऊ respectively. In the case of the comp. plur. they may be added either to the noun itself or, as is more common, to the plur. sign लोग्. The form thus made, I shall call the *oblique plural*; that of the obl. cases of the sing. and of the nom. and acc. *proper* of the (simple) plur., the *oblique sing.*; and that of the nom. sing., the *direct* form. See examples in § 379.

Exception. Subst. in ई, signifying *inanimate* objects, do

not make the oblique plur. (with हन्) in the short, but only in the long and red. forms; see examples in § 379.

363. *Affinities.* 1) In E. H. the nom. and acc. *proper* of the simple plur. of all subst. are identical with the obl. form of the sing.; the reason of which will be explained in § 369. The same, in principle, is the case in all Gḍs., except in O. and, partially, M. In the latter the fem. and neut. subst. have a special dir. form of the plur., whilst in O. there is no simple plur. at all (exc. in the plur. sign माने, see below Nro. 2. 3). But the B. and N. are peculiar in adding to the obl. sg. a special case-affix to denote its nom.-plur.-application; viz., B. रा, N. हु; and N. has the further peculiarity of using an archaic obl. sg. in ऐ or इ (see §§ 364, 3. 365, 6). Thus E. H. ob. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला *disciples*, W. H. obl. sg. चेले, nom. pl. चेले; B. obl. sg. चेला, nom. pl. चेला-रा, N. old obl. sg. चेलाहे or चेलाह, nom. pl. चेलाहे-हु or चेलाह-हु, etc.; for other examples see §§ 364, 3. 369, 1. — 2) The E. H. has both a simple and a comp. plur., the former for all subst., the latter (as a rule) for those only which denote *rational beings*. Formerly the O. also had, for subst. denoting rational beings, a simple plur. which, in the case of अ-bases, ended in ए (see Bs. II, 198; e. g., कुमारे pl. of कुमार् *boy*); but now the comp. plur. (made with माने) only is used. For all other subst. the O. has no plur. at all (see Sn. 14). None of the other Gḍs. possess a comp. plur.; B. using the simple plur. for rational beings only (S. Ch. 44. 53); the rest of the Gḍs., for all subst. alike. The comp. plur. is made, in O. with माने, obl. f. मानन्, in E. H. with लोग्, obl. f. लोगन्. Thus nom. pl. E. H. चेला or चेला-लोग् *disciples*, O. चेला-माने; dat. pl. E. H. चेलन्-के or चेला-लोगन्-के, O. चेला-मानन्-कु. It should be observed, however, that, for the purpose of emphasizing the plur. meaning, a periphrastic plur. may be formed in all Gḍs. for any subst. whatsoever, by appending to the sing. some suitable collective noun, such as गण् *troop*, वर्ग् *class*, सकल् or सब् *all*, etc. — 3) All Gḍs. have an obl. f. of the simple plur. (see

table, below), exc. the N., B. and, apparently, G. which use the form of the nom. pl. in the obl. cases also. Thus E. H. nom. pl. चेला, obl. चेलन्; H. H. चेले, obl. चेलों, etc.; but G. nom. and obl. चेलाञ् or (variously spelled) चेलाउ or चेलाओ. However, in G. the final anunásika (Pr. anusvára), which usually distinguishes the obl. plur. (see § 368, 6), may have been dropped. Where there is no simple plur., as in O., there can be, of course, no obl. plur. But the O. and E. H. comp. plur. signs माने and लोग् (see Nro. 2) form a regular obl. pl. मानन् and लोगन्. As to the N. and B., see § 364, 2. 3. — 4) As regards the sing., the general tendency of the Gḍs. is to assimilate the obl. to the dir. form. In the E. Gḍ. the assimilation is complete, no subst. (of whatever termin.) having its obl. differing from its dir. form. In W. Gḍ. (exc. S.) and N. Gḍ., it is almost complete, the only exceptions being strong nouns in आ. In S. the obl. form of masc. nouns in उ and ओ, and of com. gen. nouns in ई and ऊ is different from the direct. In S. Gḍ. the two forms differ in most nouns of whatever termination. It must, however, in all cases be understood, that the obl. f., though *now* it may outwardly be the same as the dir., is not really identical with it, but has a different origin, as will be shown in § 365. Thus nom. sg. A. Mg. सामिए or सामिअ = dir. f. M. and E. H. सामी, or nom. sg. Mh. सामिसो, Ap. सामिउ = dir. f. S. सामी *lord*; and gen. sg. A. Mg. सामिआह = obl. f. M. साम्या, E. H. (lg. f.) सम्मिया; or gen. sg. Ap. सामिसहो or °ह्ु = obl. f. O. H. सामिसह, S. सामिअ, W. H. and E. H. सामी. Again nom. sg. A. Mg. घोडए or घोडअ = dir. f. M. and E. H. घोडा, or nom. sg. Mh. घोडओ, Ap. घोडउ = dir. f. S. घोडो; and gen. sg. A. Mg. घोडआह = obl. f. M. घाडए (for *घोडया), E. H. (lg. f.) घोडया; or gen. sg. Ap. घोडसहो or घोडसहे = obl. f. O. H. घोडसह or O. P. घोडसहि, G., W. H., E. H. घोडा, P., H. H. घोडे. — 5) The subjoined tables give a comparative view of the various terminations of the Gḍ. dir. and obl. forms. Observe, that where a form is not ascribed to any particular Gḍ., it belongs to all; and where no gender is mentioned, it is common.

Direct forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. S., O. H., O. P. उ m., अ f.
	in इ	इ; exc. M., H. H. इ m. n., इ or अ f.
	in उ	उ.
of strong bases	in आ	E. Gḍ., H. H., P. आ m., Br. आ or ओ m., Mw., S., N. ओ m., G. ओ m., उँ n., M. आ or ऊ m., ऐं or उँ n., O. H. ओ or अव m. अं n.
	in ई	ई; exc. M. ई m. f., ईं n., O. H. ई m., इय f.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. M. ऊ m. f., ऊँ n., G. उ c. g.

Direct forms plural in M.

of weak bases	in अ	आ f., एँ n.	of strong bases	in आ	ईं or एँ n.
	in इ	ई f.		in ई	या f., यें n.
	in उ	*deest*		in ऊ	वा f., वें n.

Oblique forms singular

of weak bases	in अ	अ; exc. B. अ or ए, M. आ m. n., ए f., O. H. अ or अह or अहि, O. P. अ or अहि.
	in इ	इ; exc. M. ई, O. H. इ or इह or इहि, O. P. इ or इहि.
	in उ	उ; exc. M. ऊ, O. H. उ or उह or उहि.
of strong bases	in आ	B., O., E. H., Mw. आ m., Br. आ or ए m., H. H., P., S. ए m., M. या or आ m. n., G. आ m., अँ n., O. H. अस्रह or अस्रहि m. n.
	in ई	ई; exc. S. इअ, M. या m. n., ये f. or ई c. g., O. H. इअह or इअहि.
	in ऊ	ऊ; exc. S. उअ, M. वा m. n., वे f. or ऊ c. g., O. H. उअह or उअहि.

Oblique forms plural

of weak bases	in अ	E. H. अन्, H. H. ओं, Br. ओं or अन् or अनि, Mw., M. आँ, P. आँ m., ईआँ f., G. ओ, S. आँ or एँ or अनि c. g., उनि f., O. H. आन् or अन् or अन्ह or अन्हि.
	in इ	E. H. इन्, H. H. इओं, Br. इयौं or इन् or इनि, Mw. यॉ, P. इआँ, G. इआ, M. ईं, S. इआँ or इएँ or इनि or इअनि or इउनि, O. H. इन् or इन्ह or इन्हि.
	in उ	E. H. उन्, H. H. उओं, Br. उन or उनि, Mw., P. उआँ, G. उओ, S. उनि, M. ऊँ, O. H. उन् or उन्ह or उन्हि.

N. B., in B., O., N. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases

in आ: P. इआँ m, S. आँ or एँ or अनि m., G. आन् (or आओ) m., आँ n., M. आँ or आँ m. n.

in ई: Br. इयों or इयन् or इयनि or इन or इनि, P. ईआँ, G. ईओ, M. याँ or ईं.

in ऊ: Br. उओं or उअन् or उअनि or उन् or उनि, P. ऊआँ, S. उआँ or उएँ or उअनि or उनि, M. आँ or ऊँ.

the rest as in the weak bases.

Obl. forms used as nom. plur.

of weak bases

in अ: B. अ-रा or ए-रा, N. अहे-हु or अह-हु, E. H. अ, H. H. अ m., एँ f., Br., O. H. अ m., एं f., Mw. अ m., आँ f., P. अ m., इआँ f., S. अ m., आँ or ऊँ f., M. अ m., G. अ m., ओ c. g.

in इ: B. इ-रा, N. इहे-हु or इह-हु, E. H. इ, H. H., Br. इ m., इयाँ f., Mw. इ m., याँ f., P. इ m., इआँ f., S. इ m., इऊँ f., G. इ m., इओ c. g., M. इ c. g.

in उ: B. उ-रा, N. उहे-हु or उह-हु, E. H. उ, H. H., W. H., P. उ m. उआँ f., S. उ m., ऊँ f., G. उ m. or उओ c. g., M. उ.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

of strong bases

in आ: B. आ-रा, N. आहे-हु or आह-हु, E. H., Mw., S. आ m., H. H., P. ए m., Br. आ or ए m., G. आ or आव् m., आँ or ओंव् n., M. ए or ऊ m.

in ई: B. ई-रा, N. ईहे-हु or ईह-हु, E. H. ई, G. ईओ, H. H. ई m., इयाँ f., Br. ई m., ईं or इयाँ f., Mw. ई m., याँ f., P. ई m., ईआँ f., S. ई m., ईएँ f., M. ई m.

in ऊ: B. ऊ-रा, N. ऊहे-हु or ऊह-हु, E. H., S. ऊ, H. H., W. H. ऊ m., उओ f., P. ऊ m., ऊआँ f., G. ऊओ or ऊ c. g., M. ऊ m.

N. B., in O. *deest* throughout.

Note: It will be observed, that in W. Gd. the obl. plur. of weak nouns in इ and उ generally adopts the obl. termin. of strong nouns in ई and ऊ, and vice versa in E. H. the obl. plur. of strong nouns in आ, ई, ऊ the obl. termin. of the weak nouns in अ, इ, उ.

364. *Derivation of the plural signs.* 1) The O. मानै or, shortened, मान is, probably, identical with the E. H. plur. मनइ *men* (§ 361, exc.; from Skr. मानव *man*; not मान *measure*, as Be. II, 199), and is a plur. noun with the old termination ए, obl.

ञन् (see § 363, 2). The E. H. लोग् *men* (Skr. लोक § 102) is also a plur. noun, as shown by its obl. f. लोगन् (§ 363, 2), and, like मान, is shortened for लोग. The shortened form मान is not used with rational beings (see Sn. 11). — 2) The B. is generally said to form a comp. plur. with the pl. sign दिग्, which is sometimes (see Bs. II, 200) believed to be none other than the Skr. दिक् *region, side.* But there can be little doubt, that this identification is a mistake. For a) the B. दिग ends in (quiescent) ञ, while the Skr. दिक् does not; b) a final Skr. क् would not become ग् in either Pr. or Gḍ.; c) the Skr. दिक् is merely the nom. sg. of the base दिश्, while the B. दिग्, if anything, is an obl. f., i. e., equal to the Skr. gen. sg. (see § 366) which is दिग्ः (Pr. दिसो or rather दिसाए, cf. H. C. 1, 19. 3, 30); d) the sg. दिश् (or nom. दिक्) is not a collective noun and, therefore, could not serve to form a plur.; on the other hand e) in the plur. (like माने, लोग) it would be Skr. दिग्ाः, Pr. दिसाओ, which would not produce the B. दिग. I am inclined to believe, that दिग is not a real word, but merely a compound of two case-affixes. The ordinary B. gen. pl. ends in देर्. This I divide into दे (base) and र् (case-aff.), just as in the gen. sg.; thus देवदेर् *of gods* = देवदे-र्, just as देवेर् *of a god* = देवे-र् (see § 365, 6). Here देवदे, like देवे, is an obl. f.; its dir. f. would be देवदा (or देवद); and, in fact, the two forms, thus deduced, are the same as the P. gen. sg. देव-दा and its obl. f. देव-दे. It should be observed that the B. uses the gen. sg. to serve as a plur. base (see § 369); its nom. pl. देवे-रा *gods* is but the st. f. of its gen. sg. देवे-र् *of a god.* Similarly it uses another (now obsolete) gen. sg. देव-दा, to serve as the pl. base of the obl. cases, which are made by adding certain case-affixes. Before the latter, as usual, the base is inflected, i. e., देव-दा becomes देव-दे, and with the gen. aff. र् it is देव-दे-र्. With the dat. aff. के it ought to be देव-दे-के; but के has a tendency to change to गे (just as in W. H. among the *Mairs* the gen. aff. are गो, गा, etc. for को, का; in N. गर् *to do* for कर्) and दे to become दि (just as the B. and E. H. dat. aff. के is in O. कि); hence it is देव-दि-गे

(or देवहिंगे, as it is commonly spelled, see S. Ch. 58, with two ग्, to compensate for the shortening of ए). Similarly with the loc.-aff. ने or के-ने, it is देव-हि-गे-ने (just as, e. g., in H. H. dat.-acc. उस-के-नईं *to him*, lit. *up to him*). In course of time this origin was forgotten and an imaginary noun हिग formed, and henceforth treated like a real noun. Thus a dat. हिग्-के and a gen. हिगॅ was made. The form हिगेॅ, however, is, according to S. Ch. 50 not commonly used in speaking, which points to a surviving consciousness on the part of the people of the unfitness of the formation. The occurrence of the ordinary P. gen.-aff. दा in B., at the two furthest extremities of the Gd. area, is no doubt remarcable; but it is by no means the only fact of its kind. Thus there is the same peculiar auxil. past tense in the O. बैला *he was* and in S. थिबो, P. था; and indeed the ordinary B. and O. gen.-aff. रॅ occurs also in the distant Mw. रो (see § 377, 1). In each case, these words are almost entirely absent in the intermediate Gds.; though occasionally थो and दा are met with in W. H. (see Kl. 70. 157), and था and थो are the regular forms in H. H. and N. respectively, and हु occurs in the plur. of N. (see Nro. 3). It will be shown also in § 377, 3, that the B. instr.-aff. दिया is connected with the gen.-aff. दा. — 3) There is a close analogy between the N. and B. plur. The former is made by adding हेहु or हहु to the sing. But these plur. signs are not, as it has been supposed, nouns, but are compounded of the old gen. or obl. termin. हे or ह (see § 365, 6) and the gen.-aff. हु, which is identical with the B. gen.-aff. रॅ, but has preserved the old termin. उ. In fact, the N. plur. termin. हेहु is identical with the B. gen. termin. एरॅ and the B. plur. termin. एरा; the latter being the st. f., the other two wk. forms. Thus N. देवहे-हु or देवह-हु *gods* = B. देव-रा (or gen. देवे-रॅ). The B. ए is but a contraction of the older form अहे or अहि. In the O. Gd. the gen. or obl. sg. in अहे or अहि or अह or (shortened) ए was used as a nom. plur. (see § 369); e. g., ज्ञने *men* = ज्ञनहि lit. *of man* scl. multitude; and in order to make it a plur. base capable of declension, the declinable

gen.-aff. हु or (st. f.) हा (a curtailed nomin. base, § 377) was added. Thus the N. ज़नह्-हु (originally a gen. sg., = Ap. Pr. ज़नहो जेहु) is now a plur. base, which can be regularly declined; e. g., *gen.* ज़नह्-हु-को *of men*, dat. ज़नह्-हु-लाई *to men*, *etc.* Similarly in B.; only instead of declining the plur. base ज़न-हा, it substitutes in the obl. cases an other plur. base ज़न-दा or ज़न-दू, which was also originally a gen. sg. Thus gen. ज़न-दे-रु *of men*, dat. ज़न-दि-गे *to men*, etc. But, as in the case of the B. दिगु, the true nature of the N. देह् or हह् is now forgotten, and it is supposed to be a real noun; see also § 369, 1.

365. *Derivation of the obl. terminations.* It will be seen from the table of obl. termin. (§ 363), that they are divisible into two great types, of which those of the M. and S. are respectively most characteristic, and which can be best distinguished in the sing. In M. the sg. obl. forms end in a long, in S. in a short vowel. Thus M. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. आ, f. ए, m. f. ई, m. f. ऊ, and (st. f.) m. या, ला, f. ये, ले; again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आँ, ईं, ऊँ, and (st. f.) m. f. याँ, लाँ. But in S. obl. sg. (wk. f.) m. f. अ, इ, उ, and (st. f.) m. f. आ or ए (= अय), इअ, उअ (or in the other Gds. contracted ई, ऊ); again obl. pl. (wk. f.) m. f. आँ or एँ (in W. H. ओं, ओं), and (st. f.) m. f. इआँ or इएँ, उआँ or उएँ (in W. H. इयों or इयों, उओं or उओं). To the S. type belong the W. and N. Gds.; to the M. type, of course, the S. Gd. (i. e. M.), though exceptionally, a few forms of the S. type have found admittance into M.; viz., the M. strong obl. forms in आ, ई, ऊ. The E. Gds. again are a mixture of both; for their short (incl. weak and strong) forms are of the S. type, and their long forms of the M. This double character can be best seen in E. H. — The original of the Gd. oblique form is the Pr. genitive (see § 366). The obl. f. of the M. type goes back to the M. gen.; that of the S. type to the Ap. gen. — 1) *Deriv. of the Mg. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are in Mg. Pr. स्स (or ष्ष = Skr. स्य) or ह (Vr. 11, 12. H. C. 4, 299), which are added indifferently to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367).

Before ह् the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. gen. termin.: 1) अस्स, इस्स, उस्स and 2) आह्, ईह्, ऊह् or, with strong bases, 1) अवस्स, इवस्स, उवस्स and 2) अवाह्, इवाह्, उवाह्. In M. (representing the old Dk. Pr. of the Mg. Pr. type, see Introd.) the 1st set becomes (§§ 143. 147) आस, ईस्, ऊस् or (st. f.) यास् (for अयास् or इयास), वास् (for उवास्), and the 2nd set (dropping ह्[1])) आ, ई, ऊ or (st. f.) या (for अया or इया), वा (for उवा). In the E. H. (= old A. Mg. Pr.) only the 2nd set occurs; viz., (lg. f.) अया, इया, उवा (with euph. य् and व्). Both sets are preserved in the M. dat., which is identical with the old gen. (see Vr. 6, 64); thus M. देवान् or देवा *to a God* = Dk. Pr. देवस्स or देवाह्, Skr. देवस्य. But, in M., the first set is also preserved in its proper gen. sense in the so-called post-position साठी", which is really a compound of the gen. termin. स् and the post-position साठी" (= Ap. Pr. वट्टहिं, Skr. अर्थे *for the sake of*); thus M. देवासाठी" lit. *for the sake of God*, i. e. देवास् साठी" = Dk. Pr. देवस्स वट्टहिं, Skr. देवस्य अर्थे. The 2nd set is used as the termin. of the ordinary M. and E. H. obl. form, and as such retains its old gen. sense. Thus M. dat. देवा लाईं" lit. *for the benefit of God* = Dk. देवाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवस्य लाभे; or (lg. f.) M. देव्या लाईं" = Dk. देवयाह लाहहिं, Skr. देवकस्य लाभे; or E. H. dat. देवया के lit. *at the side of God*, A. Mg. देवयाह कहि, Skr. देवकस्य कक्षे. — 2) The suff. of the gen. sg. of fem. nouns in आ, ई and ऊ is in Pr. ए (= Skr. यास्) or, shortened, इ or अ (Vr. 5, 22. 23. H. C. 3, 29. 30). The form अ is, evidently, the latest, whence it passed into Gḍ. Thus the latest *Mg.* Pr. gen. termin. are: आअ, ईअ, ऊअ or, with strong bases, इआअ, उआअ. In M., these become ए (for आय with euph. य्), ई and ऊ (dropping अ), and (st. f.) ये, वे (for याय, वाय); and in E. H., (*lg.* f.) इया, उवा or उवा (dropping अ and inserting euph.

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1) As to the Gḍ. tendency to drop a final ह, see § 32. In the O. H. of Chand *shāh* king is often spelled सा, and *sih* lion सो; e. g., कहीं जानि साहाब सा बन्धि गोरी, *Revaṭaṭa* 43; or हा चार्वेउ शैतसो *Devagiri* 51 for साहाब साह् and शैतसोह्.

ए and ओ). These M. and E. H. termin. occur in their obl. forms. Thus M. obl. f. तीये *of a tongue*, contr. for Dk. तीआय or तिआय or तिआइ or तिआए = Skr. तिह्वायाः, of M. तीमू, Dk. तिआ (H. C. 2, 57), Skr. तिह्वा. — 3) There are some M. strong masc. and fem. nouns in ई and ऊ, the obl. form of which ends also in ई and ऊ instead of in या m. (ये f.) and वा m. (वे f.). Thus m. विंचू *scorpion* has obl. f. विंचवा or विंचू; m. हत्ती *elephant* has obl. f. हत्ती (not हत्या); f. घोडी *mare* has obl. f. घोडी, (not घोड्यें), f. सासू *mother-in-law* has obl. f. सासवे and सासू. It is just possible, that here ई and ऊ may be contractions of या, ये and वा, वे respectively; but it is much more probable that they are Ap. Pr. forms which have been mixed up in M. with Dk. Pr. forms (see Nro 6)[1]). The same remarks apply to the E. Gḍ. obl. forms in या, ई, ऊ of short-form nouns in या, ई, ऊ. Thus E. H. obl. f. घोरा *of a horse* might be contracted from A. Mg. gen. घोउआह; but it is much more probably a contraction of the Ap. Pr. घोउअहो. — 4) The suff. of the gen. pl. are in Mg. Pr. णं or णा (Vr. 5, 4. 4, 16. H. C. 3, 6. 1, 29 = Skr. नाम्) and हँ (H. C. 4, 300), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ and उ of whatever gender (see § 367), and before which the final of the base is lengthened. Thus there are two sets of Mg. Pr. termin.: 1) आणं, ईणं, ऊणं and 2) आहँ, ईहँ, ऊहँ, or, with strong bases, 1) अआणं, इआणं, उआणं and 2) अआहँ, इआहँ, उआहँ. In M. the 1st set becomes आँना, ईंना, ऊँना[2]) or (st. f.) याँना (for अयान or इआन), वाँना

1) That both the Mg. and Ap. gen. have contributed to the M. obl. forms, can be clearly seen from the following example: Skr. nom. घोटकः, gen. घोटकस्य becomes, in M., nom. घोडा, obl. घोड्या; analogously Skr. वर्त्मसारकः should be, in M., nom. वाटसरा, obl. वाटसर्या, but it becomes वाटसरू, obl. वाटसरा. The reason is, that the former represent Mg. forms: nom. घोडए, gen. घोडआह; the latter Ap. forms: nom. वट्टसरउ, gen. वट्टसरअह or °हो.

2) These forms are usually divided into आँ + ना, ईं + ना, ऊँ + ना, and ना is considered to be an aff., and the rest to be the ordinary obl. f. This is possible, as ना might be a modification of the ordinary M. dat. aff. ला, analogous to the G. sg. and pl. dat. aff. ने. But in that case,

(for उआन), and the 2nd set becomes (by elision of ह् and contraction of the hiatus-vowels) ऊँ, ईं, ऊँ or (st. f.) ऊँ (for उयाँ or इयाँ), ऊँ (for उवाँ). In E. H. the first set becomes (by shortening the initial vowel) उन्, इन्, ऊन्, or (lg. f.) उवन्, इयन्, उवन्, and the 2nd set (lg. f.) उवाँ, इयाँ, उवाँ (with euph. व् and य्). In O. H. (Chand and Kabir), however, examples of the 1st set with a long vowel still occur; e. g., महिलानं *of women*, दूखान *of riches*, गुरून *to teachers* (Bs. II, 219. 207. 282). In M., the 1st set is, just as in the sing., preserved in the dat. (= old gen.); thus M. देवांना *to Gods* = Dk. देवाणं, Skr. देवानाम्. In E. H. the 1st set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl., with the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. देवन् मे lit. *in the midst of Gods* = A. Mg. देवाण मज्झि, Skr. देवानां मध्ये. The 2nd set forms the termin. of the ordinary obl. pl. in M. and obl. sg. in E. H.[1]), also retaining the sense of the gen.; e. g., loc. M. देवाँ ठाईं lit. *in the place of Gods* = Dk. देवाहँ ठाणाहिं, Skr. देवानां स्थाने, or (lg. f.) M. देव्यां ठाईं = Dk. देवयाहँ ठाणाहिं, Skr. देवकानां स्थे; or (lg. f.) E. H. देवयाँ मे *in a God* = A. Mg. देवयाहँ मज्झि, Skr. देवकानां मध्ये. — 5) The masc. nouns in ई and ऊ, mentioned in Nro. 3 as having an obl. sg. in ईं and ऊं for या, वा, similarly have an obl. pl. in ईं and ऊँ, which might be contractions of याँ and वाँ, but more probably are Ap. forms (see Nro. 7). Thus हत्थी *elephant* has obl. pl. हत्थीं (not हत्थ्याँ), विंचू *scorpion* has obl. pl. विंचवाँ or विंचूं. — 6) *Deriv. of the S. type.* The suff. of the gen. sg. are, in the Ap. Pr., हो and ह or, shortened, हु or हि (H. C. 4, 338. 336. 351 and 4, 350. 341. 352. K. I. 30. 34. 36. 35. 29 in *Ls.* 451. 462), which are added alike to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (see § 367). Thus there are two sets of Ap. termin.; viz. 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु

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one would expect ना to be used also in the sg., which is not the case. On the whole, I think it more probable, that the whole is *one* suff., to which, however, a mistaken popular etymology has given an anomalous final अ; the forms ought to be धानँ, ईनँ, ऊनँ.

1) This confusion of sg. and pl. forms may be also otherwise observed in Gḍ., see § 367, 5.

and 2) अहे, इहे, उहे or अहि, इहि, उहि or, with strong bases, 1) अहो, इहो, उहो or अहु, इहु, उहु and 2) अहँ, इहँ, उहँ or अहिं, इहिं, उहिं. In old Gd. (O. H., O. P.) the 1st set becomes अह, इह, उह or (dropping ह) अ, इ, उ, and the 2nd set अहि or ए (contr. for अहि = अइ), इहि, उहि, or in strong bases, 1) अहा, इहा, उहा or आ (for अअ), इअ, उअ, and 2) अहिं or आय (for अअइ) or ऐं or ए, इहिं, उहिं. The 1st set (in ह) is still found in the O. W. H. of Chand, the 2nd set (in हि) in the O. P. of the Granth (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), in the O. H. of Kabir, Tulsí Dás, etc. and in the O. B. of Vidyápati, etc., in their proper sense of the gen. sg.; e. g., गोचार पाह चारै सु गोइ। *a herdsman tends the cattle of an other* (Chand 28, 62), or बोल बोलहु अविचारह। *you speak a speech of inconsiderateness* (Ch. 28, 50), or चहुवानह पास। *by the side of the Chahuván* (Ch. 28, 33). Again राम नाम लै बेराधारा ऽ सो तै ले संसारहि पारा॥ i. e., *so thou mayest reach the farther shore of the world* (Kabir Ram. 75, 3), or तोवहि मरन न होइ॥ i. e., *of the soul there is no dying* (Kabir Ram. 22, 6). Again प्रणउँ पुर नर नारि बहोरी। ममता जिन पर प्रभुहि न थोरी॥ i. e., *concerning which the pride of the Lord is not small* (Tulsí Dás, Bal. 10), or होइहि संतत पियहि पियारी॥ *there will be offspring of the beloved one of the beloved* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), or को गुण दोषहि करै बिचारा॥ i. e., *who takes account of virtue and vice* (T. Dás, Bal. 30). In the sense of the dat. (= old gen.) हि is very common in O. H.[1]); thus रंगवनि सब मुनिहि दिखाई॥ i. e., *he showed all the decorations to the sage* (T. Dás. Bal.), or आपु सुवरानपद रामहि देउ॥ i. e., *give the heir-apparentship to Rám* (T. Dás Ayodh. 5); also in O. B., e. g., आनहि *to another* (see Bs. II, 229). Both ह and हि also occur as the termin. of the obl. f.; e. g., कह्यो सम खान तताराह। *he spoke with the Khán Tartár* (Chand 28, 58), or तत्ताराह उप्पराह। *upon the Tartár* (Ch. 29, 19); or आदिहि ते सब कथा सुनाई *he narrated the whole story from the beginning* (T. Dás

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., बहु बिधि राम शिवहि समुझावा। पारबती कर जन्म सुनावा॥ i. e., *in many ways Rám admonished Shiva and narrated the story of the birth of Parvati* (T. Dás, Bal. 26), etc. See also Kl. 65. 283. 286 and § 367, 3,

in Bs. II, 212). These examples contain also instances of the curtailed form of the gen.; thus राम नाम लै *taking the name of Rāma*, पराउँ पुर नर नारि *I salute the men and women of the town*, पियारौ संतत (for पियारिच) *offspring of the beloved one*, etc. In modern Gḍ. both sets occur only in their curtailed forms (with one exception in N., see below): 1) अ, इ, उ and 2) ए or, in strong bases, 1) आ, इअ or ई, उअ or ऊ and 2) आय् or ऐ or ए. The 2nd set is still preserved in the B. and O. dat. (= old gen.; especially in words denoting inanimate objects; but generally in poetry and *theṭh bhāshā*; see S. Ch. 46, 2. 59, 4. 62. 63. Sn. 14. 15); thus B. and O. घरे *to a house* = O. Gḍ. घरहि, Ap. Pr. घरहे, Skr. गृहस्य; B. दीन *to the poor*, O. Gḍ. दीनहि, Ap. दीणहे, Skr. दीनस्य; B. तामाय् *to copper*, O. Gḍ. तामाहि or तामग्रहि, Ap. तम्बग्रहं, Skr. ताम्रकस्य, etc. But both sets are used in all Gḍs. (with the exceptions in Nros 1—5) as the ordinary termin. of the obl. sg., and as such retain their old gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gḍs. in the following manner. The contracted weak form ए is confined to the gen. and loc. sg. and nom. pl. of B.; thus B. gen. sg. देवे-र् lit. *done of God*, O. Gḍ. देवहि कर्, Ap. देवहे केर्, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (see § 377); loc. sg. देवे ते *in God*; nom. pl. देवे-रा *Gods*, O. Gḍ. देवहि करा, Ap. देवहे केउ, Skr. देवस्य कृतकः scl. सङ्घः (see § 364, 2). N. has preserved even the full old form (in हे or ह) in its nom. pl.; thus N. देवह-रु or देवहे-रु *Gods*, O. Gḍ. देवह करु, Ap. देवहे or °हो केर्, Skr. देवस्य कृतः (scl. सङ्घः). The contr. st. f. आ occurs in B., O., Mw. and G.; E. H. has आ and ए, Br. आ and ऐ (i. e. आ in subst., ए or ऐ in adj.); P. and S. have ए; thus gen. sg., B., O. घोडा-र्, Mw. घोडा-रो, E. H. घोड़ा के, Br. घोडा को, G. घोडा नो, P. घोडे दा, S. घोडे जो *of a horse*, O. Gḍ. घोडअह or °हि करो or करौ, Ap. घोडअहो or °हे केउ, Skr. घोटकस्य कृतकः; again E. H. भले के, Br. भले को *of good*, O. H. भलअहि क°, Ap. भलअहं क°, Skr. भद्रकस्य क°. The uncontr. st. f. इअ and उअ are possessed by S. only; the contr. ई and ऊ by all other Gḍs.; thus loc. sg., E. H. etc. हाथी मे, but S. हथिअ में lit. *in the midst of the elephant*, O. Gḍ. हथिअह माँहो°, Ap. हत्थिअहो मज्झहिं, Skr. हस्तिकस्य मध्ये; or E. H. etc. बिछू मे, but

S. विछुअ मेँ *in the midst of the scorpion*, O. Gḍ. विछुअह मँ, Ap. विच्छुअहो मँ, Skr. वृश्चिकस्य मँ, etc. The weak forms अ, इ, उ are common to all Gḍs; thus dat. sg., O. नर कु, B., E. H. नर के, Br. नर कैँ, Mw. नर नै, G. नर ने, P. नर नूँ, N. नर लाई, S. नर खे lit. *by the side of the man*, Skr. नरस्य कृते. — 7) The suff. of the gen. plur. are, in the Ap. Pr., हं, हुं and हिं (H. C. 4, 339. 340. 337. cf. 347. 351. K. L 31. 32. 28 in Ls. 451), which are added indifferently to bases in अ, इ, उ of whatever gender (§ 367). Thus there are three sets of Ap. Pr. termin.: 1) अहं, इहं, उहं, 2) अहुं, इहुं, उहुं, 3) अहिं, इहिं, उहिं or, with strong bases, 1) अअहं, इअहं, उअहं, 2) अअहुं, इअहुं, उअहुं, 3) अअहिं, इअहिं, उअहिं. In O. H. the 3[d] set is still found in the sense of the dat. (= old. gen.); thus मातुपितहिं पुनि यह मत भावा *this counsel, again, pleased (her) parents* (T. Dás. in Kl. 286); or दीन्ह असीस सबहिं सुखमानी *he gave a blessing to all of happy import* (T. Dás, Bal.); or जो तुमहिं सुता पर नेहू। lit. *if to you there is love for your daughter* or *if there is love of you for your daughter*[1]). In modern Gḍ., ह is elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; thus 1) अाँ, ईँ, ऊँ, 2) ओँ or ओं, (इहुं *deest*), ऊँ, 3) एँ or ऐं, ईँ, (इहिं *deest*) or, in strong bases, 1) अाँ, इयाँ or याँ, उआँ or वाँ, 2) ओँ or ओं, इयोँ or इयो or इयूँ, उओँ or उओ or ऊँ, 3) एँ or ऐं, इएँ or ईँ, उएँ. Most of these forms serve as the termin. of the ordinary obl. plur., and, as such, retain their original gen. sense. They are distributed among the various Gḍs., as follows. The forms अाँ (wk. or st.), इयाँ or याँ, उआँ or वाँ occur in S., P. and Mw.; the forms ओँ or ओं (wk. or st.), इयोँ or इयो, उओँ or उओ in Br. and H. H.; the forms एँ (wk. or st.), इएँ, उएँ in S., and the st. forms ईँ and ऊँ in M. Thus loc. pl.; S., P., Mw. नराँ मेँ lit. *in the midst of men*, Ap. णराहं मज्झहिं, Skr. नराणां मध्ये; Br. नरोँ मेँ, H. H. नरोँ मेँ, Ap.

1) Also often in the sense of the acc. (= dat. = old gen.); e. g., तब रामहिं बिलोकि बैदेही *then Vaidehi having beheld Rāma* (T. Dás, Bal.); रामहिं is here the plur. majestatis; but the pl. हिं is often used for the sg. हि, see § 367, 5.

नरहुं म°; S. नरे॑ मे॑, Ap. णरहिं म°; or in st. f., S., P., Mw. घोड़ाँ मे॑ *in the midst of horses*, Ap. घोडएहं मत्थहिं, Skr. घोटकानां मध्ये; Br. घोड़ाँ मे॑, H. H. घोड़ो॑ मे॑, Ap. घोडएहुं म°; S. घोड़े॑ मे॑, Ap. घोडएहिं म°, etc. Again M. dat. pl. हत्ती॑ ला॑ lit. *for the benefit of elephants*, Ap. हत्थिएहिं लाहि, Skr. हस्तिकानां लाभे, etc. The rest of the forms are used as termin. of the nom. pl.; see § 369 [1]). — 8) I add a few more examples to illustrate the preceding remarks: *Weak bases in* अ: masc. or neut., जल *water*; gen. sg., Skr. जलस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलअस्स or (b) जलाह, M. (a) जलास् or (b) जला; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहो or (d) जलहे, O. Gḍ. (c) जलह or (d) जलहि, M. Gḍ. (c) जल (in all) or (d) जले (in B. and O.). Fem. जिह्वा *tongue*, gen. sg. Skr. जिह्वायाः, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जिब्भाए or जिब्भाइ or जिब्भाअ or जिब्भाव (with euph. य्), M. (a) जिभे; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) जिब्भहो or (c) जिब्भहे, O. Gḍ. (b) जीभह or (c) जीभहि, M. Gḍ. (b) जीभ (in all) or (c) जीभे (in B., O.). *Gen. plur.*, Skr. जलानाम्, जिह्वानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) जलाणं, जिब्भाणं or (b) जलाहँ, जिब्भाहँ, M. (a) जलाँना, जिभाँना or (b) जलाँ, जिभाँ, E. H. (a) जलन्, जीभन्, Br. (a) जलन् or जलनि, जीभन् or जीभनि, S. (a) जलनि, जीभुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) जलहं, जिब्भहं or (d) जलहुं, जिब्भहुं or (e) जलहिं, जिब्भहिं, O. H. (e) जलहिं, जिब्भहिं, S., P., Mw. (c) जलाँ, जिभाँ, Br. (d) जलौं॑, जीभौं॑, H. H. (d) जलो॑, जीभो॑, S. (d) जले॑, जिभे॑. — *Strong bases in* अ: masc. or neut., तामक *copper*; gen. sg., Skr. तामकस्य, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमुअअस्स or (b) तमुआह (with euph. व्); M. (a) ताँब्यास् or (b) ताँब्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) तामआ (with euph. व्); 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तमुअहो or (d) तमुअहे, O. Gḍ. (c) ताँबाह or (d) ताँबाहि, O., E. H. (c) तामा, W. H., N., G. (c) ताँबा, B. (c) तामा or (d) तामाय्, P., H. H. (d) ताँबे, S. (d) टामे. *Fem.*, see fem. strong bases in इ. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. तामकानाम्, 1) Mg. Pr. (a) तमुआणं or (b) तमुआहँ, M. (a) ताँब्याँना or (b) ताँब्याँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) तामअन् (with euph. व्) or (b) तामआँ (but used in the sg.); E. H. has also the anomalous short form तामन्, Br. ताँबन् or ताँबनि, S. टामनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) तमुअहं or (d) तमुअहुं or (e) तमुअहिं, P., Mw. (c) ताँबाँ, S. (c) टामाँ, Br. (d) ताँबौं॑, H. H. (d) ताँबो॑, S. (e) टामे॑. *Fem.*, see fem. strong

1) Some of them are also used to form the loc., instr. and abl. sg. or pl. in S., P. and M.; see §§ 367, 2. 376, 3, 378, 3.

bases in इ. — *Weak bases in* इ: masc. or neut., कवि *poet.*; gen. sg., Skr. कवेः (lit. कविस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कविण्ण or (b) कवीह, M. (a) कवीस् or (b) कवी; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहो or (d) कविहे, O. Gd. (c) कविह or (d) कविहि, M. Gd. (c) कवि (in all). *Fem.* भित्ति *wall*; gen. sg., Skr. भित्याः or भित्रेः (lit. भित्तिस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) भित्तिण्ण or (b) भित्तीह, M. (a) भीँतीस् or (b) भीँती; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) भित्तिहो or (d) भित्तिहे, O. Gd. (c) भीतिह or (d) भीतिहि. P., S. (c) भिति, B., O., E. H., W. H., G. भीत. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. कवीनाम्, भित्तीनाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) कवीणं, भित्तीणं or (b) कवीहँ, भित्तीहँ, M. (a) कवीँना, भीँतीँना or (b) कवीँ, भीँतीँ, E. H. (a) कविन्, भीतिन्, Br. कविन् or कविनि, भीतिन् or भीतिनि, S. कविनि, भितिनि or (lg. f.) भितिन्ननि or भितिउनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) कविहं, भित्तिहं or (d) कविहुं, भित्तिहुं or (e) कविहिं, भित्तिहिं, O. H. (e) कविहिं, भीतिहिं, in M. Gd.; only the long forms occur; viz. Ap. Pr. (c) कविण्हं, भित्तिण्हं or (d) कविण्हुं, भित्तिण्हुं or (e) कविण्हिं, भित्तिण्हिं, Mw., P., S. (c) कवियाँ, Br. (d) कवियोँ, H. H. (d) कवियोँ, भीतियोँ, S. (e) कविएँ, भित्तिएँ. — *Strong bases in* इ: masc. or neut., मालिक *gardener*; gen. sg., Skr. मालिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिण्णण्ण or (b) मालिण्णह, M. (a) माल्यास् or (b) माल्या, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) मलिया; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिण्णहो or (d) मालिण्णहे, O. Gd. (c) मालिण्णह or (d) मालिण्णहि, S. (c) मालिण्ण, E. H. etc. (c) माली. *Fem.* घोटिका *mare*; gen. sg., Skr. घोटिकायाः, Ap. Pr. (a) घोडिण्णहो or (b) घोडिण्णहे, O. Gd. (a) घोडिण्णह or (b) घोडिण्णहि, S. (a) घोडिण्ण, E. H., M., etc. (a) घोडी. The Mg. forms exist only in M. monosyllabic words and E. H. long forms: as स्त्रिका *woman*; gen. sg., Skr. स्त्रिकायाः, Mg. *स्त्रियाए or *स्त्रियाइ or *स्त्रियाय, M. स्त्रिये, E. H. स्त्रिया (tats.); similarly E. H. (lg. f.) घोरिया. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. मालिकानाम्, घोटिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) मालिण्णाणं, घोडिण्णाणं or (b) मालिण्णहँ, घोडिण्णहँ, M. (a) माल्यँना, घोड्यँना or (b) माल्यँ, घोड्यँ, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) मलियन्, घोरियन् or (b) मलियँ, घोरियँ (but used in the sing.); Br. (a) मालियनि, घोडियनि, S. (a) मालिण्णनि or माल्यनि or मलिउनि or माल्युनि, घोडिण्णनि or घोडिउनि, etc.; E. H. has also the anomalous short forms मालिन्, घोरिन्, Br. and S. मालिनि, घोडिनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) मालिण्णहं, घोडिण्णहं or (d) मालिण्णहुं, घोडिण्णहुं or (e) मालिण्णहिं, घोडिण्णहिं, S. (a) मालिण्णँ or माल्यँ, घोडिण्णँ or घोड्यँ, Mw. (a) माल्यँ, घोड्यँ, P. (a) मालीण्णँ, घोडीण्णँ

(with anomalous ई), Br. (d) मालियौं, घोडियौं, H. H. (d) मालियो", घोडियो", S. (e) मालिएँ, घोडिएँ. — *Weak bases in* उ: masc. or neut., गुरु *teacher*; gen. sg., Skr. गुरोः (lit. गुरुस्य); 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलुआ or (b) गुलुह, M. (a) गुरूस् or (b) गुरू; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुहो or (d) गुरुहे, O. Gḍ. (c) गुरुह or (d) गुरुहि, M. Gḍ. (c) गुरु (in all). *Fem.* like masc. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. गुरूणाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) गुलूणं or (b) गुलूहुँ, M. (a) गुरूंना or (b) गुरूं, E. H. (a) गुरुन्, Br. (a) गुरुन् or गुरुनि, S. (a) गुरुनि; 2) short forms *desunt* in Gḍ.; in their place the long forms are used: Ap. Pr. (c) गुरुवहं or (d) गुरुवहुं or (c) गुरुवहिं, P. (c) गुरुवाँ, Mw. (c) गुर्वाँ, Br. (d) गुरुवौं, H. H. (d) गुरुवो", O. H. (e) गुरुहिं or गुरुवहिं. *Fem.* like masc. — *Strong bases in* उ: masc. or neut., वृश्चिक *scorpion*; gen. sg., Skr. वृश्चिकस्य; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुआ or (b) विच्छुआह, M. (a) विंचास् or (b) विंचु, E. H. (lg. f.) (b) विछुआ or विछुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुवहो or (d) विच्छुवहे, O. Gḍ. (c) विछुवह or (d) विछुवहि, S. (c) विछुव, E. H. (c) विछू, M. (c) विंचू. *Fem.* वालुका *sand*; gen. sg., Skr. वालुकायाः; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) वालुआए or वालुआइ or वालुवाय, M. (a) वालु, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) वलुआ or वलुवा; 2) Ap. Pr. (b) वालुवहो or (c) वालुवहे, O. Gḍ. (b) वालुवह or (c) वालुवहि, S. (b) वालुव, E. H., etc. वालू. *Gen. plur.*, Skr. वृश्चिकानाम्; 1) Mg. Pr. (a) विच्छुआणं or (b) विच्छुआहँ, M. (a) विचूंना or (b) विंचूं, E. H. (lg. f.) (a) विछुअन् or (b) विछुवाँ (but used in the sing.), Br. विछुअन् or विछुअनि, S. विछुअनि; E. H. has also the anomalous short form विछुन्, Br. and S. विछुनि; 2) Ap. Pr. (c) विच्छुवहं or (d) विच्छुवहुं or (e) विच्छुवहिं, P. and S. (c) विछुवाँ, Mw. (c) विछुवाँ, Br. (d) विछुवौं, H. H. (d) विछुवो", S. (e) विछुएँ. *Fem.* like masc. — G. is peculiar in dropping the final anunásika in the obl. plur. of masc. and fem. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. देवो *Gods* for *देवों", Ap. देवहुं; fem. जीभो *tongues* for *जीभों", Ap. जिब्भहु; again in strong bases: G. masc. obl. pl. घोडाव or घोडाउ[1])

1) These forms are sometimes spelled with final ओ, as घोडाओ (so in Ed. 36. Bs. II, 189); the really correct spelling is with उ or ऊ, as written for me by a Paṇḍit. But it is quite customary now in Gḍ., to spell the same final sound as उ or ऊ or ओ; thus in W. H. देउ or देऊ or देओ *god*, चढाउ or चढाऊ or चढाओ *attack*.

horses for *घोडाउँ, Ap. घोडअहुं; fem. पोथीउ *books*, Ap. पोत्थिअहु. According to H. C. 4, 351, even in the Ap. Pr., fem. nouns have no final anuswára. But G. retains it in neut. nouns; e. g., G. obl. pl. सोनाँव् or सोनाँउ, Ap. सोणअहुं. On the other hand, it adds it anomalously in the sg. neut.; as G. obl. sg. सोनाँ *gold* for *सोना, Ap. सोणअहो.

366. *Origin of the obl. form.* 1) The Gd. obl. f. is identical with the Skr. and Pr. gen. case. For a) it has been already shown (§ 365) that the suff. of the former can be phonetically traced back to those of the latter. b) It will be shown in §§ 375—378, that the Gd. case-affixes are, in reality, nouns (generally in the loc. case); as such they must be constructed with the gen. of the noun, which they govern; hence it follows that the obl. f., in which the latter is always put, when it takes a case-aff., must be the old gen.; e. g., E. H. नरन् मे वाटै *he is in the midst of men*, O. H. नरन्ह महि वाटै, Pr. नराणं मज्झि वट्टइ, Skr. नराणां मध्ये वर्त्तते. c) Pr. Gramm. state expressly (H. C. 4, 422. T. V. 3, 3. 56) that the word केर्, which is the same as the E. H. gen. aff. कै or कर् or O. H. केर्, is constructed with the gen., whence it follows that the obl. form, with which those gen. aff. are constructed, is the old gen. d) It can be shown, that Pr. has a tendency to substitute the gen. in the place of all other obl. cases and to make it the *one, universal inflexion*. This proves that the obl. form, which is the one, universal inflexion in Gd., must be the old gen. In Pr. this is but an other instance of its general tendency to produce uniformity of grammatical forms. Two instances of this have been already noticed; the one in regard to roots (§ 347), the other referring to bases (§ 205). Here we have a third instance, affecting the *cases*. In Skr. there are, generally, seven cases or inflexions: the nom., acc., instr., dat., abl., gen., loc. In Pr. the dat. has (almost) entirely disappeared, and its place been taken by the gen. (Vr. 6, 64. H. C. 3, 131); but there is a tendency to substitute the gen. for the other obl. cases also, so as to leave only two inflexions, the nom. and gen. This is

expressly stated by Pr. Gramm. (H. C. 3, 134. T. V. 2, 3. 39). In the Ap. Pr. that process of substitution is especially marked. Its gen. suff. are expressly stated to form the abl. (compare H. C. 4, 336. 337. 341. 351 with 4, 338. 340) and the loc. (H. C. 4, 340) also[1]). In Gḍ. there are only two inflexions left, the direct form or nomin., and the obl. form or gen. But in order to obviate the necessary ambiguity of this uniformity, Gḍ. adds different affixes to the obl. form, to indicate the particular *case*, in the sense of which the obl. form is to be understood. Thus the obl. form with कैं means the gen., with सें the instr., with मेंइ the loc., etc. In this way the original seven cases are re-established in Gḍ. — 2) It should be observed, however, that since there are in the Ap. Pr. several gen. suff. for the sing. (हो and हु) and the plur. (हं, हुं, हिं), several obl. forms are possible in the Gḍs. and do actually exist in most of them. In the latter case, one of them is used as the *general* obl. form and always constructed with case-aff.; but the other constitutes a *special* obl. form for one or, at most, two cases, and, as a rule, takes no affix. Thus there is in G. and Mw. the *general* obl. f. sg. in ञा = Ap. gen. in ह्हो, and the *special* obl. f. sg. in ए or ए् = Ap. gen. in ह्हे; e. g., G. instr. घोडा पो or घोडे *by a horse*; Mw. loc. घोडा मॉं or घोडे *in a horse*. — 3) It is curious to observe that the levelling process noted just now, has a tendency, both in the Ap. and in Gḍ., to reduce the whole declension to *one inflexion*, by substituting (§ 369) the obl. form even for the dir. form or nom. case. The cause, possibly, was their similarity; thus in the Ap. the nom. sg. would be देव्हो or देवउ *god* (Skr. देवः), the gen. sg. देव्हो or देवहु; whence, by inserting an euph. ह् in the nom., the two forms would be easily assimilated.

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1) Exceptionally all these cases are preserved in Pr.; thus the dat. sg. in the sense of „for the sake of" (H. C. 3, 132. 133), as देवाय *for the sake of god*; in the Ap. Pr., the abl. sg. in णाहु or णाउ (Ls. 461), and the loc. sg. in ए् (H. C. 4, 334 = Skr. ए). The abl. sg. in णाउ survives even in S. poetry (Tr. 118).

367. *Distribution of the Pr. gen. suff.* The ordinary Pr. suff. of the gen. sg. is स्स and of the pl. णं. There are also the suff., sg. ह, pl. हँ which are peculiar to Mg., and sg. हो or हे, pl. हं, हुं or हिं which are peculiar to Ap. 1) The ordinary Pr. suff. are derived from the Skr. sg. स्य, pl. नाम् (i. e. न् + आम्). In Skr., नाम् is added to all three kinds of bases in अ, इ and उ; but स्य is added only to अ-bases. In Pr. both णं and स्स, and similarly the special suff. ह, हं, etc., are added to all three kinds. In Vr. 5, 8. H. C. 3, 10 स्स and णं are apparently limited to *a*-bases, but the succeeding rules Vr. 6, 60. H. C. 3, 124 extend them to *i*- and *u*-bases also; and this is born out by Pr. literature. Hence there can be no doubt, that the Mg. ह and हं and the Ap. हो, though apparently limited by H. C. 4, 299. 300. 338 to *a*-bases, in reality belong to *i*- and *u*-bases also. This is born out by the evidence of modern Gḍ.; and, moreover, it is expressly affirmed by K. I. and Mḍ. Thus H. C. 4, 336. 338 gives हो to the gen. and abl. of masc. (always incl. neut.) *a*-bases; and हे to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases (4, 341)[1]. Again K. I. (30. 34 in Ls. 451. 462) gives हो to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. of masc. *i*- and *u*-bases; and हे (29. 36) to the abl. of all masc. bases and to the gen. of masc. *a*-bases. Again both H. C. (4, 350) and K. I. (35) give हे to the gen. and abl. of all fem. bases. Lastly Mḍ. gives both हो and हे to the abl. of all masc. and fem. bases[2]. These conflicting statements really supplement each other, as shown by modern Gḍ. It should be remembered, 1) that the abl. and gen. are identical in Ap. Pr. (as, indeed, they ge-

1) H. C. 4, 336 gives हु as the abl. suff. of *a*-bases, but this is merely a shortening of हो, which is given by Mḍ. (see next footnote). As to the gen. of *i*- and *u*-bases, H. C. is silent; which seems to indicate, that it may be हो by the analogy of *a*-bases, and हे by the usual identity of the gen. and abl. of cases.

2) Mḍ. says: उसेस्तु हे हो च ॥ उसेः स्थाने हेहौ च स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहे पडिउ । रुक्खहो ॥ (अग्गिहे) । अग्गिहो ॥ आलाहे । आलाहो ॥ i. e., *the abl. sg. has* हे *or* हो, *as „he is fallen from a tree, from fire, from a girl“*. On the gen., I cannot find any rule; which would seem to show that it is identical with the abl.

nerally are even in Skr.), and 2) that the Ap., no doubt, varied slightly in the localities of the different grammarians. The general result is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हो and हे were used to form both the gen. and abl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. — The case of the Ap. plur. suff. हं and हुं is similar. In H. C. 4, 339. 340 हं is ascribed to the gen. and हुं to the abl. (4, 337. 341) of all masc. bases, and हुं (4, 340) also to the gen. of masc. bases in *i* and *u*. Again K. L. (31. 32) gives हं to the gen. of all masc. bases and to the abl. (33) of masc. bases in *i* and *u*, and हुं to the abl. (28) of masc. bases in *a*. Lastly Md. allows both हं and हुं to all masc., both in the gen. and abl. [1]). As regards the fem. bases, both K. I. and Md. are silent, which really means, that their gen. and abl. do not differ from those of the masc. (and neut.). This is confirmed by H. C. 4, 351, who gives to the fem. gen. and abl. the suff. हु, which is either the same as the *sg.* gen. and abl. suff. हु or हो (H. C. 4, 336. 338), or identical with the pl. gen. and abl. suff. हुं dropping the anuswára. The general result again is, that in the Ap. Pr. both हं and हुं are used to form both the gen. and abl. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, whether masc., fem., or neut. And this is born out by the state of the modern Gds. — 2) As to the Ap. pl. suff. हिं, both H. C. (4, 347) and Md. [2]) ascribe it to the loc. and instr. plur. K. I., by his silence (Ls. 463), probably implies the same thing; since हिं was already the instr. pl. suff. in the Mh. Pr. (Vr. 5, 18). But it appears to have been used also for the gen. plur. This is, perhaps, the true reading

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1) Md. says: हंहुं भ्यसः ॥ भ्यसो हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ रुक्खहं पडिउ ॥ पव्वहुं चलिउ ॥ आहुल्यात् । रुक्खाहिंतो । पव्वसुंतो ॥ सुपो वा । आमो वा । हंहुमौ स्यातां ॥ वम्भणहं । वम्भणहुं । आम्प्रधानानामित्यर्थं । वम्भणाणं ॥ i. e., the abl. pl. takes हं or हुं; as „it fell from the trees", „he came from foreign (countries)"; also the loc. and gen. pl. take हं and हुं, as „of Brâhmans".

2) Md. says: हिंभिस्सिसुपां ॥ त्रिष्वेषां हिं स्यात् । पुरिसहिं । वणहिं । वहुहिं ॥ i. e., all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* take हिं in the loc. and instr. plur., as „in or by men, in or by forests, in or by wifes".

in K. I. 32 (Ls. 451. 464), where हें is given for the gen. plur. Again both H. C. (4, 340) and Md. (see footnote 1, p. 205) allow the gen. suff. हुं and हुं to the loc. plur. also; vice versa, the loc. suff. हिं may have been allowed to the gen. At all events, in O. Gd., हिं is found as a suff. of the dat. (= old gen.); and in M. Gd. (S.) it appears as the obl. pl. suff. ईं (contr. for अहिं); see examples in § 365, 7. Indeed the term. अहिं seems to occur in the contracted form एं even in the Ap. Pr.; though as a term. of the instr. *sing.* (see H. C. 4, 343. K. I. 23. 24). The examples in Md. are: वणाएं *by a forest*, वालाएं *by a girl*, अग्गिएं *by fire*, वाउएं *by wind*; they would be equal to *वणाअहिं, *वालाअहि, *अग्गिअहिं, *वाउअहिं. Here एं can hardly be = Skr. term. एन (as Ls. 461); for the latter would not be added to fem. bases in आ. Moreover, as will be shown in Nro. 3, the sing. term. अहि is similarly contracted to ए. It may, also, be added that the pl. term. अहिं is similarly used as a term. of the loc. *sing.* (see K. I. 26. 27. Ls. 451. 463), as घरहिं or घरे or घरि *in a house*. In Gd., this practise of using the pl. suff. for the sing. is sometimes extended to all plur. suff. हुं, हुं, हिं; see Nro. 5. — 3) The Ap. sing. suff. हो is sometimes shortened to हु (H. C. 4, 336. 351); thus H. C. has रुक्खहु, but Md. (see footnote 2, p. 204) रुक्खहो *from a tree* or *of a tree*; sometimes even to ह, according to Ls'. conjecture of K. I. 34 (Ls. 462); e. g., अग्गिहो or अग्गिह *of fire*; sometimes even ह is dropped (H. C. 4, 345). In the form हु it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and expresses the abl. In the form ह it is often found in the O. W. H. of Chand, and expresses the gen., abl., loc., act., acc.-dat.; thus *gen.* in गोचार् पर्ह चारै सु गोर्। i. e., *the herdsman tends the cows of an other* (28, 62), or सेन भीमह करि किन्नि य। i. e., *he dispersed the Army of Bhima* (38, 41), or चक्कयो उदै क्रूरह बलिय। i. e., *he marched at the rise of mighty Saturn* (27, 47), or बन तृण मृग सिंघह हू गज। i. e., *in the forest is plenty of deer, lions and elephants* (27, 13); *abl.* in फूलह सुधार् धर्। *having adorned the body with flowers* (38, 37) or तब सुमंत पर्धानह पुहिय। i. e., *then he asked good counsel of the Premier* (28, 88);

loc. ताने कि अकासह मान दिन । *just as in the sky the measure of day*, i. e., *the sun* (26, 25), or न्याव तौ कलह् न किते । i. e., *justice is not done in the Kali age* (28, 41); *act.* बोसलह् राज कणि पुब्ब कल । i. e., *Visala rája told the whole story* (1, 82) or तप सु इंडि तुवारह् । i. e., *the Tuar has abandoned asceticism* (28, 55); *acc.* अनंगपालह् बुलाइय । i. e., *he has called Anangpála* (28, 9), or अनंगेसह् लेआउ । i. e., *bring ye Anangesa* (28, 77). The form without ह् is the common one in M. Gd.; see § 365, 6. — 4) The Ap. sg. suff. ह् of the gen. and abl. is sometimes also used as a loc. suff., e. g., एत्ताह् *now*, lit., *in that*, scl. *time* (H. C. 2, 134; the same एत्ताह् is an abl. *from that*, H. C. 3, 82. 83), or एत्तह् *in this*, तेत्तह् *in that*, scl. *place* (H. C. 4, 436). But, as a rule, it is shortened to हि, when it expresses the loc. (H. C. 4, 341. 352), e. g., कलिहि *in the Kali age*; and after *a*-bases ह् may be elided, as पच्छइ *behind, after* (H. C. 4, 420 for *पच्छहि), अग्गइ *before* (H. C. 4, 391), एम्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), but commonly the term. अहि (or अइ) is contracted to ए (H. C. 4, 334), e. g., तले *below* for *तलइ or *तलहि[1]). In this contracted form ए, it is also used in the Ap. Pr. to express the instr. sg. (of fem. nouns)[2]); see H. C. 4, 349. 333. K. I. 38 and Md. स्त्रियां च ए च स्यात् ॥ वुठिए । धेनुए । पाइए । वहुए । वालाए ॥ i. e., fem. bases also take ए (viz. besides एं, as वालाएं), as *by intelligence, by a cow, by a river, by a wife, by a girl*; contr. for *वुठिअहि, *पाइअहि (Skr. नदिकायाम्). In the form हि it still occurs in the O. P. of the Granth, to express the gen., abl., dat. and acc. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXV); also in O. H., to express the gen., abl., loc., dat. and acc.; thus *gen.* in त्राहि तुम पर् प्रीति विशेषी *there is a special love of*

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1) This ए is usually considered to be the Skr. and (Mh. Pr.) loc. suff. ए; but that old suff. is hardly likely to have survived so long; and has been, indeed, worn down to इ in Ap. (H. C. 4, 334); e. g., Ap. तल or तलि *below*; the former = Ap. तलहि, the latter = Skr. तले.

2) This cannot be the Mh. Pr. instr. suff. ए; for that suff. had already in the Mh. Pr. been (optionally) worn down to इ or अ, and, moreover, requires the lengthening of the final vowel of the base (Vr. 5, 22); thus the instr. sg. of नदी *river* is in Mh. Pr. णाईए or णाईइ or णाईअ, but in the Ap. णाइए.

the king for you (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *abl.* को किहि बंसहि उपज्यो (Chand I, 167 in Bs. II, 214), or गुरुहि पूछ करि कुलविधि राजा *the king having enquired from the Guru performed the family rites* (T. Dás in Kl. 65); *loc.* in किहि काज रिषि आयो घरहि *for what cause, Rishi, hast thou come into the house* (Chand I, 45 in Bs. II, 211); *dat.* बहु विधि चेरिहि आदर देइ *in many ways he shows honor to the bond-maid* (T. Dás in Kl. 286); *acc.* मुनि रघुबरहि प्रसंस *the sage extolled Raghubar* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); see other examples in § 365, 6. The contr. form ए is used in B. and O., to express the dat.-acc., loc. and instr.; as घरे *to or in or by a house* (see S. Ch. 59, 4. 62. Sn. 15); and in B. even for the nom. (S. Ch. 56, see § 369). In G. and Mw. it is used to express the instr. (or act.) and loc.; thus G. घरे, Mw. घरै *by or in a house* (Kl. 66, a. Ed. 31, 87. 34, d); in H., P., S. it is used for the loc.; thus घरे *in the house* (Ld. 12, 37. 77, 133. Tr. 120, 7). — 5) The Ap. Pr. gen. *plur.* suff. are sometimes used in the *sing.* Thus in the Ap., the suff. हिं (or the term. अहिं), which commonly expresses the loc. or instr. pl. (H. C. 4, 347) is often used for the loc. sg.; see K. I. 26. 27 (in Ls. 451. 462); e. g., सुरहिं or सुरे or सुरि *in a god*; and, in the contracted form एं, for the instr. sg. (H. C. 4, 343, see Nro. 2); e. g., अग्गिएं *by fire* for *अग्गिअहिं (Skr. अग्निकेन). In O. H. the suff. हिं is as often used for the dat., acc. and loc. in the sing. as in the plur.; thus *dat.* in कहु केहि रंकहिं करौं नरेसु, i. e., *say, what pauper shall I make a king* (T. Dás in Kl. 283); *loc.* in निज लोकहिं बिरंचि गये देवन्ह इहै सिखाइ। i. e., *Brahmá, having taught this the gods, went to his own world* (T. Dás in Kl. 122); *acc.* in रामहिं प्रेम समेत लखि सखिन समीप बुलाइ i. e. *beholding Ráma with affection she called near her friends* (T. Dás in Bál.), etc. Similarly it occurs in M., in the contracted form ईं, both in the loc. sg. and plur. (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); as घरीं *in a house* or *in houses* for *घरहिं; and, in the contracted form एं, in the instr. sg. (Man. 17, 45. 28, 66); e. g., घरें *by a house* for *घरहिं [1]). Also E. H.

1) This explains why the M. instr. in एं is seldom used except with the postpositions कडून् or कडून् (Man. 28, note 1); for it is really a gen.

and W. H. occasionally have it, in the contr. form ए॑ or ए, in the loc. sing.; as पाहें or पाहे॑ *behind, after* for *पच्छहिं (see § 77, exc.). Again the suff. हुं (or term. घहुं) which in Ap. Pr. expresses the abl. and loc. *plur.* (H. C. 4, 340), is used in S. for the abl. sg. in the forms घरुं or घरे॑ or उं (Tr. 118), in P. for the abl. or, occasionally, loc. sg. in the form घरे॑ (Ld. 12, 37), and in W. H. for the loc. sg. in the form उ; thus S. घरुं or घरे॑ or घरि॑, P. घरो॑ *from a house*, or P. पाछो॑, W. H. पाछ *behind, after*, for *घरहुं, *पच्छहुं. Again the suff. हिं (or termin. घहि), which in the Ap. expresses the abl. and loc. *plur.* (see Nro. 2), is used in M. for the loc. both of the sing. and plur. in the contr. form सां (Man. 17, 45. 27, 66. 28, 2); e. g., घरां *in a house* or *in houses*, for *घरहिं; also occasionally in E. H. and W. H.; e. g., E. H. इहाँ, W. H. यहाँ *here*, lit. *in this*, scl. *place*, for *एहहिं (Skr. ईदृश); in S. it forms the abl. sing. (Tr. 117, 5); e. g., घरां *from a house*, मंझां *from within*, for *मज्झहिं. Lastly the Mg. Pr. gen. plur. suff. आह (H. C. 4, 300) is used in E. H. for the obl. sing.; thus घोडआँ (के *of*) *a horse*, for Mg. घोडआह; see § 365, 4. — 6) The gen. sg. suff. हो and हे are also used in Ap. Pr. and Gḍ. to express the nom. and voc. sg. or pl.; see § 369.

368. *Origin of the gen. or obl. suffixes.* 1) The Skr. gen. sg. suff. स्य becomes in Pr. स्स (Vr. 5, 8) according to the usual phonetic laws (Ls. 274. 275; see §§ 150. 137). But though स्स is the common form, yet in the pronouns Pr. already shows a tendency to reduce it to स and to lengthen the preceding vowel (see § 150, 2); e. g., gen. masc. कास = कस्स *of whom* (Vr. 6, 5. H. C. 3, 64); neut. कीस *why* = *किस्स (Ls. 326); fem. कीसे = *किस्से (Vr. 6, 6. H. C. 3, 64). In Gḍ. this process is extended to all gen., including those of nouns, as may be seen in M. (see § 365, 1); in Br. the two pronom. gen. जास *of which*, तास *of him* (Kl. 122. 133) are its only relics. Besides स्स (K. I. 30 in Ls. 451)

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or obl. form, and as such naturally takes a postposition; see § 366, 1; if it were, as commonly supposed, identical with the old Skr. instr. in एन, the addition of the postpos. would be very superfluous and anomalous.

the Ap. Pr. has स्सु or सु; in the latter case with or without the lengthening of the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 338. 358. K. L 30); though it is not clear, how the final उ arose. Traces of this Ap. form have survived in the O. H. and Br. pronom. gen. तासु, ज्ञासु; e. g., तासु किन्नी चंद् कहिय *of him the glory Chand has told* (Chand 1, 46 in Bs. II, 316, see Kl. 122. 138). The O. W. H. of Chand has occasionally nominal gen. in ससं (perhaps = Ap. ससु); e. g., पुत्री वही उज्जेंन दिसि। पहिलै पंगस पुत्र॥ i. e., *a daughter has married in Ujainland, first the son of Panga* (25, 22). The O. P. of the Granth appears to have a gen. in सत (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). — 2) The Skr. स्य, however, also changes in Pr. to ह or हि, with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Ls. 398); the conj. स्य् becoming ह्, as in the fut. suff. हामि, हिइ् for स्यामि, स्यति (Vr. 7, 12. 13), and the vowel being lengthened by way of compensation. The form ह is limited to the Mg. Pr. (Vr. 11, 12), and हि to the abl. case (Vr. 5, 6), which is identical with the gen.[1]). Thus Pr. abl. वच्छाहि *from a calf* (lit. gen. *of a calf*), Mg. Pr. gen. वच्छाह *of a calf*, Pr. गिरीहि *from a mountain*, गुरूहि *from a teacher* (H. C. 3, 124). The Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हे is, probably, an other modification of the Skr. स्य (cf. Ls. 462), which, because of its final ए being heavy, does not lengthen the preceding vowel; as वच्छहे, गिरिहे, गुरुहे[2]). In O. Gḍ. it is shortened to हि (as वच्छहि, गिरिहि, गुरुहि), the gen. character of which is shown by its being especially used for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 6. 267, 4) or generally for the obl. in connexion with case-aff. which require the gen. (see § 366, 1. b). In that particular kind of Apabhraṃsa (probably Gujarátí or Marwárí) which is treated by H. C. 4, 350, this shortened obl. or gen. suff. हि was, in the case of masc. and neut. nouns, confined to the loc. sing., probably because the alternative gen. suff. हो or हु (see Nro. 3) were used in the gen.

1) It may be observed that even in Skr. the abl. takes the gen. suff. स्मात् in the case of all bases, exc. those in अ.

2) Exceptionally the vowel is lengthened in Mh. Pr., e. g., एत्ताहे *from that* (H. C. 3, 82), but Ap. Pr. एत्तहे (H. C. 4, 420) = Skr. इतः or एततः.

(incl. dat. and abl.). — 3) There is an other Ap. Pr. gen. suff. हो or shortened हु (H. C. 4, 336. 338)[1]), which, however, has no connection with the Skr. स्य. Its origin is obscure. Ls. 462 identifies it with an assumed Skr. suff. स्व. It seems more probably to be identical with the Skr. abl. plur. suff. भ्यस्, which in Pr. would regularly change to ब्भो or हो (cf. Pr. जीहा or जिब्भा *tongue* in H. C. 2, 57 and § 120) and easily serve as a gen. suff. also. In the Ap. of H. C. 4, 351 हुं actually occurs as an abl. and gen. *plur.* suff. The change of „number" would be analogous to that in the case of the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो which is used in the sing. also (see H. C. 3, 8. 9, see also § 367, 5). — 4) The Skr. gen. plur. suff. नाम् becomes in Pr. णं or ण (Vr. 5, 4) with the lengthening of the preceding vowel; as Skr. वत्सानाम्, Pr. वच्छाणं *of calfs.* This form has survived in M., E. H., Br. and S., see § 365, 4. — 5) The Skr. gen. pl. suff. नाम्, however, also changes in Pr. to णहं or णह, हं and हँ, the last with, the former two without the lengthening of the preceding vowel. The process is quite regular: a) Skr. न् is doubled, and the preceding long vowel shortened, as in Pr. सुण्हू = Skr. स्नुषाः, Pr. तुण्हिक्को = Skr. तूष्णीकः, Pr. थुल्लो = Skr. स्थूलः, etc. (H. C. 2, 99, see Ls. 143. 276); b) the Pr. ह् is changed to ण्ह (see § 161 and Ls. 271); c) Pr. ण्ह *ṇha* is changed to हं *haṃ* (projecting the *anusvára*, for *ṃha*), or to हँ, prolonging, in the latter case, the preceding vowel, to compensate for the loss of the *anusvára* (see §§ 143. 149). Thus, e. g., Skr. °नाम् is in Pr. *°णसं = °णहं = °हं = °हँ. The form णहं is added in Pr. to numerals only, as पंचण्हं *of five* = Skr. पञ्चानाम् (H. C. 3, 123), and exceptionally to pronouns, as कइण्हं *of how many* = Skr. कतीनाम् (H. C. 3, 123). The form हँ is added also to nouns, especially in Mg. Pr. (H. C. 4, 300). The form हं is used only in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 339). In Gḍ. all three forms are used

1) Observe that in the Ap. of H. C. the gen. suff. हो (H. C. 4, 336) becomes हु when used for the abl. (H. C. 4, 336); just as the gen. suff. हे (H. C. 4, 350) becomes हि when used for the loc. (H. C. 4, 352).

with nouns (see § 365, 4. 7); though ऱह or न is limited to E. H., Br. and S. — 6) There is also an Ap. Pr. gen. pl. suff. हुं (H. C. 4, 340), the origin of which is obscure. Ls. 463, 11 derives it from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. सुन्तो (Vr. 5, 7). It may possibly be identical with the Ap. Pr. gen. and abl. suff. हु (see Nro. 3), to which, being both plur. and sing., perhaps an inorganic *anusvára* was added, to distinguish better its plur. character by making a pair हु, हुं analogous to the other two pairs of Ap. suff., sg. ह, pl. हं, and sg. हि, pl. हिं. — 7) There is, lastly, an Ap. plur. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347) or हे" (K. I. 32 in Ls. 451). Ls. 310, 3 identifies it with the Skr. pl. instr. suff. भिस्. It is more probably identical with the Skr. abl. suff. भ्यास्[1]), which would regularly change in Pr. to हेंस or हिं (for ब्भें or ब्भिं), and easily come to be used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. (K. I. 32) and instr. or loc. (H. C. 4, 347) of the plur. Its gen. character is shown by its being still used in O. Gd. for the dat. (= old gen., see examples in §§ 365, 7. 367, 2. 5), and in S. for the act. (= old instr.) and obl. generally; thus O. H. dat. नरहिं *to men*, S. act. नरे" *by men* or obl. नरे" खे *to men*.

369. *Derivation of the direct terminations.* 1) A comparison of the various Gd. terminations of the obl. sing. and plur. with those of the dir. or nom. plur. will show at once that the latter are always identical with the former. Sometimes it is some obl. form of the sg., sometimes (apparently) of the pl.; again sometimes it is an obl. form of the same Gd., sometimes of an other, which is thus used for the nom. plur.; but in every case it is *some one* obl. form. To this rule the M. fem. and neut. nouns form the only exception. For example compare the following weak forms: a) *masc.*, the S. nom. pl. ञन *men* with the S. obl. sg. ञन *man* (nom. sg. ञनु), and the E. H. nom. pl. ञने (§ 361, exc.)

1) Even in Skr. the suff. भ्याम् is used for the instr. and dat. also, similarly the pl. abl. suff. भ्यस् for the dat. and, in the modified form भिस्, for the instr.; there is also a dat. sg. suff. भ्यम् in Skr., as तुभ्यम् *to thee*. — If हुं be rightly identified with सुंतो, हिं might be derived from the Pr. abl. pl. suff. हिंतो (Vr. 5, 7).

with the B. obl. sg. জনে; b) *fem.*, the Br. nom. pl. জীভে or জীভে *tongues* with the S. obl. pl. জিভে; the Mw., P. and S. nom. pl. জীভাঁ or জিভাঁ with the S. obl. pl. জিভাঁ; the S. nom. pl. জিভূঁ with the abl. sg. (really obl. pl., § 367, 5) জিভূঁ; the W. H., P. nom. pl. ভিত্তিযাঁ *walls* with the S. obl. pl. ভিতিযাঁ; the S. nom. pl. ভিতিউঁ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) ভিতিউঁ (or ভিতূঁ), etc. Again strong forms: a) *masc.*, P., H. H., M. nom. pl. ঘোড়ে *horses* with the P., H. H. and S. obl. sg. ঘোড়ে; the B., O., E. H., W. H., S., G. nom. pl. ঘোড়া *horses* with the B., O., E. H., W. H., G. obl. sg. ঘোড়া; b) *neut.*, the G. nom. pl. সোনাঁ *goldpieces* with the G. obl. sg. সোনাঁ; c) *fem.*, the W. H. and P. nom. pl. ঘোড়িযাঁ *mares* with the S. obl. pl. ঘোড়িযাঁ; the S. nom. pl. ঘোড়িউঁ with the S. abl. sg. (really obl. pl.) ঘোড়িউঁ; the W. H. nom. pl. পোথী *books* (Kl. 64, 130) with the P. loc. pl. পোথী *in books*[1]); the W. H. and P. nom. pl. সাসুআঁ *mothers-in-law* with the S. obl. pl. সাসুআঁ, etc. It will be observed, that in the case of fem. nouns the dir. pl. is identical with the obl. pl., but in the case of masc. and neut. it is the same as the obl. sg. The difference, however, is probably in appearance only. For, no doubt, the pl. obl. forms when employed as dir. pl. are used as sing., just as in the S. abl. and M. loc. (see § 367, 5). There can be no doubt, that these so-called nom. plur. forms are *elliptic* phrases, which must be filled up by supplying some collective noun, as লোগ *people*, গন *troup*, etc. The E. H. practice of forming the plur. by the addition of such a collective noun, illustrates this theory (§ 361). Such nouns would require the principal word to be in the *gen.* case; and this explains the use of the obl. form, which is the same as the old gen. (§ 366). In B. it is actually the gen. sg. (not merely the obl. f.), which is used to form the plur.; e. g., B. obl. f. দেবে, gen. sg. দেবে-র *of a god*, nom. pl. দেবে-রা *gods*; here রা is merely the strong form of র; see § 364, 2. Similarly in N. the plur. is an archaic form of the gen. sg., composed of the

1) The form পোথী, both in the nom. and loc. pl., is a contraction for পোথিএঁ = Ap. পোথিঅহিং.

gen.-affix हु (for कहु or केहु, § 377) and the O. Gḍ. gen. sg. in हे or ह (§ 365, 6). Thus O. Gḍ. gen. or obl. sg. देवहे or देवह, N. nom. pl. देवहे-हु or देवह-हु *gods*; see also § 364, 3. Thus the H. H., P. or S. nom. pl. घोड *horses* is really as much as Ap. Pr. घोडहँ scil. गणु = Skr. घोटकस्य गणः, lit. *a troop of horse*. The nom. pl. of nouns in इ, उ, ई, ऊ is, of course, of the same character; though it does not come out so strikingly. — 2) The obl. sg. is sometimes even used to form the nom. sing. Thus always in the long forms: e. g., E. H. nom. sg. रामवा or रामवाँ, M. राम्या (for *रामया) *Ráma* = obl. form E. H. रामवा or रामवाँ, M. राम्या = A. Mg. or Dk. Pr. gen. sg. रामस्राह or pl. रामस्राहँ (see § 365, 1. 4)[1]). But sometimes also in masc. short forms; viz. in B. weak forms in ब, and B., P., Br. and H. H. strong forms in आ. Thus in B. the nom. sg. may be देवे *a god*, घोडाए *a horse* (for the usual देव, घोडा), both obl. forms = O. Gḍ. gen. sg. देवहि, घोडाहि (§ 365, 6); see S. Ch. 56, where these nom. are described as loc. Again P. or Br. or H. H. nom. sg. घोडा *a horse* = O. Gḍ. gen. or obl. sg. घोडाह or घोडस्रह, Ap. Pr. घोडस्रहो. With these exceptions, the nom. sg. of short forms in all Gḍs. is simply a modified form of the Pr. nom. sg., as explained in §§ 40—54. Thus S., G., Mw. घोडो, Br. घोडौ = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. घोडउ, Pr. घोडओ; E. H., B., O., M. घोडा = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. घोडअ or घोडइ or घोडए (Vr. 11, 10) = Skr. घोटकः; again E. H., B., O., M. देव *a god* = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. देव or देवि or देवे; W. H., P., G., N. देव or S., O. W. H., O. P. देवु = Ap. Pr. nom. sg. देवु, Pr. देवो, Skr. देवः. — 3) The nom. pl. of fem. and neut. nouns in M. is identical with the old Pr. nom. pl. The suff. of the nom. pl. neut. is in Pr. इं (Vr. 5, 26 = Skr. नि), before which the final vowel of the base is lengthened; in the Ap. Pr. it is also इं, but without lengthening the preceding vowel (H. C. 4, 353). Hence the termin. are in Mh. Pr. आइं, ईइं, ऊइं, in Ap. Pr. अइं, इइं, उइं, or with strong bases अस्रइं, इस्रइं, उस्रइं. These be-

1) Not = Mg. Pr. nom. sg. रामए; for ए could not well become आ; and it would not account for the final *anunásika* in E. H.

come in M. एँ (इँ and उँ *desunt*) or, with strong bases, एँ or ईं, ऐं, ऐं. Thus M. घरं *houses*, Ap. घराइं, Pr. घराइं, Skr. गृहाणि; M. वाँसो *calves*, Ap. वच्छउआइं, Skr. वत्स°; M. केलो *plantains*, Ap. केलआइं, Pr. कयलआइं (H. C. 1, 167), Skr. कदलकाणि; M. मोत्तं *pearls*, Ap. मोत्तिआइं, Pr. मोत्तिआइं, Skr. मौक्तिकानि; M. अंसु (or अंसव), Ap. अंसुआइं, Pr. अंसुआइं, Skr. अश्रुकाणि. — 4) The suff. of the nom. plur. fem. is in Pr. ओ or उ or may be dropped altogether (Vr. 5, 19. 20); so also in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 344. 348). Thus M. जीभा *tongues* (nom. pl. of जीभ), Pr. जिब्भा or जिब्भाउ or जिब्भाओ, Skr. जिह्वाः; or M. घोड्या *mares*, Pr. घोडिआ or घोडिआउ or घोडिआओ, Skr. घोटिकाः; or M. सासा (or सासवा) *mothers-in-law*, Pr. सासुआ or सासुआउ or सासुआओ, Skr. श्वश्रुकाः. — 5) The use of the gen. sg. (or obl. form) for the nom. sg. or pl. is expressly taught by Md. for the Ap. Pr. As this is a point of some importance, I will quote his rules on the subject. They are: a) उत्सुमोः ॥ सुमोर्हूत् स्यात् ॥ चन्दु । राउ । वग्गिउ । महुउ, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331), i. e., *a*-bases have *u* in the nom. and acc. sg., as *moon*, *king*, *fire*, *honey*; b) होह ॥ सुमोर् हो च स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो ॥ i. e., they have also *ho* (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 338) in the nom. and acc. sg., as *tree*; c) सो पुंस्य् अत ओ क्वचित् ॥ सप्पो ॥ i. e., masc. *a*-bases have sometimes *o* (cf. H. C. 4, 332), as *serpent*; d) तसो हे च ॥ रुक्खहे । वालाहे ॥ *a*-bases have also हे (gen. suff., see H. C. 4, 350) in the nom. plur., as *trees*, *girls*; e) स्त्रियाम् उच् च तश्शसोः ॥ वालाउ ॥ चकारादू वालाहे ॥ i. e., fem. *a*-bases have *u* (cf. H. C. 4, 348) or हे in the nom. and acc. plur., as *girls*; f) इं नपुंसके दीर्घो वा ॥ नपुंसके तश्शसोरू इं स्यात् ॥ प्राग् दीर्घो वा ॥ वणाइं । वणाइं ॥ मुहइं । मुहुइं ॥ i. e., neut. bases have इं in the nom. acc. pl., and the preceding vowel may be long, as *woods*, *honeys*. — 6) It may be further observed, that the voc. sg. and pl. throughout the Gḍs. is identical with some one Gḍ. form of the obl. sg. or nom. pl. Thus in *masc.*; E. H. obl. sg., voc. sg., nom. pl. alike घोडा (*of a*) *horse*, *oh horse*, or *horses*; H. H. and P. obl. sg., voc. sg. and nom. pl. alike घोडे; voc. pl. H. H. घोडो, P. घोडिउ (= *घोडयु or *घोडउ); S. nom. pl. and voc. sg. घोडा, voc. pl. घोडा or घोडउ or घोडो; G. obl. sg. and voc. sg. घोडा, nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाउ or घोडाव् (or घोडाओ); M. obl. sg. घोड्या,

nom. pl. घोडे, voc. sg. घोड्या or घोड. So also in fem. nouns[1]). The identity of the voc. sg. and pl. with the obl. sg. and nom. pl. is expressly taught by Pr. Gramm., who ascribe the two suff. of the gen. sg. हो and हे to the voc. Thus Md. states: सम्बुठौ सौ हे च ॥ स्त्रियाम् इत्य् एव ॥ बालाहे । पाइहे ॥ चकारान् महाराष्ट्रीवच् च ॥ i. e., the voc. sg. of fem. only takes *he*. The Mh. Pr. forms would be बाले, पाइ. The latter forms alone are enjoined by K. I. 17, 18 (in Ls. 450), who does not identify them with the Mh. Pr. forms. In this he is correct; for बाले is a mere contraction for बालहे or बालहि; and पाइ has dropped the suff. हे or ह, just as in the obl. or gen. sg. (cf. H. C. 4, 345). The form ए is preserved in P. fem. nouns; as जिभे *oh tongue*, माबे *oh mother*, धीए *oh daughter*; but also extended to masc. sg.; as घोडे *oh horse*, and to masc. pl., as देवे *oh gods*. Again Md. continues: त्रिषु हो ज्ञसः ॥ त्रिषु ज्ञसो हो स्यात् ॥ रुक्खहो । वणाहो । पाइहो ॥ i. e., the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* takes *ho*. So also H. C. 4, 346 and K. I. 29 (in Ls. 450). In M. Gd. the suff. हो becomes उ (for हु) or ष (for ह), which are contracted with a preceding ष to ओ or आ respectively; e. g., P. voc. pl. घोडीउ *oh mares* = घोडिष्हु (with ई for इष) = Ap. घोडिष्हो; or S. नरो or नरा *oh men* for *नरउ or *नरष = *नरहु or *नरव्, Ap. णरहो. Gd. extends the contr. form आ even to the sing.; e. g., P. voc. sg. देवा *oh god*, but voc. pl. देवे *oh gods*; the former being derived from Ap. देवहो, the latter from Ap. देवहे. Indeed, as such it is noticed by K. I. 26 (in Ls. 450) as already occurring in the Ap. Pr. The general result seems to be, that in the Ap. Pr. both हे and हो or its modifications are used to form both the voc. sing. and the voc. pl. of all bases in *a*, *i*, *u* whether masc., fem. or neut.

4. CASE.

370. There are seven cases, viz. nominative (incl. vocative), accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

1) Exceptionally, the voc. pl. is the same as the obl. pl.; e. g., Mw. nom. pl. and voc. pl. घोडाँ *oh horses* or *(of) horses*.

The nom. serves also as the voc., and in that case some interjection, as हे, रे or अरे, is generally prefixed; e. g., nom. राम् *Ráma*, voc. हे राम् *oh! Ráma*; nom. बेटा, voc. अरे बेटा *oh! son*; nom. दुर्गा, voc. रे दुर्गा *oh! Durgá*, etc. The E. H. has no (eighth) case of the „agent", or (as I shall call it) *active case*.

371. *The active case.* The absence of the act. case in E. H. is a point of great importance, as it helps to determine its affiliation or position with regard to the other Gḍ. languages. This case is one of the main features that distinguish the W. and S. Gḍs. from the E. Gḍs. The latter are without it; the former possess it. E. H., therefore, as not having the act. case, belongs to the E. Gḍ. group, and is more nearly allied to B. and O., than to W. H. — The rationale of the act. case is as follows. The old organic past tenses active of the Skr., mostly very complicated forms, were in Pr. already disused (cf. Wb. Spt. §3) with a few fragmentary and rare exceptions (cf. Vr. 7, 23. 24. H. C. 3, 162. 163). The inconvenience of this want was obviated by the simple expedient of giving to the sentence the passive construction; thereby turning the subject or nom. case into the instr. case and the past tense act. into the past part. pass. This method of expressing the past act. was already much used in Skr.; and in Pr. it has become the common one; thus „they have not devoured that" may be in Skr. ते एतद् न अचेरुः or in pass. constr. तैर् एतद् अनाचीर्णम्; but in Pr. only the latter तहिं एअं अणाइण्णं (cf. H. C. 3, 134). But there is yet a simpler way of using the pass. constr.; viz., by employing the past part. pass. in an *act. sense*, whereby the change of the nom. case into the instr. in the subj. becomes unnecessary. This practise may have originated from the use of the past part. pass. of intrans. verbs in an act. sense, which is very common in Skr.; as अहं गतः *I went* for अहं अगाम. In Pr. it is already found occasionally extended to trans. verbs (cf. Gl. in J. G. O. S. XXVII, 492), as *Sctub.* 6, 51 आहण्णा दीसिउं णिसिअरच्छाया *the shadows of the night-walkers began to be seen* (Skr. निशिचरच्छाया दृष्टुम् आरब्धाः), and intrans., ibid. 8, 30 दीसिउं पउत्तं

सेउबंधस्स मुहं *the head of the bridge began to be seen*, or ibid. 7, 71 घेप्पिउं पउत्ता पक्खिणो *the monkeys began to be taken*, etc. Now of these two methods of using the past part. pass. to supply the past tense act., the former, i. e., *the real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case*, was adopted by the W. and S. Gḍs., while the other, i. e., (what I may call) *the pass.-act. constr. with the subj. in the nom. case*, was chosen by the E. and N. Gḍs., and, of course, these latter make the past part. pass. to agree in number and gender with the subj. Thus „*they have not eaten that*" is in E. H. ईलोग् उ न खैलेन्, in W. H. इन्हों ने वह न खायौ. Here खैलेन् is the 3d plur. masc. 2nd pret. (formed from the past part. pass. खैल् or खायल्, see § 307), agreeing with the nom. ईलोग् and governing the acc. उ; while खायौ is the nom. sg. masc. (of the past part. pass. खायौ) agreeing with वह् and governed by the instr. or rather act. इन्हों ने. — It has been stated already (§ 366, 1. d) that the tendency of the later Pr. was to substitute the gen. for every other case. Thus the example of the gen. in the place of the instr., given by H. C. 3, 134, is तेसिं एवं भणाइअं, where तेसिं is the gen. plur. (= Skr. तेषाम्) for the instr. तेहिं (= Skr. तैः)[1]. It has also been stated (ibid.) that this Pr. tendency has become in Gḍ. an absolute law, and also, that the Gḍ. so-called obl. form is identical with the old Pr. gen. Hence, as regards the W. Gḍ. and S. Gḍ., their method of expressing the past tense act. by means of the *real pass. constr. with the subj. in the instr. case*, may now be stated thus, that they express it by means of the *past part. pass. with the subj. in the obl. form* (= old gen.-instr.). Now there is every reason to believe, that this was once the universal usage in the whole of the W. and S. Gḍ.; that is, that in the pass. constr. the mere obl. form was used without the addition of any affix (ने or

1) His other examples are: धणास्स लद्धो for धणेण लद्धो *acquired with money*, or चिरस्स मुक्का for चिरेण मुक्का *long delivered*; here the gen.-instr. has not the sense of the act.

नें). Thus in the O. H. (of Chand, Kabir, Behárí Lál, etc.) the aff. never or very rarely occurs [1]). In O. S. it cannot have been used; for it does not exist even in the M. S. Nor was it used in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI); nor, as far as I can ascertain, in O. M. (see Man. 138) and O. G. Even in the modern S. (Tr. 113, 3) and Mw. (Kl. 66, 132. a) it is always omitted; also, as a rule, in G. (Ed. 87) and not, unfrequently, in Br. (Kl. 287, 543) and P. (Ld. 7, 22. 73, 119). Indeed, it may be said to be really confined to the literary forms of the Gd. languages and, therefore, to be comparatively modern. Such, at all events, is the case with Hindí, where it is confined to the H. H. (or Urdu) and originated at the same time with the literary cultivation of the language. The latter took place in the sixteenth century around the centre of the Moghul empire in Western Hindústán. In the low dialects of those parts the following dat. aff. are in use, G. नें, Mw. नैं, P. नूं; and it so happens that in G. the same aff. नें is also used as an aff. of the act. case in the pass. constr. It may be concluded, therefore, that the founders of the H. H. adopted what they found current as a dat. aff. in their regions for the act. case also. It should be remembered, that the mere obl. f. which originally was the act. case was often outwardly not to be distinguished from the nom. This was too inconvenient for a literary language which necessarily aims at grammatical precision. Seeing, then, two dat. aff. current in different parts of their neighbourhood (viz., कौं or कों in Br., नैं or नें in Mw.) they assumed one (ने) for the act., while they reserved the other (को) for the dat.; and thus, as will be seen, any confusion between the act. and the dat. in H. H. was avoided. Possibly, the dat. aff. ने was already employed, in some cases, by the common people (as in G.) to signify the act., and thus a precedent was

1) It must be remembered, that in many cases the obl. f. happens not to differ from the dir. or nom.; thus in Pr. R. 1, 49 (in Bs. II, 267) दुज and राज are not nom., but obl. f., just as तिन and तिहि in the other cited verses.

afforded. The choice of the dat. aff. to supply an affix of the act. must have been felt to be natural; for it has merely the general sense of „referring to". An affix, having such a vague and general meaning, might well be employed to express any relation in which a noun may stand in a sentence. — This theory of the identity of the act. aff. with that of the dat., with which I entirely agree, was, I believe, first propounded by Beames (II, 270). The common theory of its identity with the Skr. instr. termin. एन or ना can hardly be seriously maintained, and has been well refuted by the same writer (ibid. 266). — It should be mentioned, that G. and Mw. employ a special obl. f. in ए or ऐ for the act. case sing., their general obl. f. ending in आ, see § 366, 2; while S. uses its general obl. f. for the act. case also. — The various act. case-aff. are: H. H. ने, Br. नें, M. sg. ने or pl. नीं, P. नै, G. ने or णे, N. ले. The aff. णे in G. and हों, सों or शीं in M. do not belong to the act., but to the instr. or abl., just as से in E. H. (see §§ 372. 376). — N. alone has the curious anomaly of using the act. case with ले together with the act.-pass. constr.; i. e., of constructing the subj. like the W. Gds., but the verb like the E. Gds. (see § 487).

Note: On the derivation of the act.-dat. affixes see § 375.

372. All cases, exc. the nom. and acc. (*proper*) are formed by adding to the obl. form of the noun certain affixes which are the same for both numbers. These are the following: instr. or abl. से *by, with* or *from*; dat. के *to,* gen. कौ, के or कऱ्, करे *of,* loc. मे *in.* The acc. proper is identical with the nom.; but commonly, as in all Gds., the dat. is substituted for the acc. See paradigms in § 379.

Notes: The following aff. are also sometimes used: dat. कहं, abl. सों or सेब or ते or णीं, loc. में or म or माँ or माँक or माँही.

373. For the gen., there are two sets of aff.; 1) कौ and के, 2) कऱ् and करे. Of these two sets, nouns (i. e., subst., adj., and numer.) may affix only the former (कौ, के), while pron. may

take either pair at pleasure. Of the two members of each pair the former (कै, करू) are used when the governing word is in the nom. or acc. proper; the latter (के, करे) when it is in any obl. case. The number and gender of the governing word make no difference in this respect. Thus घरू कै मामो आवत् आ *the master of the house is coming*; घरू के सामी से कहहू *tell ye the master of the house*; घरू कै लोग् आवत् आहैं *the people of the house are coming*; घरू के तिरियालोगन् के बुलावहू *call ye the women of the house*. Again ई घोकरू or घोकै घरू आहै *this is his house*; ऊ एू करे or एू के घरू में आहै *he is in his house*; ऊ एू करू or एू कै पोथो आहैं *those are his books*; ऊ एकरे or एके पोथो में पढ़ैला *he reads in his book*.

374. *Affinities.* Besides the want of the act. case (§ 370), E. H. shows its affinity to E. Gḍ., as against W. Gḍ., also in the government of the gen. aff. In the W. Gḍ. the form of the aff. changes not only with the case, but also with the number and gender of the governing word; it is for the *nom. sg. masc.* Br. कौ, H. H. का, Kn. को, Mw. रो, G. नो, P. दा, S. ज़ो; *obl. sg. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा or रै, G. ना, P. दे, S. ज़े; *nom. sg. ncut.* G. नुँ; *obl. sg. neut.* G. नाँ; *nom. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ज़ो; *obl. sg. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नी, P. दी, S. ज़े or ज़िअ; *nom. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे, S. ज़ा; *obl. pl. masc.* Br., H. H., Kn. के, Mw. रा, G. ना or नाव्, P. दे or दिअाँ, S. ज़े or ज़नि; *nom. pl. neut.* G. नाँ or नाँव्, *obl. dto.*; *nom. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीआँ, S. ज़ूँ or ज़िउँ; *obl. pl. fem.* Br., H. H., Kn. की, Mw. री, G. नीउ, P. दीआँ, S. ज़े or ज़िनि or ज़ुनि or ज़िअनि or ज़िउनि (see Ld. 7. Tr. 129). The S. Gḍ. and N. Gḍ. follow the W. Gḍ. practice; thus *nom. sg. masc.* M. चा, N. को, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. sg. neut.* M. चें, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. sg. fem.* M. ची, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की; *nom. pl. masc.* M. चे, N. का, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. का; *nom. pl. neut.* M. चीं, *obl.* चे or च्या; *nom. pl. fem.* M. च्या, N. की, *obl.* M. चे or च्या, N. की (see M. 27. 41). On the other hand, in B. and O. the form of the gen. aff. never changes; not even, as in E. H., with

the case. — The case-aff. have a great variety of forms in the different Gds.; they are exhibited in the subjoined table.

	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.
dat. acc.	के	कु or कि	के	को	कौं	नै
abl. instr.	हुंते	हु, कहु	से	से	सों	नूँ
gen.	रु	रु, करु	कै, करु	का	कौ	रो
loc.	ते	रे, करे	मे	में	में	माँ
act.	—	—	—	ने	ने	obl.

	G.	P.	S.	M.	N.
dat. acc.	ने	नूँ	खे	ला	लाई
abl. instr.	थी	ते	खों, खाँ	थी, हीं, हून्, ऊन्	सॉं
gen.	नो	दा	जो	चा	को
loc.	माँ	मै	में	'त्	मा
act.	obl. or ने	नै	obl.	नें	ले

Besides these affixes which are allotted to particular *cases*, there is a large number of others, which are used to modify the noun in various senses which may, in a general way, be referred to the dat., abl. or loc. These may be divided into two classes, according as they are or are not added to the obl. form of the noun by means of the gen. aff. In the former case, I shall call them *postpositions*, in the latter, *affixes*. Many of them, however, belong to both classes, sometimes in the same, sometimes in different languages; e. g., E. H. बदे is a postpos. in के करू बदे *what for*, but an aff. in केहु बदे *what for*; again लये or लिये is a postpos. in E. H., W. H. घरू के लये or लिये *for the sake of the house*, but an aff. in S. घरू लइ (Tr. 404). The following list contains most of these aff. or postpos.; their meanings (indicated by numbers) generally are; *for* or *to* 1, *till* or *up to* 2, *with* 3, *by* 4, *from* 5, *in* or *at* 6. Thus a) (Skr. लग्), B. लागात् or O. B. लागि, E. H. लग्, लगि 2, W. H. लागि 1, S. लगे or लगि 1, G. लगी 1, M. लागीं or लागुनि 1, N. लागी 1; b) (Skr. लब्ध), E. H. लिये 1, W. H.

लयं or लए or लये or लो or लो 2, P. लई 1, S. लाइ or लइ 1, G. लीधे 1, M. ला 1, N. लाई 1; c) (Skr. स्थान), B. ठाई 1, चक्र 5, O. ठा-रे 1, ठा-ह or हुँ or ठाउँ 5, E. H. थो 5, W. H. थो 5, G. थी 5, P. थो or थो or O. P. थाउहु or थो or थो 5, ठाइ or थानि 1, N. थाचि 5 or 6, M. ठाई 6; d) (Skr. कर्ण), W. H. कने or कनै or कानो or कणि 1, P. कनी 1, G. कान 1, S. काणे or काणि or कने or कनि 1, कनाँ or कनो 5; e) (Skr. पक्ष), B. पक्षे or पाके, E. H. पाहो, W. H. पै, P. पाहो 5; f) (Skr. कक्ष), B. काहे or के 1, O. कु or कि 1, E. H. के or कहँ 1, Br. को 1, H. H. को 1, O. H. कहं or कहुं or कहूं or काहुं 1, O. P. कह or कहु or कउ or को or कू or कूँ 1, S. के 1 or कहाँ or को 5; g) (Skr. तरित?), B. तक् 2, ते 6, E. H. तक् 2, ते 5, W. H. तक् or तलक् or ताईं or तईं 2, ते or तें 5, P. ताईं or तोकु or तोकुर् or तगी 2, त or उतो or उतहाँ 5, S. ताई or तोई or तोडी or तांणो 2, तहाँ or तो 5, ते 6; h) (Skr. व्यर्थ), E. H. बादे 1, S. वटे 1, वादाँ 5, G. वधे 1, N. बाट 5; i) (Skr. वर्), E. H. वर् 1, M. वरन्न 5; k) (Skr. कार्य), E. H. काज् 1, O. H. काज 1; l) (Skr. कृत), S. करे or करि 1, M. करून 5, करितां 1; m) (Skr. सर्व), M. साठी; n) (Skr. सङ्ग), B. सने 3, E. H. सन् or सने or सन् or सनो 3, W. H. सणि 1, P. सणे 1, S. सणि or सणाँ 1, सणु or साणु 5, N. सँगे 5; o) (Skr. सदृश), Mw. सार् or सार् 1, S. सार् 1, G. सार् 1; p) (Skr. समाधा?), W. H. सूधे 2, S. सूधाँ 5; q) (Skr. भवन्त°), B. हउते 5, O. H. हुंतो or हूंतो 5, N. भन्दा 5; r) (Skr. कृत्वा), B. करिया 4, E. H. करू or करि 4, W. H. करि or करके 4, P. करके 4; s) (Skr. दत्त्वा), B. दिया 4; t) (Skr. पार्श्व), E. H., W. H. पास 6, P. पास 6, पासो 5, S. and G. पास 6, M. पासो 6, पासून 5; u) (Skr. पर), B. पर् or परे 6, E. H. पर् or परि 6, W. H. पर् or परि or पै 6, P. पर् 6, परो 5, S. परे 6, पराँ or परो 5; v) (Skr. मध्य), B. मध्य or मध्ये or माके 6, E. H. माँझ् or माँही or में or मे or मा or म 6, W. H. में or मो or माँ or माँझ् or मई or माहे 6, O. H. मधि or मठि or मकि or माँझ or मद्धं or माहें or माँहो or माही or महि or मैं 6, O. P. मै or माहि 6, S. मंझे or मे 6, माँ or मो 5, G. मां 6, O. M. मातै 6, M. मध्ये 6; w) (Skr. अभ्यन्तर), B. भितर् or भितरे 6, E. H. and W. H. भीतर् 6; x) (Skr. कठ), M. कडे 6, कडून् 5; y) (Skr. मस्त), S. मथे 6, G. माहे 1, N. माथि 6; z) (Skr. सिरस्), P. सिर् 6, S. सिरे 6; aa) (Skr. वृत्य), W. H. बीच् 6, P. विचू 6, O. P. विचि 6, S. विचे 6; and others.

375. *Derivation of the dat. affixes.* 1) In B. there is a dat. postpos. काहे (S. Ch. 62, 215) meaning lit. *near*; and the O. H. has a dat. aff. कहँ or कहुँ or कहूँ or काहूँ, which often also means *near, by the side of*; e. g., ऋधि सिधि संपति नदी सुहाई । उमगि अवध अंबुधि कहँ आई ॥ i. e., *fair rivers of prosperity, success, wealth, overflowing came near to the sea of Avadh* (see Bs. II, 253 where some more examples will be found). This points to the Skr. loc. कक्षे *at the side of* as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be कच्छे (as in B.), or *ककखे or *ककखहुं (see § 378) or probably *कहे or *कहि or *कहहुं (or *काहहुं, see § 116). The latter would contract in O. H. to कहँ (or काहूँ), and in M. W. H. to कौं or (with the loss of anunásika) in H. H. को. The former, कहि, contracts in E. H. and B. to कें (see S. Ch. 49) and is shortened in O. to कि (Sn. 13). Similarly the O. कु (Sn. 13) is a shortened form of the H. H. को (= कहुँ). The S. के has arisen from कहे or कहि by the metathesis of ह, just as in भैंस् *buffalo* for वहिस or महिस, गधा *donkey* for गद्दहा (Pr. गद्दहं H. C. 2, 37). — 2) Again the G. has the dat. postpos. लीधे *for* (Ed. 115) and W. H. लय or लये or लए (Kl. 273, 508), H. H. लिये, S. लाइ or लई (Tr. 404), P. लई. These are identical with the past part. G. लीधो, W. H. लयो, H. H. लिया (see § 307) = Skr. लब्धः *obtained, benefited.* This points to the Skr. loc. लब्धे lit. *for the benefit of* (lat. *commodo*) as their source. In the Ap. Pr. it would be *लहिए or *लहिअहिं or (eliding ह) लइए or लइअहिं, whence contr. W. H. लये or लये or P. लई, and still more contr. ले or *लें. The form ले exists in N. as an act. aff. (§ 371); but लें and ले further change to Mw. नें and G. ने, which latter is used in W. H. as an act. aff. (§ 371). The change of ल् to न् occurs also in the B. नेउन् (S. Ch. 189) and O. नेबा (Sn. 36) *to obtain* = H. H. लेना, E. H. लेब्. The contraction of लये to ले is like that of the Br. भये or हुवे to भे or हे *they were* (Kl. 225, 438. 201). Another Ap. loc. would be *लहिअहुं or *लइअहुं (see §§ 307. 378, 3) which would contract to *लयूँ or लौं or लों. The last two forms exist in W. H. in the sense of *up to, until.* From लौं arises the P. dat. aff. नूँ. Those forms of this dat. aff.

which have ला, as N. लाई, S. लाइ, M. ला, are probably to be referred to the Ap. Pr. loc. लाहि or लाहे, Skr. लाभे lit. *for the benefit of.* — 3) There is another set of dat. postpos. which has been much confused with the preceding one, though it is of an entirely different origin; viz. E. H. लग् or लगि, W. H. लागि, S. लगे or लगि, G. लगी, N. लागी, M. लागीं, H. H. लग्. It means *up to, until,* or *on account of, for,* and is derived from the Skr. loc. लग्ने lit. *in contact with.* In the Ap. Pr. it is लग्गे or लग्गि, whence the Gd. लगे or लगि or लग् or लागि; or Ap. Pr. लग्गहिं, whence the Gd. लागीं or लागी or लागी [1]). P. has also the abl. postpos. लागों and S. लाकूं (Tr. 401, ?लागूं ?) *from up* = Ap. Pr. abl. लग्गहुं. — 4) The dat. postpos., B. ठाईं and O. ठा-रे, are clearly the same as the Ap. Pr. loc. ठाणि or ठाणे, Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; B. also uses the tats. स्थान itself. — 5) The M. साठीं (in the so-called postpos. साठों, see § 365, 1) is = Ap. Pr. loc. सट्ठिहिं, Skr. अर्थे lit. *in the interest of.* — 5) The B. पाके (for पाखे, see § 145, note), E. H. and W. H. जाहीं or पे, P. पाइ (Ld. 74) are = Ap. loc. *पक्खे or *पाहे or *पाहहिं, Skr. पक्षे lit. *at the side of* (see § 116); B. also uses the tats. पक्षे; and P. has also an abl. postpos. पाहों (Ld. 74) = Ap. *पाहहुं. — 6) The set, W. H. कणि (Km., see Kl. 69) or कने (Br.) or कनें or कानों (Mw.), P. कन्नों, S. कने or कनि or काने or कानि (Tr. 401. 407), G. कानें, which is also used in the lit. sense of *at the side of,* is = Ap. loc. कण्णे or कण्णहिं and probably (as Tr. 401) = Skr. कर्णे or कर्णों (lit. *at the ear* or *belonging to the ear,* i. e., *side*). — 7) The forms, B., E. H., W. H. तक् or तलक्, W. H. ताईं or ताईं, P. ताईं or तोकुं or तोकुं or तेड़ो (Ld. 76. 126), S. ताईं or तोईं or तोड़ो or तोपी (Tr. 399) meaning *up to, till, to,* I believe, form one set, together with the abl. aff., W. H. तें, तें, P. तें, उतों, उतहुं (Ld. 77), S. तहुं, तों (Tr. 400), meaning *from up to,* and the loc. aff., B., P., S. तें

1) The O. M. लगुनि or लागोनि is the conj. part. of the same verb, = Pr. लग्गिऊण; so also might be the G. लगी = Pr. लग्गिअ; but not (as Bs. II, 260. 261) the M. लागों, on account of the final *anusvâra.*

on, upon (S. Ch. 49. Ld. 77. Tr. 400). I am inclined to connect them with the Skr. past. part. तृप्त (or उत्तृप्त, of the R. तृ) *passed to*, hence *up-to, upon, from-upon*. The loc. तृप्ते would become Ap. तृप्पि or *तड्ढि (see § 124) and contract to Gḍ. ते, just as Gḍ. ले arises from लहिए, etc. (see above Nro. 2). The elements क्, कु I take to be the dat. aff. कि, कु (as in O.), and the elements गी, णी to be pleon. suff. (see § 209). — 8) The set, Mw. साऱ् or साऱ्, S. साऱ्, G. साहु, which mean lit. *conformable to* (Tr. 400) and thence *for the sake of*, I connect with the Skr. सदृश *like*, Ap. obl. (or loc.) सरिहु or सरिअहु (cf. § 292). — 9) The dat. aff., W. H. सणि (Km., see Kl. 69), S. साँगे (Tr. 407), meaning *on account of, for*, together with the abl. aff., E. H. सन् or सने or सेन् or सेनी *with, from*, P. सणे *with* (Ld. 74), S. साणु or सेणु *with* (Tr. 401), N. साँग *from*, S. साँगाँ *on account of* (Tr. 407), I connect with the Skr. सङ्ग, which may mean *in company with* (from R. सम् + गम्) or *in attachment to* (from R. सञ्ज्). The conj. ञ् would readily pass into ण् or न्, cf. पण for पञ्च (H. C. 2, 43. Wb. Bh. 403, see also p. 21). — 10) The W. H. सूधी (Kl. 69) *up-to, till* and S. सूधाँ *along with* (Tr. 401), the former a loc., the latter an abl., I would connect with some derivative of the R. समाधा (Ap. *सवँड or *सउँठ), meaning *collected, adjusted*, whence *with* or *up-to*. — 11) The dat. aff., E. H. वाटे, S. वटे (Tr. 402), G. वते (Ed. 115), meaning *for* or *instead*, and the abl. aff., N. वाटू, S. वटाँ *from* (Tr. 402), I connect with the Skr. वार्त्त (or वर्त्त or वृत्त) *welfare*, Pr. वट्ट or वत्त (cf. H. C. 2, 29. 30), loc. वार्त्ते lit. *in favor of, for*, whence *in place of, instead*. — 12) The dat. aff. E. H. वरे and the abl. aff. M. वरून् are derived from the Skr. वर् *boon, advantage*. — 13) The E. H. कारू is the Pr. loc. कज्जे, Skr. कार्ये *for the work* or *sake of*. — 14) The S. करे or करि is contracted for *करिए = Skr. कृते *for the sake of*, and the corresponding abl. aff. is the M. कारणू; similar is the M. dat. aff. करिताँ which is apparently a loc. sg. of the pres. part. (see §§ 300. 307). — 15) As to the relics, in M., of the organic dat. in -सासू, ईसू, उसू sg. and साँना, ईंना, उँना plur., see § 865, 1. 4.

Note: I think the identification of the B. के with °कहे more consonant with Gḍ. analogy (see § 132, note) than Trumpp's theory that के = Skr. कृते, by the loss of ऋ and consequent aspiration of क् (i. e., कृते = क्रित = क्रिए = के Tr. 115). For this process there is, I believe, no analogy in Gḍ. The examples, to which Tr. refers (मर्धगु *tabor*, हिर्धा *heart*, for Skr. मृदङ्ग *a drum*, हृदय *heart* Tr. V.), are not analogous. For 1) ऋ has *not* disappeared, and 2) it has aspirated the *following*, not the preceding cons.; whereas, in the case of के, it is the preceding cons., and ऋ has *disappeared*. According to the adduced analogy, Skr. कृते would become क्रिचे, not के. There is *one* really analogous case in Pr. in the adverbial suff. त्र, for which Pr. has त्थ (e. g., Pr. एत्थ or एत्थु *here* = Skr. अत्र), but the case is unique, and the identification of त्थ with त्र (Lg. 251) is, to my mind, doubtful, see § 469. — Beames' remarks on my theory (II, 258) are founded on a misunderstanding. I hold that both the W. H. को and the B. काहे are the same words, in as much as both are *various* modifications of the same Skr. words; and that the H. form represents a later phase of phonetic development than the B. form, in as much as B. has preserved the aspirate cons. of the Pr., while H. has worn it down to the simple aspirate ह् (in कहुं) and even dropped it altogether (in कों, को); but not, that the one is actually derived from the other. The H. form comes after the B. *phonetically*, though not *historically*; only in this sense can one be said to be *derived from* the other.

376. *Derivation of the abl. and instr. affixes.* 1) Pr. has the instr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो (Vr. 5, 7), both in the plur. (H. C. 3, 7), but हिंतो also in the sing. (H. C. 3, 8). Of these the former contracts to M. हों, the latter to E. H., W. H. सों, Mw. सूं, G. थूं; similarly as the 3. pl. pres. termin. Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अंति contracts in Gḍ. ऐं or एं or ईं (see § 497, 2 *f.*). In the Ap. Pr., there is an abl. aff. होंतहो or होंतउ (H. C. 4, 355), which appears in O. H. (Chand) as हुंतो or हूँत[1]). These forms

1) हूँत् is a wk. f. = Ap. Pr. होंतु or हुंतु.

are really part. pres. of the verb भू *to be* (cf. H. C. 3, 180). The modern B. has still an abl. aff. हइते, and N. भंदा, which are part. pres. (cf. S. Ch. 148, and see § 300), representing the Pr. forms हवंत° and भवंत or भंत (cf. H. C. 4, 60 हवंति and H. C. 4, 365 भंति = Skr. भवंति *they are*). The rationale of this usage may be explained (as Bs. II, 237) „by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place, but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it"; thus Ap. तहाँ होंतउ आगदो (H. C. 4, 355), O. H. तहाँ हुंतो आयो, N. तहाँ भंदा आयो, B. ओथा हइते आइल् *from there* (lit. *being there*) *he has come*. The Ap. and O. H. forms are *direct*, i. e., *he who is there* (lit. *the there being*) *has come*; the B. and N. forms are *oblique* and may be taken as loc., i. e., *in being there he has come*. Possibly the ordinary Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो may be also pres. part. of the Rs. भू *be* and अस् *be* respectively, slightly modified for हंतो (cf. H. C. 4, 406 हंति)[1]) and संतो (cf. H. C. 1, 37). Just as हंतो or हुंतो (H. C. 4, 61) have become हिंतो, so संतो or सुंतो may become सिंतो; and this form appears to exist in the N. सित्[2]), and in the S. से॑ (Tr. 401), E. H. and H. H. से, G. शे and M. सी॑ or शी॑[3]). The S. सएँ (Tr. 401) I would similarly derive from संतो which is still used by S., in the form संदो, as a gen. aff. (Tr. 129), or from संत which is still used in E. H. as an adv. part. *on being* (see § 488, note). — The Pr. suff. हिंतो and सुंतो are used for the

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1) Pr. has a tendency to change अ to इ in the suff. अंति of the 3. pl. and अंत° of the part. pres., see Wb. Bh. 404. 428, and B. has इते in the pres. part. for E. H. अते (§ 300).

2) With न् for न्न्, as in the M. 3. pl. pres. अत् for Pr. अंति, and in the E. H. pres. part. in अत्, B. इत् for Pr. अंतो (§ 300).

3) The M. सी॑ or शी॑ cannot be divided (as Bs. II, 272) into स् + ई॑, the former being the termin. of the (Pr.) gen. sg., the latter the Pr. instr. plur. suff. हिं; thus M. देवासी॑ = देवास् or देवस्स + हिं. No doubt, modern M. case aff. (like ने॑ in त्याच्या ने॑ *by him*) may be added to a gen.; for they are relics of what were formerly full nouns. But ई॑ is not an aff., but the relic of an old suff.; see at the end of this paragraph.

instr. only, but the Ap. aff. होंनउ for the abl. also; similarly थी" and हो" are confined, in M., to the instr., but in the other Gds. the corresponding aff. express both the instr. and abl. Thus instr. in E. H. ओहू ले कइल् गइल् *done by him* or *with it*, but abl. in तहाँ से आइल् *come from there*. They never have in E. H. strictly the sense of „in company with"; thus *gone with him* is not ओहू से गइल् but ओहू के संग् गइल्; but they appear to be used so occasionally in S. (Tr. 403), e. g., वह् पुनहू से" वलकु *return with Punahú a moment*; and, of course, the instr. easily admits of this sense. — The Pr. हिंतो (H. C. 3, 7. 8) and the Ap. होंनउ (H. C. 4, 372. 373) are used both in the sing. and plur.; but हिंतो was in Pr. originally confined to the plur. (Vr. 5, 6. 7), and the M. हो" is so still; on the other hand, both M. and all other Gds. extend थी", सो", से, etc. to the sing. also, while the corresponding Pr. सुंतो is limited to the plur. — The M. abl. aff. हून् or, curtailed, ऊन् can not well be derived from the Pr. हिंतो (as Ls. 311. Bs. II, 234. 236); though it may be (like the O. H. हूँत्) traced to the Ap. होंनउ (or rather the wk. f. होंनु) by the change of न् to न्, as in the S. suff. ञनि of the 3. plur. pres. for Pr. ंति. Indeed this derivation would hardly admit of a doubt, but for the fact, that in O. M. the aff. is हूनि or हूनियाँ, which points to its being a conj. part., the suff. of which is in O. M. उनियाँ or उनि and in M. M. ऊन् (see § 491). Accordingly it would be equal to होऊन *having been*. Similarly N. uses the conj. part. देखि *having seen* as an abl. aff.; e. g., तहाँ'देखि निस्क्यो *he came out from there*, माँझ् देखि *from the midst*. But very possibly (as Bs. II, 236 suggests) some confusion may have taken place between the abl. aff. हून् and the conj. part. होऊन; and, on the whole, the identification of हून् with हुंतो seems most to commend itself[1]). — 2) As regards the other groups of abl. and instr. aff. or postpos., the B. ठाँइ

1) With Bs.' identification (II, 272) of the M. हो" with Pr. हिं and of the H. सो" or से with Skr. सम् (II, 274) and with Ls.' derivation (310) of हिंतो from हिं + तस् I cannot agree.

(S. Ch. 229) and O. ठा-हु or ठाउँ or ठुँ (Sn. 13) are derivatives of Skr. स्थान, ठाँइ or ठा (हु is the abl. aff.) being = Ap. loc. ठाणि, and ठाउँ or ठुँ = Ap. abl. ठाणहु. Identical with these, only substituting थ् for ठ् (cf. H. C. 4, 16) is the other set: N. थाऱ्नि, P., E. H., W. H. थों (Ld. 77), G. थे (Ed. 115), all = Ap. loc. थाणि; and O. P. थावहु or थों or थे, M. P. थों = Ap. abl. थाणहु; in the B. थेके (S. Ch. 62. 230) and G. थकी the aff. के and की are superadded. — 3) The explanation of the set of instr. aff., E. H. सन्, सन, सेन्, सेनी, S. साणु or सेणु *with*, and of the abl. aff., E. H. ते, तें, P. उतों, S. तां or तों, has been given in § 375. So also that of the M. abl. aff. करून् and वरून्, and of the N. आट, S. वटां. Others, as M. पासून्, P. पासों, and P. परों, S. परां or परों, and S. मां or मों or भेटां and S. मथां, will be explained in § 378. — 4) There are also some relics of the old organic instr. or abl. Thus M. has an instr. sing. suff. एं (Man. 17), which is the Ap. instr. sg. suff. एं (H. C. 4, 342), probably contracted for अहिं (see § 367, 5); e. g., M. देवें *by a god*, Ap. देवें, for *देवहिं. Again M. has an instr. pl. suff. ईं, which is contracted from the Ap. instr. pl. suff. अहिं (H. C. 4, 347); e. g., M. देवीं *by gods* = Ap. देवहिं. Again there are the abl. sg. suff. थां and थउं or थों or उं in S. (Tr. 117, 5) or थों in P. (Ld. 12) which are the same as the Ap. abl. plur. suff. अहं and अहुं (H. C. 4, 337. 339, see § 367, 5); e. g., S. थां *from a house* = Ap. Pr. थरहं, or S. थरउं or थरों or थरूं, P. थरों = Ap. थरहुं.

377. *Derivation of the gen. affixes.* The O. H. possesses a gen. aff., which in the weak form, dir. and obl., sing. and pl., is केर् m., केरि f., and in the strong form, *masc.*, dir. sg. केरा (E. H.) or केरो, केरौ (W. H.), obl. sg. and dir. pl. केरे (E. H. and Br.) or केरा (Mw.); *fem.*, dir. and obl., sg. and pl. केरी. The same forms exist also in O. P. (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI) and in O. G., which latter adds the st. form neut. *sg.* केहुँ, pl. केरां (see Bs. II, 283). Thus masc. sg. केर् in सो सुग्रीव केर लघु धावन, i. e., *it is Sugrîva's little messenger* (T. Dás, Laṅká) or मिटै न जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures is not removed* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); fem. sg. केरि in सीता केरि करतु

रखवारी, i. e., *keep a watch of Sítá* (T. Dás in Kl. 72); masc. sg. dir. केरा in एक नारि व्रत रघुपति केरा, i. e., *to have one wife is the rule of Raghupati* (T. Dás, *Lanka*), or केरो in को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूँ काको चिंत्र भ्रम ज्ञा केरो, i. e., *who is thy son, whose father art thou, (such questioning) is a delusion and error of the world* (Kabír, Suravalí 12), or केरो in दौरै गज बंधं चाहुवान केरो *blindly ran the elephant of the Cháhuván* (Chand 20, 141); masc. sg. obl. केरे 'in बाजर केरे बयन मे" बंदे किस का करोगे दीदार *at the time of the end, oh friend, to whom will you look up?* (in Kabir's Rekhtás); masc. pl. dir. केरे in ये किरीट दसकंधर केरे *these are the diadems of Ravana* (T. Dás, Lanká), or केरा in ज्ञान्हवी केरा तरंग तजी ने तट मां ज्ञाइ कूप ज्ञादे रे *having left the waves of Ganges he goes on to the bank and drinks from a well* (Narsingh, Kávyad. 2, 4 in Bs. II, 283); fem. sg. dir. केरी in सुनि कठोर बानी कपि केरी *having heard the stern voice of the monkey* (T. Dás, Lanká), etc. Some more examples will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI, 127. 128. Bs. II, 281—284. Kl. 72. On referring to the rules for the treatment of adj. (§§ 381. 384. 386) it will be seen, that these gen. aff. केर etc., are treated exactly like adj. This remark applies also to the other sets of gen. affixes. The O. H., namely, possesses also another set, which is merely a slightly modified form of the former. It consists of the weak forms, dir. and obl., sg. and plur., कर m., करी f. Thus masc. dir. sg. कर in कौन रंग है जीव को ता कर करहु विवेक *what is the pleasure of life, of that make investigation* (Kabír, Ramaini 24), or छत्रि ज्ञाति कर रोष *the wrath of the warrior-caste* (T. Dás, Lanká); or plur. सब कर बीतु सुकृत फल बीता *to day the fruit of the good deeds of all has passed away* (T. Dás Ayodhyá 343 in Bs. II, 279); fem. sg. dir. करि in सु भट सीसन विन किन्नि । हय किन्नि विन नरनि । सेन भीमह करि किन्नि ॥ lit. *the warriors without heads he made, the horses he made without men, the army of Bhima he dispersed* (Chand, Somabadha 41). For some more examples, see again my Ess. I, Bs. and Kl. *ibidem*. This set is preserved in E. H., which adds the corresponding strong forms, masc. dir. sg. करा, obl. sg. and nom. pl. करे, fem. sg. and pl., dir. and obl. करी. They are confined,

however, to the pronouns (see § 439). They occur also in O., but are limited to the plur., in connection with the plur. sign मानन् (obl. f. of माने § 363, 2); thus gen. देव-मानन्-कर् *of gods*, where कर् is both masc. and fem., sing. and plur.; again loc. or dat. देव-मानन्-करे *to gods* and abl. देव-मानन्-कह् *from gods*, where करे and कह् are the regular O. dat. and abl. of कर् (cf. O. हाते *to* or *in a hand*, हातु *from a hand* of हात् *hand*, see Sn. 15). In the sing., O. curtails कर्, करे, कह् into र्, रे, ह् respectively, e. g., ज्ञन-र् *of a man*, but ज्ञन-मानन्-कर् *of men*; ज्ञन-रे *to a man*, ज्ञन-ह् *from a man*. Again B., N. and Mw. possess only these curtailed forms; viz., B. the wk. f. र् in the gen. (e. g., *sg.* ज्ञने-र् *of a man*, pl. ज्ञन-दे-र् *of men*; sg. चेला-र् *of a disciple*, pl. चेला-दे-र् *of disciples*, see § 364, 2), and the st. f. रा in the nom. pl. (e. g., ज्ञने-रा *men*, lit. *(multitude) of man*; चेला-रा *disciples*, see § 369); N. the weak f. ह् in the nom. pl. (e. g., ज्ञनहे-ह् or ज्ञनह्-ह् *men*, चेल्लाहे-ह् or चेलह्-ह् *disciples*, see § 364, 3); Mw. the *st.* f. रो m., री f. (e. g., ज्ञन-रो घर् *the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रे घरे *in the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रा घर्-नै *to the house of a man*, ज्ञन-रा घर् *the houses of a man*, ज्ञन-री बात् or बातां *the word* or *words of a man*). Similarly in Mw. and E. R., the conj. part. कर् is curtailed to र् (e. g., मर्-र् *having died* = H. H. मर् कर्, see § 491)[1]. On the other hand, र् may be elided and the hiatus-vowels contracted; whence arise the st. forms का or को or कौ m., की f., के or का obl., for करा or करो, etc., and the weak forms कै or के or shortened कि or क comm. gen. for करि or कर्. Thus masc. dir. sg. in प्रान इन-कै दुष मुळै *his life departs from pain* (Chand 26, 2); fem. dir. sg. in सुनहु बिभीषण प्रभु-कै रीती। *hear, o Vibhúshan, the lord's custom* (T. Dás, Sundara 298 in Bs. II, 278); masc. dir. sg. क in प्रेम-क गुण कहब सब कोइ *every one will say (it is) the quality of love* (Vidyapati, Pad. in Bs. II, 281); fem. dir. sg. in पितु बायसु सब धर्म-क टीका *(to obey) a father's command is the crown of all virtue* (T. Dás, Ayodhya 334 in Bs. II, 283); masc.

1) Similarly और *and* is shortened in E. H. to अर् and curtailed in N. to र्; e. g., चिया र् *and they were*.

obl. sg. क in हरि सु उठरै छिन-क महि *Hari can save in an instant* (Chand 1, 60 in Bs. II, 283) or फुल्ल बंधुलि कमल-क संग *the bándhulí has flowered with the lotus* (Vidyapati in Bs. Ind. Antiq. Febr. 1873). In the E. H., as a rule, the weak forms के and के only are used. The former, however, is now constructed only with dir., the latter with obl. forms (e. g., जन के घर *the house of a man*, but जन के घर मे *in the house of a man*); perhaps by way of assimilation to the W. H. obl. के, if the E. H. obl. के is not actually identical with it. The st. forms का or को sometimes occur already in O. Gj.; thus को in कंठसोभ जह छंद को नाम कव्वो पवान ॥ *the name of this verse is truly called Kantasobha* (Chand 27, 31); fem. की in कथा मंड चहुवान की कहि *they well told the story of Chahuán* (Chand 27, 22); obl. के in सूकर स्वान के जन्मै धरई । ते गुरु केरी निंदा करई, i. e., *he will take the births of a swine and dog who causes the disgrace of his teacher* (in Kabir's Rekhtás). They are the ordinary gen. aff. in W. H. (exc. Mw.) and H. H. Lastly there is an example of a fem. st. f. किय in कथा तंपि ससीवृत्त किय । अब कहत कथा विस्तार किय । तो दूतन टूतन करिय ॥ *narrating the story of Sasivritta, he now tells the story in detail, which the messengers of the kings had told* (Chand 25, 41); and the corresponding masc. occurs, e. g., in the O. P. abl. aff. किसहु (Tr. A. Gr. CXXV) which is a regular Ap. Pr. abl. of किसो [1]). There can hardly be a doubt, *prima facie*, that all these various sets of gen. aff. are merely different modifications of the same original form. Turning to Pr., we find the 1st set not unfrequently occurring in the following forms: 1) in the wk. f. sg. केरी or केहि m., केरी f., केरं or केहं n.; st. f. sg. केरो m., केरिआ f., केरं or केरउं n., or (specially in Mg. Pr.) केरको etc. or केलके etc. They are treated in every way like adj., i. e., they are fully declined in conformity with the governing subst. Thus masc. केरो in H. C. 2, 147. 148; n. केरं in H. C. 2, 99. 148; *masc.* केरओ in एसो क्खु अलंकारओ अत्तणा केरओ *this surely*

1) It is quite analogous to the above mentioned O. abl. aff. कहु, which is a curtailed form of the Ap. abl. कहु or करो.

is the ornament of the lady (Mrchh. act. 4. Skr. चार्वायाः अलङ्कारः); *fem.* in मम केलिका वडवालिधा *my turn of slaughter* (Mrchh. act. 10. Skr. मम वडपारी); *neut.* in कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं *whose is this conveyance* (Mrchh. act. 6. Skr. कस्य एतत् प्रवहणम्) or तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *your wealth* (H. C. 4, 373. Skr. युष्माकं धनं); masc. instr. sg. in जसु केरें हुंकारउएं मुहहुं पडंति तणाइं *on account of whose (the lion's) roaring the grass falls from the mouths (of the deer)* (H. C. 4, 422. Skr. यस्य हुंकारेण)[1]. It will be observed, that केर is here used in Pr. as a gen. aff. precisely as in Gḍ. For 1) it takes its dependent noun in the gen. (= Gḍ. obl. form) and agrees with its governing noun as an adj.; thus compare T. Dás' जीवन्ह केर कलेसा *the pain of the creatures* or Chand's भीमह करि सेन *the army of Bhima* with H. C.'s तुम्हहं केरउं धणु *the wealth of you*; 2) it is *pleonastic*, i. e., it has no meaning of its own and might be omitted from the passage without affecting the sense; thus तम्हहं धणु and तुम्हहं केरउं धणु[2]) or कस्स पवहणं and कस्स केरकं पवहणं are absolutely identical in meaning, just as जीवन्ह कलेसा or भीमह सेन would be in Gḍ.; 3) it is added merely to distinguish or emphasise the gen. or, in other words, simply as a gen. aff.; just as in Gḍ., where it is added only to distinguish the obl. f. in its gen. sense from its other senses; this, indeed, is expressly affirmed by H. C. 4, 422 संबन्धिनः केरतणौ i. e. सम्बं° परे केर° भवतः *after (or in addition to) the gen. kera and taṇa are used*; and then follows the example जसु केरें etc. (see above). It cannot be doubted, then, but that the Pr. केरो, etc. are identical with the Gḍ. केर, etc. and therefore, *prima facie*, with the other Gḍ. sets of gen. aff. Now, according to old Indian tradition, the Pr. केर is the same as the Skr. past part. कृत *done, made*, of the R. कृ *do*. I believe, this tradition can be shown to be correct both on *intrinsic* and *phonetic* grounds. In the first place, the phrase *done by* most easily lends itself to express the gen. sense „*of*"; thus in H. C.'s example

1) More exam. will be found in my Essay I. in J. B. A. S. XLI. 129. 130, and in an article by Pischel in the Ind. Antiq. April 1878. p. 121. 122.

2) H. C. 4, 373. 380 expressly states that तुम्हहं by itself is the gen. plur.

the phrase जसु केरें हुंकाराउँ lit. *through the roaring made by whom* is equivalent to *through whose roaring*. It may be remarked here, that in the literary Pr. the word केर is usually not added to the gen., but compounded with its dependent noun; the gen. construction being confined, as a rule, to the Ap. and the lower Mg. dialects; thus Mh. Pr. रायकेर *royal*, पारकेर *foreign* (H. C. 2, 146) or अम्हकेरो *ours*, तुम्हकेरो *yours* (H. C. 2, 147. 1, 246. 2, 99), but Ap. Pr. अम्हहं केरउ *ours*, तुम्हहं केरउ *yours* (H. C. 4, 373. 359) or Mg. Pr. कस्स केलके *whose* (Mrchchh. 96, 22), तविस्सागोए केलका *of an ascetic* (Mrchh. 152, 6), etc. Originally केर cannot have been pleonastic, but must have had a meaning of its own, and supposing the latter to have been the past part. „done", केर would naturally be first used in the compounding construction; thus Mh. रायकेर = Skr. राजकृतं lit. *done by a king*, Mh. अम्हकेरं or अम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99) = Skr. अस्मत्कृतं *done by us*[1]). But the original meaning was soon lost sight of, and केर looked upon as a mere possessive (gen.) suff. and used in the compound constr., or even as a gen. aff. and, in this case, appended pleonastically to the gen. The former usage is expressly taught by H. C. in his rules on the Mh. Pr. इदमर्थस्य केरः i. e., *kera is used as a possessive suff.* (H. C. 2, 147) and पररात्राभ्यां क्कडिक्कौ च i. e., *kka, ikka and kera are used as possessive suff. after para and rája* (H. C. 2, 148), i. e., like the Skr. possessive suff. ईय and कीय. The latter usage is taught by him in his rule on the Ap. Pr. (quoted above) संबन्धिनः केरतणौ (H. C. 4, 422)[2]). — The identification (by Psch. in the

1) E. g., Pr. रायकेरं वयनं = Skr. राजकृतं वचनं lit. *speech made by a king*, i. e., *a king's speech*.

2) The comp. usage probably preceded the pleon. one; accordingly we find the comp. form Mh. Pr. तुम्हकेरो *yours* contracted in the later Ap. Pr. to तुम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) which occurs in the Ap. beside the pleon. form तुम्हहं केरउ (H. C. 4, 357). Probably the Ap. तुम्हारा is really = *तुम्हकरिओ, see § 73. — The curtailment of कर, करो to र, रो in B., O. and Mw. may perhaps be traced back to the original compounding usage. — The Skr. suff. कीय itself may well be derived from the past part. कृत.

Ind. Ant. Dec. 1873, p. 368 and Ls. 118. Wb. Spt. 38. 66) of केर् with the Skr. part. fut. pass. कार्य is untenable. For 1) the meaning of कार्य *what is to be done* would not produce a gen. without a violent wrench (so rightly Bs. II, 286), and 2) phonetically, all Pr. analogies are (not, as Ls. thinks *for*, but) *against* it. In all the examples mentioned by the Pr. gramm., it is a *short* अ which absorbs a following इ; thus Pr. सेज्जा, वेल्ली, पेन्तो or पेंतो, सुंदरो, अच्छेरो, अम्हेरो are = Skr. शय्या, अलिः, पर्यन्तः, सौन्दर्यः, आश्चर्यं, अम्हच्चर्यः (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 57. 58. 59)[1]). On the other hand Skr. °आर्य° becomes in Pr. °अज्ज° or °आरिअ° (Vr. 3, 17. 10, 8. H. C. 2, 24. 4, 314); e. g., Pr. भज्जा or भारिआ = Skr. भार्या *wife*; Pr. कज्जं or कारिअं = Skr. कार्यम् *to be done*[2]). — *Secondly*, the identification of केर् with कृत is supported by Pr. and Gḍ. phonetic analogies. Skr. roots in ऋ, as कृ, धृ, मृ, सृ, etc., become in Pr. कर्, धर्, मर्, सर्, etc. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) and form their past part. by means of the connecting vowel इ (Ls. 363), as करिओ, धरिओ (H. C. 1, 36), मरिओ, सरिओ (H. C. 4, 355 पसरिअउं = Skr. प्रसृतकम्), etc. By the transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, करिओ and the

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1) H. C. 1, 78 gives Pr. गेण्हं for Skr. ग्राह्यं; but even this single case is no real exception; for Skr. has both गृह्यं and ग्राह्यं; and the Pr. गेण्हं is clearly the former; just as Skr. गृह्णाति is in Pr. गेण्हइ (H. C. 4, 209); that is, Skr. गृह्यं = *ग्रह्यं = Pr. गेण्हं. — The Pr. मेत्त or मेत्थ for Skr. मात्र is not an exception; for no इ has been absorbed; besides the derivation from मात्र is doubtful; Ls. 128 suggests an original मित्र.

2) Md. 19, 4 allows to the Ps. Pr. °अरिअ° also, but not °एर्°; viz. र्यस्य रिअः प्राग्ह्रस्वो वा। र्यस्य रिअः स्यात्। प्राक् ह्रस्वश्च वा स्यात्॥ भारिआ। भरिआ॥ कार्ये कच्चे च दृश्यते। कअं। चकारात् कारिअं। करिअं च॥ i. e., „*ry* becomes *ria* and the preceding vowel may be short or long". — Skr. कार्य never becomes कार् in Pr. (as Psch. ibidem); the Skr. कार् is a different word, with an active sense, *doing*, while कार्य is passive, *what is to be done*. The B. gen. आपनकार्, आजिकार्, कलकार् do not contain a gen. aff. कार्; there is no such B. aff.; but the forms are regular gen. of आपना *own*, आजिका *of to-day*, कलका *of yesterday* (gen. आपनका-र्, etc.), which words exist in H. also and may be declined through all cases, both in H. and B.; see S. Ch. 115.

st. f. करिअओ become केरो and केरओ, just as Skr. आश्चर्यम् *wonderful* becomes in Pr. अच्छरिअं or अच्छेरं (Vr. 1, 5. H. C. 1, 58). Similarly Pr. उक्केरो *a heap* and देरं *a door* are, in all probability, modified from the past part. pass. Pr. उक्करिओ *heaped up* and दरिअं *split*, of the Rs. उत्क् and दृ resp.[1]). The modified part. forms केरो and केरओ are never used in Pr. or Gd. but as gen. aff., while the unmodified forms करिओ and करिअओ serve both as proper part. and as gen. aff. No examples, indeed, I believe, of the latter two forms in either usage have been found as yet in Pr. literature. But notwithstanding this, their existence would be but in accordance with the general rule of the Pr. gramm. (Vr. 8, 12. H. C. 4, 234) that the conjugational base is कर् (not कृ). And what is more, they do actually exist in Gd. as the *ordinary past part.* of the verb कर् *to do*; see § 307; which §, moreover, will show, that in Gd. the part. forms of कर् are the same as the gen. aff. Thus the gen. aff. करा or कर् m., करी or करि f. occur identically as part. in O. H. (T. Dás) and Bs. and, in the slightly modified form करो m., in Kn., कर्यो m. in Mw. and कर्यौ m. in Br., करी f. in all (see Kl. 205, 3. 207, 390. 213, 405. 216, 414. 223, 431). The O. H. gen. aff. किय or O. P. abl. aff. किदु occur as the ordinary H. H. part. किया m., किई f. *done*. The contr. gen. aff. का or क do not, I believe, occur as part., but quite analogous contractions are the part. गा or ग for गया or गिया *gone*, भा or भ for भया *been*, पा for पाया *found* in Bs. (see Kl. 225, 438. 230, 449) and O. H.; e. g., तमसि तमसि सामंत सब्ब । रोस भरि ग पथिराज ॥ i. e., *in great passion were all the chiefs, with wrath was filled Prathirâj* (= H. H. भर् गया). The E. H. part. कइल्, M. केला, B.

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1) Pr. gramm. (H. C. 1, 58. 79) identify them with the Skr. उत्कर् and दार्, which, of course, can be true as to the meaning only. La. 118 derives उक्केरो from a supposed vulgar form उत्कर्य, which shows that he himself felt, that Pr. analogy requires a *short* अ before र्य् to produce ए; for according to rule (Pan. 3, 1. 120. 124) the part. fut. pass. ought to be उत्कार्य. — The common Skr. past part. is उत्कीर्ण; but Pr. would form, as usual, उत्करित.

करिल° presuppose an original form करिट् or करित (§§ 109. 307). The st. form कयेँ m. (= Ap. करिअउ) is found frequently in the O. H. of Chand; thus बिंद ललाट प्रसेद । कयेँ संकर गजहार्त्त ॥ *of the drops of perspiration made a chain the elephant* (Revaṭaṭa 3); or तिहि उप्पर चौमंड । कयेँ हुस्सैन षांन सज्जि ॥ *upon this Chámand made Hussain Khán ready* (Revaṭaṭa 58); and the st. form करिय f. (= Ap. करिइआ) in करिय अरज उमराउ *the nobles made petition* (Revaṭaṭa 96), or सब मिलि सु ताहि पुज्जा करिय *all assembling made adoration of him* (Adiparv. 96); again the wk. form करि f. in करि सलाह संमेल करि *they (made) took counsel having made an assembly* (Revaṭaṭa 96), etc. — Thus the gen. aff. of W. H., E. H., N., B. and O. form a group by themselves, all being derivatives of the past part. कृत. — 2) To this group I would also affiliate the M. aff. चा m., चो f., चे n. In the O. M. the forms चिया m., चियँ n. (Man. 138) occur, from which the modern forms are contracted, just as M. H. का from O. H. किय. In M. the initial क् has been palatalised by the influence of the succeeding palatal इ; just as in Pr. चिलाद्दो for Skr. किरातः (Vr. 2, 33) and in Pr. अम्हेच्चयं *ours*, तुम्हेच्चयं *yours* (H. C. 2, 149) beside Pr. अम्हक्केरं and तुम्हक्केरं (H. C. 2, 99. 2, 147). In fact, in the two last examples we have, in a slightly modified form, the O. M. gen. aff. चिया (cf. E. H. गया, but B. गिया *gone*). According to Pr. gramm. (H. C. 2, 147. 149) अम्हेच्चयं is but an other form of अम्हक्केरं, which shows that it is = *अम्हक्कयं = *अम्हक्कइयं = *अम्हक्करिअं, the इ having been transferred into the preceding syllable क्क and having palatalised it into च्च. — The M. चा is sometimes identified with the Skr. suff. त्य (as Bs. II, 289. Man. 132, 3). This theory assumes, that an old suff. has in comparatively modern times changed into an aff.; for the M. चा is not added to the base (as the Skr. suff.) but to the obl. form, i. e., to the old gen. Such a change would be, as far as I know, altogether unique, without any analogy or evidence to support it. The word केर् (unlike त्य) was never a real suff., though sometimes it is practically used like one in Pr.; but it is a real noun with a meaning of its own, viz. *made* or *done*; and this accounts

for its peculiar use as an aff. constructed with the obl. f. On the other hand, the change of क् to च् through a following इ is supported by the examples above quoted, to which may be added the S. neut. interrog. pron. छा *what* (i. e., *chhá* = *khiá* = *kihá*) corresponding to the P. किछा and W. H. क्या for *किह्या (cf. P. obl. किह दा *of whom*); also the G. छो m., छी f., छुं n. *who* for *को, *की, *कुं (see § 438, 5)[1]). — 3) The P., S. and possibly G. and Konkaní gen. aff., I believe, form a distinct group. The P. gen. aff. are: दा m., दी f. The same aff. occurs in B. as a component part of the plur. sign, viz. दे or दि in देर्, दिगे (see § 364, 2), and as the instr. aff. दिया with which may be compared the P. obl. plur. masc. दिआं, see § 374. I believe them to be identical with the past part. दिया *given* of the verb दे *to give* (see § 307), and their origin to be precisely analogous to that of the preceding groups. The past part. *given*, just like the part. *made*, would easily produce the gen. sense „*of*"; e. g., the P. तंत्र दी वाणी lit. *the sound given by an instrument* is the same as *the sound of an instrument*. — The S. gen. aff. are जो m., जी f. Here the original initial द् has been palatalised by the following palatal इ. Other examples of the same change are the P. अजेहा or अजेहा *of such sort* (Ld. 19) and the S. इको *this* (Tr. 198, for *idhio* = *idiho*, see § 132, note) for Skr. ईदृशः; the S. उको *that* (Tr. 202) = Skr. *एवदृशः; the Ap. Pr. एत्ताहो (Ls. 455, for *एदिआहो = *एदाइहो) = Skr. एतादृशः; the S. कुजाउ *what* (cf. H. कुआं *where*) for Skr. *कवदृशः (see § 438, 4). — The O. P. has a gen. aff. उा (Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI), where the initial द् has been cerebralised, as in the M. S. दिग्नु *to give* (Tr. 276. H. H. देना). The modern G. gen. aff. नो m., नी f., नुं n. I am inclined to count with this set by the not uncommon change of द् or ड् to ण् or न् (§ 106). They might be, however, as Bs. II, 287 suggests, curtailed forms of the gen. aff. तणो, तणी, तणुं, which occur in

1) In the Romance languages the change of the guttural into the palatal is very common, even before the vowel a; e. g., lat. *camera*, french *chambre*, engl. *chamber*; lat. *caminus*, fr. *cheminée*, engl. *chimney*, etc.

O. G. and still earlier in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 422, e. g., बह भागा अम्हहं तणा *that is the fortune of us*). They still occur occasionally in Br. (तनो) and Mw. तणो or तणूँ m., तणी f., तणां plur. (see Kl. 68, 73). — The Mewárí gen. aff. को m., की f., का or कै obl. (Kl, 68) and Konkaní लो, etc. (Bs. II, 287) I am also inclined to refer to this group, on account of the cerebral ळ, which appears to be a modification of the ड् in the O. P. डा. They might be, however, identified with the Mw. रो, etc. (as Bs. II, 287), which occur also in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gr. CXXVI). And I may add here, that the aff. का, केरा, चा of the other groups and the S. जा occur in O. P. also (see Tr. ibidem). — 4) There is one more peculiar group of gen. aff.; viz. in Mw. (poetry) हंदो m., हंदी f. (Kl. 68. 73); in S. sg. dir. संदो m., संदी f., obl. संदे m., संदिअ f., plur. dir. संदा m., संदिऊं f., obl. संदे or संदनि m., संदिनि or संदिअनि or संदिउनि f.; in Ksh., with a sg. noun, sg. संदू m., संद् f., pl. संदि m., संद f., with a plur. noun, sg. हिंदू m., हिंद् f., pl. हिंदि m., हिंद f. (see Bs. II, 290)[1]). Bs. (II, 291) identifies them with the Pr. pres. part. हंतो and संतो *being* of the Rs. भू and वस् *to be*. This is quite possible. But perhaps an other derivation may be suggested. They may be divided into सं-दो, हं-दो or हिं-दो; the first parts स and हं or हिं being the Pr. gen. termin. of the sing. and plur. resp. (§ 365, 1. 7), and दो the gen. aff. as in P. Thus Mw. ज़नहंदो or Ksh. ज़नहिंदू *of men* being really ज़नहं or ज़नहिं + दो or दू; S. ज़नसंदो and Ksh. ज़नसंदू *of a man* being ज़नस-दो for the Pr. gen. sg. ज़णास्स. This would explain the singular difference in Ksh. between the sing. and plur. aff. On the other hand, one would have to assume that S. has lost the plur. and Mw. the sing. forms. But these curious gen. aff. are at present too little known, to allow of any satisfactory theory being propounded.

1) Bs. transliterates سنڑو by संतह्, which is hardly correct. The final ه is merely a mater lectionis, to indicate that the word in which it is used ends in a short or, sometimes, long *a*; e. g., نڑ = न *not*, ۽ = अ *with*, بندڑا = बंदा *servant*, etc. Hence either संञ *sañja* or संजा *sañjá*; probably the former.

378. *Derivation of the locative affixes.* 1) The original of the aff. मे etc. is the Skr. loc. मध्य *in, the midst of*, which in Ap. Pr. becomes मज्झे or मज्झि or मज्झहिं. From these Ap. forms arise two Gḍ. sets, one retaining ज्झ, the other changing it to ह (see § 117). To the first set belong the B. माझे, S. मंझे for Ap. मज्झे; the O. H. मझि or माँझ, E. H. मांझ for Ap. मज्झि, and the O. M. माझी (or माझीं) for Ap. मज्झहिं; also the S. abl. aff. मंझों or मंझाँ *from-within* for Ap. मज्झहुं or मज्झह. To the second set belong the O. H. महि for Ap. मझि, and the O. H. माँहे or माँही or मांही, E. H. and Br. मांहे, Mw. माहे or माईं or मईं (for *महीं) for Ap. मज्झहिं; also the E. H. मे contracted from महि, W. H. में contr. from *महो, E. H., W. H., G. मां, N. मा similarly contr. from *महाँ = मझाँ (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मज्झह; and W. H. मों for *महो = मझों (cf. S. abl. aff.) = Ap. मज्झह. Both, माँ and मों, occur in S. also as abl. aff. — 2) Other groups of loc. aff. or postpositions are: a) the M. ठाईं = Ap. ठाणहिं, and the N. थाञि = Ap. थाणि, for Skr. स्थाने *in the place of*; b) the N. माथि and S. मथे *upon* = Ap. Pr. मत्थि or मत्थे for Skr. मस्त *on the head* or *top of*, and the corresponding S. abl. aff. मथाँ *from-upon*; similar to these are: S. सिरे, P. सिर् *upon* = Ap. सिरे for Skr. सिरसि *on the head of*; c) the B. भितर् or भितरे, E. H., W. H. भीतर् *within* (see § 172); d) in all Gḍs. पर् or परि or पर *upon*, Ap. Pr. परि (H. C. 4, 438), Skr. परे *beyond*; and the corresponding abl. aff. S. परां and S. or P. परों *from-upon*; e) the S. and G. पासे, P. and W. H. पास् = Ap. पासि or पासे, and M. पासों = Ap. पासहिं, for Skr. पार्श्वे *by the side of*; f) the S. विचे, P. विच्, O. P. विचि, W. H. वीच् *within* = Ap. विचे or विचि, perhaps for Skr. वृत्ते lit. *surrounded by*; cf. H. C. 4, 421, where the Ap. विच is said to be a substitute for Skr. वर्त्मान; g) the M. त् *mt*, as in घरांत् *in a house*, कवींत् *in a poet*, मधूत् *in honey* (Man. 30. 31), is probably a curtailment of the Pr. संतो or संत (H. C. 1, 14. 60) for Skr. सन्तर् *within*; and related to it, in all Gḍs., संतर् = Ap. संतर् (H. C. 4, 350), for Skr. सन्तरम् *within*. — 3) There are also some relics of the old organic loc.: a) loc. sg. in इ in most Gḍs.,

for Ap. इ, Skr. ए; b) loc. sg. in ऐ or ए in most Gds., or ई in N., P., G., for Ap. ए or अइ or अहि; c) loc. sg. in ऐँ or एँ in E. H., ईँ in P., ओ loc. sg. and pl. in ईँ in M., for Ap. sg. and pl. अहिं; d) loc. sg. in ऊँ in E. H., W. H., or loc. sg. and pl. in ऊँ in M., for Ap. pl. अहुं; e) loc. sg. in ओँ or उ in W. H., for Ap. pl. अहुं. Examples see §§ 367, 5. 375, 1. 2. 77. 78.

5. DECLENSION.

379. There is only *one* declension. All subst. are declined exactly alike; and the base never changes, exc. in the obl. cases of the plur., where अन्, इन्, उन् are added (see § 362). One example, therefore, of a subst. fully declined will be sufficient. But as a matter of convenience, I shall add a list of nom. and gen. of a subst. of every form, gender and termin., leaving it to the student to supply the remainder.

1. Masculines in अ.

a) Short form: रामु *Rám.*

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.	
nom.	रामु	रामा	रामन्लोग्	or रामन्लोगु
acc.	रामु or रा °के	रामु or रामन् के	रामन्लोगु or °गन् के	or रामन्लोगु or °के
instr.	रामु से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोगु से
dat.	रामु के	रामन् के	रामन्लोगन् के	or रामन्लोगु के
abl.	रामु से	रामन् से	रामन्लोगन् से	or रामन्लोगु से
gen.	रामु कै, °के	रामन् कै, °के	रामन्लोगन् कै, °के	or रामन्लोगु कै, °के
loc.	रामु मे	रामन् मे	रामन्लोगन् मे	or रामन्लोगन् मे
voc.	हे रामु	हे रामा	हे रामन्लोगु	or हे रामन्लोगु

b) Long form: रामन्वा or रामन्वाँ.

nom.	रामन्वा	रामन्वा	रामन्वालोगु	or रामन्वन्लोगु
acc.	रामन्वा or रा° के	रामन्वा or रामन्वन् के	रामन्वालोगु or °गन् के	or रामन्वन्लोगु or रा °के
instr.	रामन्वा से	रामन्वन् से	रामन्वालोगन् से	or रामन्वन्लोगु से
dat.	रामन्वा के	रामन्वन् के	रामन्वालोगन् के	or रामन्वन्लोगु के
abl.	रामन्वा से	रामन्वन् से	रामन्वालोगन् से	or रामन्वन्लोगु से
gen.	रामन्वा कै, °के	रामन्वन् कै, °के	रामन्वालोगन् कै, °के	or रामन्वन्लोगु कै, °के

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
loc.	रमन्वा मे	रमन्वन् मे	रमन्वालोगन् मे or रमन्वनूलोग् मे
voc.	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वा	हे रमन्वालोग् or हे रमन्वनूलोग्

c) Redundant form: रमोवा or रमोश्रा or रमोवाँ or रमोश्राँ.

nom.	रमोवा	रमोवा	रमोवालोग्	or रमोवनूलोग्
acc.	रमोवा or र° के	रमोवा or °वन् के	रमोवालोग or °गन् के	or रमोवनूलोग् or र °के
instr.	रमोवा से	रमोवन् से	रमोवालोगन् से	or रमोवनूलोग् से
dat.	रमोवा के	रमोवन् के	रमोवालोगन् के	or रमोवनूलोग् के
abl.	रमोवा से	रमोवन् से	रमोवालोगन् से	or रमोवनूलोग् से
gen.	रमोवा कै, °के	रमोवन् कै, °के	रमोवालोगन् कै, °के	or रमोवनूलोग् कै, °के
loc.	रमोवा मे	रमोवन् मे	रमोवालोगन् मे	or रमोवनूलोग् मे
voc.	हे रमोवा	हे रमोवा	हे रमोवालोग्	or हे रमोवनूलोग्

Note: The long and redundant forms in आ may be pronounced with a final *anunásika* (see §§ 195. 365, 4); thus gen. रमन्वाँ कै or रमोवाँ कै, etc. — Subst. which do not denote *rational* beings, can not form the comp. pl. (see § 361); thus gen. घरन् कै *of houses*, बाघन् कै *of tigers*, not घरलोगन् कै, बाघलोगन् कै.

2. Masculines in आ.

a) Short form: बेटा *son*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	बेटा	बेटा	बेटालोग् or बेटनूलोग्
gen.	बेटा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटालोगन् कै, °के or बेटनूलोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बेटन्वा or बेटन्वाँ.

nom.	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वा	बेटन्वालोग् or बेटन्वनूलोग्
gen.	बेटन्वा कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटन्वालोगन् कै, °के or बेटन्वनूलोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बेटोवा or बेटोवाँ, etc.

nom.	बेटोवा	बेटोवा	बेटोवालोग्	or बेटोवनूलोग्
gen.	बेटोवा कै, °के, etc.	बेटोवन् कै, °के, etc.	बेटोवालोगन् कै, °के	or बेटोवनूलोग् कै, °के, etc.

3. Masculines in इ.

a) Short form: रिषि *rikhi patriarch*.

nom.	रिषि	रिषि	रिषिलोग्	or रिषिनूलोग्
gen.	रिषि कै, °के, etc.	रिषिन् कै, °के, etc.	रिषिलोगन् कै, °के, etc.	or रिषिनूलोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: ढिबिया or ढिबियाँ.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ढिबिया	ढिबिया	ढिबियालोग् or ढिबियन्लोग्
gen.	ढिबिया कै, °के, etc.	ढिबियन् कै, °के, etc.	ढिबियालोगन् कै, °के or ढिबियन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: ढिबियवा or ढिबियवाँ.

nom.	ढिबियवा	ढिबियवा	ढिबियवालोग् or ढिबियवन्लोग्
gen.	ढिबियवा कै, °के, etc.	ढिबियवन् कै, °के, etc.	ढिबियवालोगन् कै, °के or ढिबियवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

4. Masculines in ई.

a) Short form: भाई *brother*.

nom.	भाई	भाई	भाईलोग	or भाइन्लोग्
gen.	भाई कै, °के, etc.	भाइन् कै, °के, etc.	भाईलोगन् कै, °के	or भाइन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: भइया or भैया or भइयाँ or भैयाँ.

nom.	भैया	भैया	भैयालोग्	or भैयन्लोग्
gen.	भैया कै, °के, etc.	भैयन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयालोगन् कै, °के	or भैयन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: भैयवा or भैयवाँ.

nom.	भैयवा	भैयवा	भैयवालोग्	or भैयवन्लोग्
gen.	भैयवा कै, °के, etc.	भैयवन् कै, °के, etc.	भैयवालोगन् कै, °के	or भैयवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

5. Masculines in उ.

a) Short form: तहु *tree*.

nom.	तहु	*deest.*
gen.	तहु कै, °के, etc.	तहुन् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: तहुवा or तहुआ or तहुवाँ or तहुआँ.

nom.	तहुआ	*deest.*
gen.	तहुआ कै, °के, etc.	तहुअन् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: तहुअवा or तहुअवाँ.

nom.	तहुअवा	*deest.*
gen.	तहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	तहुअवन् कै, °के, etc,

6. Masculines in ऊ.

a) Short form: नाऊ *barber*.

nom.	नाऊ	नाऊ	नाऊलोग्	or नाउन्लोग्
gen.	नाऊ कै, °के, etc.	नाउन् कै, °के, etc.	नाऊलोगन् कै, °के	or नाउन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: नउखा or नौखा or नौवा or नउखाँ etc.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	नौवा	नौवा	नौवालोग् or नौवनलोग्
gen.	नौवा कै, °के, etc.	नौवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौवालोगन् कै, °के or नौवनलोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: नउखवा or नौखवा or नौखवाँ, etc.

nom.	नौखवा	नौखवा	नौखवालोग् or नौखवनलोग्
gen.	नौखवा कै, °के, etc.	नौखवन् कै, °के, etc.	नौखवालोगन् कै, °के or नौखवनलोग् कै, °के, etc.

7. Feminines in ब.

a) Short form: बात् *word, thing, event.*

nom.	बात्	बात्	*deest.*
gen.	बात् कै, °के, etc.	बातन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: बतिया or बतियाँ.

nom.	बतिया	बतिया	*deest.*
gen.	बतिया कै, °के, etc.	बतियन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: बतियवा or बतियवाँ.

nom.	बतियवा	बतियवा	*deest.*
gen.	बतियवा कै, °के, etc.	बतियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

8. Feminines in आ.

a) Short form: दुर्गा *Durgá.*

nom.	दुर्गा	दुर्गा	दुर्गालोग	or दुर्गनलोग्
gen.	दुर्गा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गनलोग् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: दुर्गिया or दुर्गियाँ.

nom.	दुर्गिया	दुर्गिया	दुर्गियालोग्	or दुर्गियनलोग्
gen.	दुर्गिया कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियनलोग् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: दुर्गियवा or दुर्गियवाँ.

nom.	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवा	दुर्गियवालोग्	or दुर्गियवनलोग्
gen.	दुर्गियवा कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवन् कै, °के, etc.	दुर्गियवालोगन् कै, °के or दुर्गियवनलोग् कै, °के, etc.	

9. Feminines in इ.

a) Short form: आगि *fire.*

nom.	आगि	आगि	*deest.*
gen.	आगि कै, °के, etc.	आगिन् कै, °के, etc.	

b) Long form: भगिया or भगियाँ.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	भगिया	भगिया	*deest.*
gen.	भगिया कै, °के, etc.	भगियन् कै, °के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: भगियवा or भगियवाँ.

nom.	भगियवा	भगियवा	*deest.*
gen.	भगियवा कै, °के, etc.	भगियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

10. Feminines in ई.

a) Short Form: लाठी *staff.*

nom.	लाठी	लाठी	*deest.*
gen.	लाठी कै, °के, etc.	*deest* (§ 362, exc.)	

b) Long form: लठिया or लठियाँ.

nom.	लठिया	लठिया	*deest.*
gen.	लठिया कै, °के, etc.	लठियन् कै, के, etc.	

c) Redundant form: लठियवा or लठियवाँ.

nom.	लठियवा	लठियवा	*deest.*
gen.	लठियवा कै, °के, etc.	लठियवन् कै, °के, etc.	

11. Feminines in ऊ.

a) Short form: बहू *daughter-in-law.*

nom.	बहू	बहू	बहूलोग्	or बहुन्लोग्
gen.	बहू कै, °के, etc.	बहुन् कै, °के, etc.	बहूलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

b) Long form: बहुआ or बहुआ or बहुआँ, etc.

nom.	बहुआ	बहुआ	बहुआलोग्	or बहुअन्लोग्
gen.	बहुआ कै, °के, etc.	बहुअन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुआलोगन् कै, °के	or बहुअन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

c) Redundant form: बहुअवा or बहुअवाँ.

nom.	बहुअवा	बहुअवा	बहुअवालोग्	or बहुअवन्लोग्
gen.	बहुअवा कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवन् कै, °के, etc.	बहुअवालोगन् कै, °के	or बहुअवन्लोग् कै, °के, etc.

SECOND CHAPTER. THE ADJECTIVE.

1. FORMS OF THE ADJECTIVE.

380. Every adj. admits of three forms: the short, long and redundant. The short is the primary form, which is given in the dictionaries and by which it is generally known. The other two are more or less vulgar. The latter are made by adding to the weak form (see § 381) the pleon. suff. of the second, third and fifth sets of the first group, as explained in §§ 198. 199. Thus, *masc.*, sh. f. मोट् *thick*, lg. f. मोटक्का or मोटका, red. f. मोटक्कवा or मोटकवा; *fem.*, sh. f. मोट्, lg. f. मोटक्की or मोटकी, red. f. मोटक्किया or मोटकिया; *masc.*, sh. f. बड़ा *great*, lg. f. बड़क्का or बड़का, red. f. बड़क्कवा or बड़कवा; *fem.*, sh. f. बड़ी, lg. f. बड़क्की or बड़की, red. f. बड़क्किया or बड़किया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. भारी *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* भरिक्का or भरिका, *fem.* भरिक्की or भरिकी, red. f. *masc.* भरिक्कवा or भरिकवा, *fem.* भरिक्किया or भरिकिया; *com. gen.*, sh. f. गरु *heavy*, lg. f. *masc.* गरुक्का or गरुका, *fem.* गरुक्की or गरुकी, red. f. *masc.* गरुक्कवा or गरुकवा, *fem.* गरुक्किया or गरुकिया, etc.

381. All adj. of the short form in ु admit of two forms, a weak and a strong. The weak form ends in ु and is the original one; the strong form is made by adding to this the pleon. suff., ा m., ी f., of the first set of the first group, as explained in § 196. Thus, *masc.*, wk. f. लामु *long*, st. f. लामा; *fem.*, wk. f. लामू, st. f. लामी; or wk. f., *com. gen.*, उचु *high*, st. f. *masc.* उचा, *fem.* उची, etc. Adj. in ी and ू exist only in the strong form; their weak forms in ि and ु are obsolete. Thus st. f., *com. gen.*, भारी *heavy*, हलू *light*; the wk. f. भारि, हरु or हलु occur in O. H. (Tulsí Dás).

382. The adj. of the strong form in ी admit of two forms, the contracted and uncontracted. The latter is made by adding the pleon. suff. इउँ to the former, see § 197. Thus भारी or भरिउँ *heavy*. Of the uncontracted a long form भरिउँका m., भरिउँकी f., may be made, but no redundant form.

383. When adj. are used as subst. or parts of proper names, their long and redundant forms are made exactly like those of real subst. Thus सेठ्वा (not सेठ्का), lg. f. of सेठ् a name of a caste (lit. *best*, Skr. श्रेष्ठ); or मिठवा आम् the name of a species of mangoe, but मिठका आम् any sweet mangoe.

2. GENDER.

384. Adj., like subst., have only two genders, masc. and fem. Strong and long adj. change, in the fem., the final आ to ई, and redundant adj. ख्वा to इया (see §§ 258 ff.). In other adj. the two genders are identical in form. Thus the wk. f. मीठ् *sweet*, छोट् *small*, etc., and the st. f. भारी *heavy*, हल्लू *light*, etc. are *gen. com.*; but st. f. *masc.* मोठा, छोटा, *fem.* मोठो, छोटो, etc., and lg. f. *masc.* मिठका or मिठक्का, *fem.* मिठकी or मिठक्की, etc., and red. f. *masc.* मिठकवा, *fem.* मिठकिया, etc.

385. *Affinities and Derivation.* All other Gḍs. have, like the E. H., a fem. in ई for their strong forms in आ (E. and S. Gḍ. and P.) or ओ or ो (W. and N. Gḍ.). Thus *masc.* B., O., W. H. काला, E. H. कार *black*, M., P. काळा, G. काळो, S. कारो; *fem.* B., O., W. H. काली, M., P., G. काळी, E. H., S. कारी, etc. But the B. and O., as a rule, and even the E. H. not unfrequently, dispense with the use of strong adj. in आ. In S. the weak forms in उ (corresp. to अ in the other Gḍs.) have a fem. in इ or अ (Tr. 99. 152); in all other Gḍs. the fem. ends in अ; thus S. अधु *half*, *fem.* अध or अधि, but E. H., B., O., G. *masc.* or *fem.* आध्. In E. H., however, the fem. wk. f. in इ is preserved in the part., when the latter are used to form participial tenses (see §§ 502 ff.); thus *fem.* करि, of *masc.* करत् *doing*, in the 2. sg. pret. conj. करिस् *if thou didst* (*fem.*); or करलि fem., of करल्, in the 2. sg. pret. ind. करलिस् *thou didst*; करबि fem., of करब्, in the 2. sg. fut. ind. करबिस् *thou will do*, etc. In H. H. the weak fem. in अ and इ cannot properly be used. In Skr., adj. in अ generally form their fem. in आ; but in Pr. they may optionally have a fem. in आ or ई (Vr. 5, 24. H. C. 3, 32), which become अ or इ in Gḍ.

(see §§ 42. 43). As to the derivation of the fem. term. ई and ईआ see § 262.

3. DECLENSION.

386. Adj. are declined precisely like subst., with the following exceptions: 1) strong adj. in आ change it to ए in the obl. form sg. and pl. — 2) long adj. in का or ङ्का change आ to ऊ in the voc. sg., and also throughout the plur., if the adj. is used in a derisive sense (i. e. परिहस्ये). Thus, *dir. form*, nom. sg. ई मोठा आम् आहे *this is a sweet mangoe*; *obl. form*, acc. sg. ऊ मोठे आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; dir. f., nom. sg. ऊ मिठका आम् आहे *that is a sweet mangoe*; obl. f., acc. sg. ऊ मिठके आम् के खैलेस् *he ate a sweet mangoe*; dir. f., nom. sg. योकर् बहा घोरा आहे *his is a good horse*; obl. f., loc. sg. ऊ बहे घोरा पर् चऊल् आहे *he is mounted on a good horse*. Again, dir. f., nom. pl. ई मोठा आम् आहे" *these are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. ऊ मोठे आमन् के खैलेस् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. ऊ मिठका आम् आहे" *those are sweet mangoes*; obl. f., acc. pl. ऊ मिठके आमन् के खैलेन् *he ate sweet mangoes*; dir. f., nom. pl. योकर् बहा घोरा आहे" *his are good horses*; obl. f., loc. pl. ऊ बहे घोरे पर् चऊल् आहे" *they are mounted on good horses*.

387. *Affinities.* The M. and Br. agree with the E. H. in inflecting, in the sing., their strong adj. in आ differently from their strong subst. in आ. While the termination of the obl. sing. of subst. is आ in E. H. and Br. and या in M., that of the obl. form of adj. is ए in all three. In the other Gḍs. the adj. does not differ from the subst. in the obl. sg. Thus, gen. sg., E. H. बडे घोरा कै *of a big horse*, Br. बडे घोडा की, M. बडे घोड्या चा; but Mw. बडा घोडा रो, G. बडा घोडा नो, P. बडे घाडे दा, S. बडे घाडे जो, B. बडा घोडा-रू, etc. In all Gḍs. the obl. form of adj. is the same in both plur. and sing., except in S., where their obl. f. pl. may be optionally like that of the subst. (Tr. 145); thus, gen. pl., E. H. बडे घोरन् कै *of big horses*, Br. बडे घोडों की, M. बडे घोड्यां चा, Mw. बडा घोडां रो, G. बडा घोडाव् नो, P. बडे घोडिआं दा, S. बडे घोड़ें जो

or बड़े" छोड़े" ज़ो, etc. It must, of course, be understood, that if an adj. is used substantively, and not attributively, it is declined in every respect like a real subst.; and that in all Gḍs.

4. COMPARISON.

388. The degrees of comparison cannot be indicated by any change in the (positive) form. The comparative is expressed by putting the object with which another is compared in the abl. (made with the aff. से), and the superlative by prefixing to the adj. either the adj. itself or the pron. सब् *all* in the abl. case; e. g., छोकरे मोट् बद्धे से मोट् बद्धे अछा आदै *my bullock is better than his fat bullock*; छोट् से बड़ा *greater than he*; ई सब् से मिठका आम् आदै *this is the sweetest mangoe*, lit., this is a mangoe sweet (compared) with all (others); अच्छे से अच्छी तर्काारी *the best vegetable*; अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर् कें भात् *the best (cooked) rice*. Sometimes, however, the comp. is expressed by the long form of the adj. (see § 198), as it emphasizes its meaning. Thus के बड़का आदै *which is the elder one*; उ छोटका आदै *that is the younger one*.

389. *Affinities.* In all Gḍs. the comp. and superlat. degrees are formed precisely as in E. H.; see S. Ch. 83. Sn. 21. Man. 40, 78. note 1. Ld. 15. Ed. 45, 97. 98. Tr. 156. Thus, comparative, E. H. छोट् से बड़ा *greater than he*, B. ताहा हइते बड़, O. ताहा-ठु बड़, M. त्याहून् बड़ा, Br. आ सों" बड़ो, Mw. उण् सूँ बड़ो, G. था थी बड़ो, P. उह् ते बड़ा, S. हुन खाँ बड़ो; and superlat., E. H. सब् से बड़ा *greatest*, B. सकल् हइते ब°, O. सकल-ठु ब°, M. सर्वाहून् ब°, Br. सब् सों" ब°, Mw. सब् सूँ ब°, G. सभ थी ब°, P. सब् ते ब°, S. सभ खाँ ब°.

THIRD CHAPTER. THE NUMERAL.

390. There are various kinds of numerals in E. H., as cardinals, ordinals, multiplicatives, collectives, reduplicatives, fractionals, beside which there are some others, as proportionals, subtractives, distributives, indefinitives, which are expressed by various modes of paraphrase.

1. CARDINALS.

391. Their forms from *one* to *hundred* are the following:

1. एक्	21. ऐकइस्	41. ऐकतालिस्	61. ऐकसठि	81. ऐक्यासी
2. दुइ	22. बाइस्	42. बयालिस्	62. बासठि	82. बयासी
3. तीनि	23. तेइस्	43. तैँतालिस्	63. तिरसठि	83. तिरासी
4. चारि	24. चौबिस्	44. चौवालिस्	64. चौँसठि	84. चौरासी
5. पाँचु	25. पचीस्	45. पैँतालिस्	65. पैँसठि	85. पचासी
6. छ	26. छब्बिस्	46. छियालिस्	66. छाछठि	86. छियासी
7. सात्	27. सताइस्	47. सैँतालिस्	67. सरसठि	87. सत्तासी
8. आठ्	28. अठाइस्	48. अड़तालिस्	68. अड़सठि	88. अठासी
9. नौ	29. ओनतिस्	49. ओनचास्	69. ओनहत्तर्	89. नवासी
10. दस्	30. तीस्	50. पचास्	70. सत्तर्	90. नब्बे
11. ऐग्यारह्	31. ऐकतिस्	51. ऐक्यावन्	71. ऐकत्तर्	91. ऐक्यानबे
12. बारह्	32. बतिस्	52. बावन्	72. बहत्तर्	92. बानबे
13. तेरह्	33. तैँतिस्	53. तिरपन्	73. तिहत्तर्	93. तिरानबे
14. चौदह्	34. चौँतिस्	54. चौवन्	74. चौहत्तर्	94. चौरानबे
15. पन्द्रह्	35. पैँतिस्	55. पंचावन्	75. पछत्तर्	95. पंचानबे
16. सोरह्	36. छत्तिस्	56. छप्पन्	76. छिहत्तर्	96. छानबे
17. सतरह्	37. सैँतिस्	57. सत्तावन्	77. सतत्तर्	97. सत्तानबे
18. अठारह्	38. अड़तिस्	58. अट्ठावन्	78. अठत्तर्	98. अट्ठानबे
19. ओनइस्	39. ओनतालिस्	59. ओनसठि	79. ओनासी	99. निनानबे
20. बीस्	40. चालिस्	60. साठि	80. अस्सी	100. सौ

392. Some of the cardinal numbers admit one or more slightly different forms; but those marked with an asterisk are used only in the multiplication table, and those marked with two asterisks, only in the formation of cardinals above *a hundred*; thus:

1. एक्	5. पच्* or पाच्	11. इग्यारह् or ग्यारह्	38. अरतिस् or अड़तिस्	54. चौअन् or चउअन्
2. दो*				
3. तिन्* or तीन्	6. छह्* or छ्व्	15. पनरह्	44. चवालिस् or चउआलिस्	55. पचपन्
4. चर्* or चार्	7. सत्*	24. चवब्बिस् or चउब्बिस्	48. अरतालिस् or अड़तालिस्	67. सरसठि or सतसठि
	8. अठ्	30. तिस्*		68. अरसठि

71. ऐकहत्तर्	78. अठहत्तर् or	95. पनचानबे	100. सै ** or
75. पचहत्तर्	अठन्नत्तर् *	99. निन्नानबे or	सो ** or
77. सतहत्तर्	84. चवरासी	निन्यानबे	सत्

The final syllables °त्रिस्, °तिस्, °लिस् may, optionally, be spelled °त्रीस्, °तीस्, °लीस्; thus 24 चौबिस् or चौबीस्, 33 तैंतिस् or तैंतीस्, 40 चालिस् or चालीस्; but 21 ऐकइस्, not ऐकईस्; 23 only तेइस्, not तेईस्. Again all numbers of the seventh decade may drop the final इ; thus 60 साठि or साठ्, 66 छाइठि or छाइठ्, etc. Again the initial syllable शोन्° may also be spelled उन्°; thus 19 शोनइस् or उनइस्, 79 शोनासी or उनासी.

393. All cardinals above *a hundred* are formed by subjoining the lower number to the higher without any intervening conjunction; thus:

101. एक् सै एक	103. एक् सै तीन्	105. एक् सै पाँच्	210. दुइ सै दस
102. एक् सै दुइ	104. एक् सै चार्	200. दुइ सै	220. दुइ सै बीस्
	300. तीन सै	1000. सहस्र्	
	400. चार् सै	100,000. लाख्	
		10,000,000. कोंरा	

1874. एक् सहस्र् आठ् सै चौहत्तर्

2,154,210. ऐकइस् लाख् चौवन् सहस्र् दुइ सै दस्, etc.

394. The cardinals between *one hundred* and *two hundred* are differently formed, when employed in the multiplication table (पहाड़ा). Namely up to 120 the higher number is subjoined to the lower one with which it is compounded by means of उनर् *above*, the initial उ of the latter combining with the final अ of the preceding word to ओ (ओतर्); thus 108 is अठोतरसो, i. e., अठ + उनर् + सो *eight-above-hundred*. From 120 and optionally from 110 up to 160 and optionally up to 170, the connecting vowel आ is interposed, instead of उनर्, except in the fifth decade where चालिस् *forty* is curtailed to चाल्. In the rest the original form remains unchanged. Moreover, in the second, third and fourth decade the penultimate short vowel is lengthened. The accent is always on the antepenultimate of the whole compound;

e. g., 161 *eksāṭṭhāso*, 152 *bavānnāso*, 112 *barāhāso*, *etc.* Thus the forms of these cardinals are the following:

101. ऐकोत्तरसो	117. सत्तराहासो	140. चालसो	170. सत्तरसो
102. दिलोत्तरसो	118. अट्ठराहासो	141. ऐकतालसो, etc.	171. एक्कत्तरसो
103. तिलोत्तरसो	119. ओनवीसासो	149. ओनचालासो	179. ओनासीसो
104. चलोत्तरसो	120. वीसासो	150. ऐक्कसो	180. अस्सीसो
105. पिचोत्तरसो	121. ऐकवीसासो	151. ऐक्कावन्नासो	181. ऐक्कासीसो
106. छिलोत्तरसो	122. बवीसासो	152. बावन्नासो	189. नवासीसो
107. सतलोत्तरसो	123. तेवीसासो	153. तिरपन्नासो	190. नब्बेसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	124. चाव्वीसासो	154. चोवन्नासो	191. ऐक्कानब्बेसो
109. निगरोत्तरसो	125. पचोसासो	155. पनचोनासो	192. बानब्बेसो
110. दहोत्तरसो	126. छब्बीसासो	156. छपन्नासो	193. तिरानब्बेसो
111. ऐगरोत्तरसो	127. सतवीसासो	157. सतवन्नासो	194. चोरानब्बेसो
112. बरहोत्तरसो	128. अठवीसासो	158. अठवन्नासो	195. पनचानब्बेसो
113. तेरहोत्तरसो	129. ओनतीसासो	159. ओनसट्ठासो	196. छानब्बेसो, etc.
114. चोद्दहोत्तरसो	130. तीसासो	160. साठसो	199. निनानब्बेसो
115. पनराहासो	131. ऐकतीसासा, etc.	161. ऐकसट्ठासो, etc.	200. दुइ सौ
116. सोराहासो	139. ओनतालसो	169. ओनहत्तरसो	

395. The following are alternative forms of some of the preceding cardinals:

101. इकोत्तरसो	113. तेराहासो	119. ओनइसासो	163. तिरसठसो
102. दियोत्तरसो	114. चोद्दाहासो	121. ऐकइसासो	164. चौसठसो
106. छियोत्तरसो	115. पन्दरहोत्तरसो	155. पचपन्नासो	165. पैंसठसो
108. अठोत्तरसो	116. सोरहोत्तरसो	159. ओनसाठसो	166. छाछठसो
111. इगरोत्तरसो	117. सतरहोत्तरसो	161. ऐकसठसो	170. सत्तरिसो
112. बराहासो	118. अठरहोत्तरसो	162. बासठसो	

396. *Affinities.* On the whole the numeral forms are very much alike in all Gḍs. There are, however, three main points of difference. In the first two the E. Gḍ. differs from the W. and S. Gḍ., in the third the W. Gḍ. from the E. and S. Gḍ. — Firstly; in E. Gḍ. the final syllable of the second, third, fourth and fifth decades is short (viz. बह्, इस् or ब्रिस्, तिस्, लिस्) but in W. Gḍ. it is long (viz. बार्‌ or बहँ, ईस् or बीस्, तीस्, लीस्), G. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.
13.	तेर	तेरा	तेरह्	तेरा	तेरँ
14.	चौद	चौद्दा	चौदह्	चौदा	चौदँ
23.	तेइश्	तेइश्	तेइस्	तेईस्	तेई
24.	चब्बिश्	चब्बिश्	चौब्बिस्	चौब्बीस्	चौब्बी
32.	बत्तिश्	बत्तिश्	बतिस्	बतीस्	बती
46.	पइँचालिश्	पयँतालिश्	पैँतालिस्	पैँतालीस्	पैँताली

	S.	M.	G.	H. H.
13.	तेरहँ	तेरा	तेर	तेरह्
14.	चोउहँ	चौदा	चउद	चौदह्
23.	देवीह	तेवीस	त्रेवीश्	तेईस्
24.	चोवीह	चौवीस्	चोवीश्	चौबीस्
32.	बत्तीह	बत्तीस्	बत्तिश्	बतीस्
46.	पंतालीह	पंचेचालीस्	पञ्चतालीश्	पैँतालीस्

Secondly; in E. Gḍ. a final short इ is retained, while in W. Gḍ. it is dropped, S. only being a partial exception; thus:

	O.	B.	E. H.	W. H.	P.	M.	G.	S.	H. H.
2.	दुइ	दुइ	दुइ	दो	दो	दोन्	बे	ब	दो
3.	तिनि	तिनि	तीनि	तीन्	तिंन	तीन्	त्रण्	दे	तीन्
4.	चारि	चारि	चारि	चार्	चार्	चार्	चार्	चारि	चार्
60.	साठिए	साठि	साठि	साठ्	संठ	साठ्	सठि	साठ्	साठ्

With regard to सत्तर् *seventy* alone, all Gḍ. languages agree in dropping the final इ, excepting O. and S. which have सत्तोरि and सत्तरि respectively; and E. H. optionally in सत्तरि से *seven hundred*. — Thirdly; in W. Gḍ. the syllable च, but in the E. and S. Gḍ. either the conjunct त्र् or the whole increment चत्र् of the Pr. चत्तालीसा *forty* is always elided in the fifth decade. In this case E. H. occupies an intermediate position; thus:

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
41.	एकेचालीस्	एकचालिश्	एकचल्लिश्	एकतालिस्	एकताली	एकेतालीह	एकतलीश्
42.	बेचालीस्	बयालिश्	बेयाल्लिश्	बयालिस्	बैताली	बाएतालीह	बेतालीश्
43.	त्रेचालीस्	तेयालिश्	तेतालिश्	तेँतालिस्	तैताली	ट्रेतालीह	तेँतालीश्
44.	चवेचालीस्	चौचालिश्	चोयालिश्	चौवालिस्	चौताली	चोएतालीह	चुमालीश्

	M.	O.	B.	E. H.	P.	S.	G.
45.	पंचेचालीस्	पइँचालिग्	पणतालिस्	पैंतालिस्	पैंताली	पंतालीह	पञ्चतालीस्
46.	छेचालीस्	छ्यालिग्	छचल्लिस्	छियालिस्	छिताली	छाएतालीह	छ्यालीस्
47.	सत्तेचालीस्	सतचालिग्	सतचल्लिस्	सैंतालिस्	सैंताली	सतंतालीह	सुडतालीस्
48.	अट्ठेचालीस्	अठचालिग्	अट्ठचल्लिस्	अड़तालिस्	अठताली	अठतालीस	अडतालीस्

Some minor differences are the following: 1) S. and P. change the final अ् of ओस्, तीस्, लोस्, तास् into ह्, which is generally afterwards dropped by P.; thus S., P. वोह् 20, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्टीह् 30, S. ट्टेवीह् 23, बट्टीह् 32, P. तेईं or त्रेईं, बत्तो or बत्रो, S. चालीह्, P. चालो 40, S., P. पंताह् 50, S. बावंताह्, P. बवंज्ञा 52, etc. Similarly these two languages alone change the initial स् of साठ् 60 into ह्; e. g., 61 P. इकाहट्ठ, S. एकहठि, while P. also changes ह् to ट् (see § 145, exc. 2). With regard to सत्तर् 70, again, all Gds. agree in changing the initial स् to ह, except O.; thus 71 B. एकात्तर् (= *एकघत्तर् = एकहत्तर्), E. H. एकत्तर् or एकहत्तर्, W. H. एकहत्तर्, P. इकहत्तर्, S. एकहतरि, M. एकाहत्तर्, but O. एकस्तुरि (= *एकसतुरि). — 2) M., G. and S. alone retain the initial व् of वीस् or वीह् 20 in compounds; see § 123, note. — 3) G., S., B. and optionally P. retain र् in त्रिग् or त्रीह् 30 and its compounds; as 31 B., G. एकत्रिग्, P. इकत्री or इकत्रो, S. एकट्टीह्, 30 B., G. त्रिग्, P. तीह् or त्रीह्, S. ट्टीह्, etc. — 4) B. alone doubles ल् in चल्लिग् 40 and its compounds, as एकचल्लिग् 41, etc. — 5) M. alone preserves the semitats. of सट् 60 in compounds, as एकसट् 61, बासट् 62, etc.; but साठ् 60 (see Man. 43). — 6) P. alone forms optionally नभें for नवें 90 in compounds, as इकानवें or इकानभें 91, etc.; but नब्बे or नब्बे 90 (see Ld. 85). — 7) S. alone preserves the full termination अहँ, while the others contract it to अँ or आ or shorten it to अह् or अ; thus 12 S. बारहँ, but P. बारँ (= *बारहँ = *बारहें), M. बारा, W. H. बारा, or E. H. बारह्, B., O., G. बार्.

397. *Derivation.* 1. एक् regularly for Pr. एक्को (Vr. 3, 58. § 143); as to the forms गक्, ऐक् and इक् see §§ 170. 171. Pr. has also the forms एगो (H. C. 1, 176) and एओ (H. C. 2, 99); the latter does not occur in E. H., but the former in compounds; e. g., एगूणत्तरसो 111 or shortened इग्, e. g., इगूणत्तरसो 111. —

2. दुइ regularly for Pr. दुए (Ls. 318, see § 45) or दुवे (Vr. 6, 57); the Mg. Pr. has दुवे or दो or दोन्नि (Wb. Bh. 424. see H. C. 3, 130); the first is preserved in E. H., B., O. दुइ, the second in E. H. दो (§ 392), the third in M. दोन् and S. डूं (Tr. 158); Pr. has also the form बे (H. C. 3, 120) which is preserved in the G. बे and S. बे; the P. and W. H. have दो. — 3. तोन्नि regularly for Pr. तिण्णि (Vr. 6, 56. cf. §§ 143. 147). — 4. चारि see § 153. — Pr. दुवे or दोण्णि, तिण्णि, चत्तारि are gen. comm. (Vr. 3, 56. 57. 58); but they appear to have arisen from the Skr. neut. द्वे or *द्वानि, त्रीणि, चत्वारि respectively (see Ls. 318. 319). The Skr. masc. द्वौ is perhaps represented by the Pr. and Gḍ. दो. Mg. Pr. has a masc. तओ (Wb. Bh. 475) = Skr. त्रयः *three*, but it has not survived in Gḍ. Pr. has also the masc. चत्तारो (Skr. चत्वारः nom.) and चउरो (= Skr. चतुरः acc., see M. M. 124) H. C. 3, 122. Wb. Bh. 425, but they do not occur in Gḍ.; the latter, however, survives in the Ksh. चोर् *tsor* (Bs. II, 132). — 5. पाँच् or पाच्, 7 सात्, 8 आठ् regularly for Pr. पंच, सत्त, अट्ठ = Skr. पञ्च, सप्त, अष्ट (see §§ 143. 147); S. and P. have पंज, P. सत्त, अट्ठ, S. सत, अठ, B. आट. — 6. छ, also Pr. छ (Wb. Bh. 425. Ls. 319) for Skr. षट्, eliding final ट् (Vr. 4, 6) and changing ष् to छ् (Vr. 2, 41); also W. H., S. and G. छ; E. H. has a form छह् which occurs also in S. छह, M. सहा and Ksh. शिह् (Bs. II, 132) and which represents perhaps the Skr. form षष्, Pr. *छस or *छह् with final ह (cf. Ls. 220. H. C. 1, 19. cf. M. दहा 10). E. H. has also a form छव् corresponding to B. छय्, O. छअ, W. H. and P. छे, with euphonic व् or य् for elided छ्; Pr. has also छअ see Ls. 320. — 9. नौ or नउ regularly for Pr. नव, Pr. has also नअ (Ls. 320) which does not occur in E. H., but in O. नअ and B. नय; P. नौं and S. नउँ add an anunásika. — 10. दस् regularly for Mg. Pr. दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 1, 262), Skr. दश; Pr. has also दह (Vr. 2, 44) which is only preserved in P. दह् (also दस्), S. उह, M. दहा, Ksh. दह् (Bs. II, 133). — As the latter part of the compound numerals of the second decade, Skr. दश becomes in Pr. दह or उह or रह (H. C. 1, 219), in Gḍ. दह or लह or रह. Thus 11 Skr. एकादश, Pr. *एगारह,

E. H. ह्येगारह or इग्यारह or गारह. As to its euphonic ग्, see § 135; it is more properly W. Gḍ.; for B. एगार्, O. एगार्, M. अकरा have it not; while W. H. गारह, P. गिआराँ, G. अगियार have it. The other P. form इकारह (Vr. 2, 44) occurs only in S. गारहँ. The Pr. has also दस, दस (Wb. Bh. 426. H. C. 3, 123), which have not survived in Gḍ. — 12. Skr. द्वादश, Pr. बारह (Vr. 2, 44), E. H. बारह, B., O., G. बार्, M., W. H. बारा, P. बाराँ, S. बारहँ. — 13. Skr. त्रयोदश, Pr. तेरह (i. e. त्रयदश for त्रयः + दश cf. H. C. 1, 165)[1]), E. H. तेरह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 14. Skr. चतुर्दश, Pr. चउद्दह (Vr. 2, 14. H. C. 1, 171), E. H. चौदह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 15. Skr. पञ्चदश, Pr. पन्नारह (H. C. 2, 43, but पण्णारहो Vr. 3, 44), E. H. पन्नारह (§ 392 and in पन्नाहासो 115, see § 394); so also B. पनेर् (perhaps rather for the Pr. form पण्णारह, see Ls. 320. Cw. 24, note); the usual Gḍ. form, however, inserts an euphonic द् (§ 135), as E. H. पंदारह, O. पंदर्, W. H. पंदरा, P. पंदराँ, S. पंदरहँ or पंझँ, M. पंधरा, G. पंदर्. — 16, see § 105, note, E. H. सोरह, B. सोल, O. सोहल (with a strange metathesis), W. H. सोला, M. सोळा, P. सोलाँ, S. सोरहँ, G. सोळ. — 17. Skr. सप्तदश, Pr. सत्तारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42), E. H. सतारह; other Gḍs. see § 396. — 18. Skr. अष्टादश, Pr. अट्ठारह (T. V. 1, 3. 42. cf. H. C. 3, 123), E. H. अठारह, G. अढार, S. अडहँ (cf. 38. 48 below); other Gḍs., as in § 396. — 19. Skr. ऊनविंशतिः, Mg. ऊनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. ओनइस्, W. H. उनीस्, B. ऊनिश्, O. उणाइश्; Skr. has also एकोनविंशतिः, Mg. एकूनवीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), only preserved in M. एकुणीस्, O. H. अगुनीस् and गुनीस्, G. ओगणीस्; the P. has उन्नीह and S. उणीह or उणिवीह with ह् for स् (see § 396). — As to 21 एकइस्, etc. see §§ 123. 129. The (apparently anomalous) आ in सत्ताइस् is probably (as Bs. I, 291) caused by the ancient accent of the oxytone *saptá*. Of all dissyl-

1) The Pr. form तेरह is explained in H. C. 1, 165 as containing a change of the first त्र together with the following cons. and vowel to ए; that is, in Skr. त्रयोदश the first त्र together with the following syllable यो (i. e. cons. य् + vow. ओ) becomes ए; hence तेरह. Cowell's view, therefore, (Cw. 121, note) as to the Pr. Gramm. theory is more correct than Beames' (II, 135).

labic numerals only *saptá* and *ashṭá* are oxytone, all others are barytone, *éka, páñcha, návan, dáśa*, etc.; now Gḍ. has आ in सत्ताइस्, अठाइस्, but अ or ई (for अइ) in एकइस् (W. H. एकीस्) and पचीस् (for पचइस्, M. पंचवीस्). In Skr. the influence of the accent is seen in अष्टादश, अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत्, etc.; but not in सपूर्दश, सपूर्वि°, सपूत्रिंशत्; in Pr. and Gḍ. both sets show it in the third decade, but neither set in all other decades; e. g., 37 सैँतिस्, 38 अडतिस्, 47 सैँतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस्, and in Skr., too, the accent of अष्ट only optionally influences the form after the first four decades; e. g., 48 अष्टचत्वारिंशत् or अष्टाचत्वारिंशत्, etc. — 20 बीस् regularly for Pr. बीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or बीसई (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. विंशतिः. — 30 तीस् regularly for Pr. तीसा (H. C. 1, 28) or तीसआ (Md. 4, 3. Ls. 320), Skr. त्रिंशत्. — 32 बतिस् regularly for Pr. बत्तीसा (T. V. 1, 4. 79), with अ on account of the following double त्, Skr. द्वात्रिंशत्. — 33 तैँतिस् regularly for Pr. तेत्तीसा (H. C. 1, 165, see § 149), Skr. त्रयस्त्रिंशत्; M. has तेहतीस् (Man. 43) beside the regular तेतीस्. — 35 पैँतिस् see § 156, W. H. पैँतीस्, P. पैँती, G. पैँत्रिश्; but M. पस्तीस् (Man. 43, for पसतीस् with स् for च्, cf. § 11) and S. पंतहीह. — 37 सैँतिस् see § 153, also W. H. सैँतीस्, P. सैँती, B. साँइत्रिश्; but M. सदतीस् or सततीस्, G. साउत्रिश्, S. सतहीह. — 38. Skr. अष्टात्रिंशत्, Pr. अदृतीसा (Wb. Bh. 426), O. अठतिश्, B. आठत्रिंश्, S. अठहीह, P. अठती, M. अठतीस् or अडतीस्, E. H. अडतिस् (§ 113) or अडतिस् or अदतिस् (§ 145, exc. 2), G. आउत्रिश्. — 40. E. H. चालिस् see § 153. — 41. Skr. एकचत्वारिंशत्, Pr. एक्कचत्तालीसा or (eliding च) *एकअत्तालीसा and (contracted according to Vr. 4, 1), E. H. एकतालिस्; this derivation is proved by the S. एकेतालीह, which is contracted from एकयतालीह with euph. य्. The usual explanation, identifying °तालिस् with °चालिस्, assumes a changes of च् to त्; thus Pr. एकचत्तालीसा = एकचअत्तालीसा = एकचालीस् = एकतालिस्; but such a change of च् to त् is not only intrinsically improbable, but also lacks all evidence. Similarly are formed 43 तेँतालिस् (see § 152), 49 ओनतालिस्, 45 पैँतालिस् (see § 156), 47 सैँतालिस्, 48 अडतालिस् (see § 145, exc. 2). The latter is in Pr. also अडयाले (Wb. Bh. 412); here both the syllable च *cha* and the conjunct त् *tt* are elided; so also in

the Gḍ. forms: 42 बयालिस्, 44 चौवालिस्, 46 छियालिस् (see §§ 152. 153); as to the other Gḍa. see § 396, 3; Pr. has 42 बादालीसं (Wb. Bh. 412). — 50. Skr. पञ्चाशत्, Pr. *पंचासा, E. H. पचास् (see §§ 143. 146), also W. H. पचास्, G., O. पचाश्, but the nasal is preserved in B. पंचास्, P. पंताह् and S. पंताह्. The common Pr. form is पञ्चासा (Vr. 3, 44. H. C. 2, 43); it is preserved in the M. पन्नास् 50 and in the curtailed form पन् or बन् of the compound numerals of the 6th decade of all Gḍa., exc. P. and S.; thus बन् in 52 E. H. बावन्, W. H., G. dto., O. बाघन्, B. बाउन्न, M. बावन्न, Pr. बावणं (Wb. Bh. 426), Skr. द्वापञ्चाशत्; 57. E. H., O., W. H., G. सतावन्, M. सत्तावन्न, Pr. *सत्तावणा or °णं, Skr. सप्तपञ्चाशत्; 58. E. H., O., W. H., G. अठावन्, M. अठ्ठावन्न, Pr. *अट्ठावणं, Skr. अष्टापञ्चाशत्; 55. E. H., O., G. पंचावन्, M. पंचावन्न, Pr. पंचावणा (H. C. 2, 174), Skr. पञ्चपञ्चाशत्; B. contracts सातान्न 57, आठान्न 58, पंचान्न 55. The other E. H. form पंचपन्, which is also H. H., presupposes a Pr. form *पंचप्पणा. There is another Pr. form पणावणा (H. C. 2, 174) or पणावन्नं (Wb. Bh. 426), but it has left no trace in Gḍ. Again पन् in 56 E. H., W. H. छप्पन्, O., G. छपन्, B. छापान्न, M. छप्पन्न, Pr. *छप्पणा, Skr. षट्पञ्चाशत्; 53. E. H. तिरपन्, W. H. तिरपन् or त्रेपन्, G. त्रेपन, M. त्रेपन्न, O. तेपन्, B. तिप्पान्न presuppose a Ap. Pr. form *तिप्पणा (cf. H. C. 4, 398), Skr. त्रिपञ्चाशत्; the common Pr. form तेवणा (H. C. 2, 174) does not occur in Gḍ.; 54. W. H., G. चोपन्, M. चोपन्न or चौपन्न, regularly for Pr. *चउप्पणा, Skr. चतुःपञ्चाशत्; but in E. H. चौवन् or चउवन् or (with euph. व्) चौवन्, O. चउवन्, B. चोयान्न the conjunct प्प् has been elided (see § 154). The unusual Pr. form पंचासा 50 is preserved in E. H. 49 पोनचास्, with the syllable प *pa* elided, precisely as च *cha* in पोनतालिस् 39 (see above); thus Skr. ऊनपञ्चाशत्, Pr. ऊणपंचासा or ऊणपंचासा, whence B. ऊनपंचास्, G. ओगणपचास्, S. उणिवंताह्, P. उणावंजा or उणंजा, O. उनंचाश्, E. H. पोनचास्; but M. regularly एकुणपन्नास्. Moreover it is used throughout in P. and S., thus S. देवंताह्, P. तिवंजा or तिरवंजा 53; S. चोवंताह्, P. चोवंजा or चुवंजा 54; S. पंतवंताह्, P. पंचवंजा 55; S. छवंताह्, P. छिवंजा or छिवंजा 56, etc. — 60. Skr. षष्टिः, Pr. सट्ठी (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. साठि, B. साठि, M., G., W. H. साठ्, P. सट्ठ, S. सठि; the O. साठिए् adds a pleonastic ए.

In the compounds, M. has सट्ट, S. हठि and P. हट्ट, see § 396. Otherwise they differ little. But 61 is in P. इकाहट्ट, 62 in O. आश्वासठि with आ; 63. O., B. तेसठि, G. तेसाठ, W. H. त्रेसठ् or तिरसठ्, M. त्रेसष्ट्, P. तेहट्ट or त्रेहट्ट, S. ट्रेहठि; 65. B. पयँसठि, M. पाँसष्ट्, W. H. पैँसठ्, P. पैँहट्ट, but O. पंचसठि, G. पंचसाठ्, S. पंजहठि; 66. O. इअसठि, M. सासष्ट्, S. छाहठि, W. H. छियासठ्, P. छिआहट्ट, B. छसठि; 67. E. H. सतसठि or सउसठि or सरसठि, M. सतसष्ट or सदसष्ट्, W. H. सरसठ्, see § 107; the others retain त्, O. सतसठि, B. सातसठि, P. सत्ताहट्ट; 68. E. H. अउसठि or अरसठि, see § 145, exc. 2, M. अउसष्ट or अडुसष्ट्, W. H. अउसठ् or अरसठ्, see § 145, exc. 2; but O. अठसठि, S. अठहठि, P. अठाहट्ट, B. आठसठि; 69. B. ऊनसत्तर्, all others regularly °हत्तर्, see § 396. — In the Bh. the following curtailed forms occur, 62 बावट्ठि, 64 चोयट्ठी (but also चउसट्ठी), 66 छावट्ठि, and even 61 एगट्ठि, 67 सत्तट्ठि (Wb. Bh. 426), which (if trustworthy) may be explained by the intermediate change of स् to ह् (as in P. and S.) and subsequent elision of ह्. — 70. E. H. सत्तर् see § 108; so also in the other Gḍs. see § 396. In the compounds there is little difference, but 72 is in O. बाश्वास्तुरि, B. बाहात्तर्, S. बाहत्तरि, M. बाहत्तर्; 73. M. त्रेहत्तर् or त्र्याहत्तर्, B. तेहात्तर्, O. तेस्तुरि; 74. M. चौर्‍याहत्तर्; 75. M. पंचेहत्तर्; 76. O. छअस्तुरि, B. छेयात्तर्, S. छाहत्तरि, M. छाहत्तर् or शेहत्तर् (see § 55); 77. B. सातात्तर्, M. सत्याहत्तर् or सत्रेहत्तर्, P. सतत्तर्; 78. B. आठात्तर्, P. अठत्तर्, M. अठ्याहत्तर् or अठ्ठेहत्तर्. — 80. Skr. अशीतिः, but Pr. आसीई with आ (Wb. Bh. 426), and so in B. आशी; but E. H., W. H., P. अस्सी with double स्, which explains the आ of B.; in S. असी and O. अशी one स् has been elided; as to M. ऐँशी and G. एँसी, see § 148. In the compounds, which differ very little has all Gḍs. have आसी, exc. M., which आयँशी; thus 81. E. H. एक्यासी, M. एक्यायँशी; on the euph. य् see § 135. — 82. B. बियाशी, M. ब्यायँशी, P., S. बिआसी, O. बयाशी, B., E. H., W. H. बयासी. — 86. O. छयाशी, M. शायँशी, S. छहासी; 83. M. त्र्यायँशी, G. तेत्रासी or तासी; 84. Pr. चउरासी (Wb. Bh. 426), M. चौर्‍याँशी; 87. M. सत्याँयशी; 88. M. अठ्याँयशी; 89. M. नव्यायँशी, E. H., W. H. नवासी are Skr. नवाशीतिः; but M. has also एकुणनवुद्, B. ऊननब्बुइ, O. ऊणानउ, P. उणानवे, S. उणानवे = Skr. एकोननवतिः. — 90. Skr. नवतिः, Pr. नउइ (Wb. Bh.

426), E. H. नव्वे, O. नबे, B. নব্বই, M. नव्वद्, W. H. नव्व, S. नव, P. नव्वे or नब्बे; these Gḍ. forms seem to presuppose a Pr. form *नव्वए; the origin of the final ए is obscure; so also is that of the connecting vowel आ which occurs in all the compounds of नव, and is especially marked in S. and M.; e. g., 92. S. बिंयानवे, M. ब्याण्णव; 93. S. त्रिंयानवे, M. त्र्याण्णव; 94. E. H. चौरानवे, S. चोरानवे, M. चौऱ्याण्णव, etc.; it occurs already in Pr. सत्तानउए 97 (Wb. Bh. 426), E. H. सतानबे, S. सतानवे, M. सत्याण्णव. — 99 is in S. नवानवे, B. নিরানব্বই, M. नव्याण्णव (with euph. य् see § 135) for Skr. नवनवति:; the E. H. and W. H. निनानबे or नियानबे apparently exchange न् for व्, though it might be also a modification of उ in the P. नउन्नवे" or नउन्नुवे" (see § 396, 6) which are probably connected with the other S. forms नधानवे or वधानवे; for these as well as for the P. forms I know no satisfactory explanation. O. alone has ଉନଶତ୍, perhaps for Skr. ऊनशतम्. — 100. E. H., W. H., S., G., P. सौ or सो is the Ap. Pr. सउ (cf. H. C. 4, 331), Skr. शतम्, and E. H., P. सै, B. শ, O. ଶହେ, M. शे" is the Mg. Pr. सअं or सयं (Wb. Bh. 426); as to E. H. सल् see § 109. — The compounds above 100, formed with उत्तर्, occur also in M. (Man. 44) and S. (Tr. 165); in the latter they may be formed up to 200; they are also found in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 427); in the Bh. the original ओ is reduced to उ, but Gḍ. preserves it; e. g., 107 सत्तुत्तरं सयं (Bh. 15ª), S. सतोत्तरौ; or Ap. Pr. पंचोत्तरसउ, S. पंतोत्तरसो, E. H. पिचोत्तरसो (§ 55); 106. S. छहोत्तरसो, E. H. छियोत्तरसो or छिलोत्तरसो (see § 55); the latter as well as 104 E. H. चलोर्त्तरसो (for चुलो°, cf. Pr. चुलसीत 84 in Wb. Bh. 425), S. चोरोत्तरसो, 103 E. H. तिलोत्तरसो or तियो°, S. त्रिरोत्तरसो, 102 E. H. दिलोत्तरसो or दियो° (see § 69), S. बिरोत्तरसो, M. दुवोत्तरशे" are formed anomalously; the Skr. would be चतुरुत्तरशतं, चतुरुत्तर°, त्र्युत्तर°, द्व्युत्तर°. Very anomalous are the E. H. सतलोत्तरसो 107 (for *सतोत्तरसो) and निगोत्तरसो 119; there seems to be here some confusion with the forms of 111 and 117. — The other compounds formed with the connecting vowel आ occur also in S., which has ओ; e. g., 112. E. H. बाराहासो, S. बारहो सौ; 115. E. H. पनराहासो, S. पन्द्रहो सौ, etc. E. H. shortens the first आ by § 25, and lengthens

the second ञ, probably, for the sake of euphony. The first part of these compounds is probably a collective or aggregate numeral; see §§ 404. 405; e. g., E. H. तीसा, S. ट्रीहो *a sum of thirty*, whence E. H. तीसा सो, S. ट्रीहो सौ 130, i. e., *100 plus the sum of 30*, or E. H. तेरहाँ, S. तेरहो *sum of thirteen*, whence E. H. तेराहासो, S. तेरहो सौ 113, etc.

398. *Declension.* All cardinals can be declined, when used as subst., in which case they are inflected like them; thus gen. pl. पाँचन् कै *of five*, etc. But दुइ *two* and तीनि *three* have a special form in these circumstances; viz. दूनो or दुन्हुन् or दुनहुन् *two* and तीनो *three*; thus gen. pl. दूनो कै or दुन्हुन् कै or दुनहुन् कै *of two*, तीनो कै *of three*. When they are used as adj., they are not inflected; thus पाँच् ज़नन् कै *of five men*, दुइ ज़नन् कै *of two men*, तीनि ज़नन् कै *of three men*.

399. *Affinities and Derivation.* M. has special obl. forms दोंहों, तिहों, चोहों for दोन् *two*, तीन् *three* and चार् *four* (Man. 46). When used adjectively with *persons*, they are changed to दोघे m., दोघी f., दोघें n. *two*; similarly तिघे, तिघी, तिघें *three*, चौघे, चौघी, चौघें *four* (Man. 46). Otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. एका चा *of one*, दोंहों चा or दोघाँ चा *of two*. — S. has the obl. forms बिनि or बी, तिनि or ती, चरनि or चई for बे *two*, ट्रे *three*, चारि *four*; otherwise the declension is regular; thus gen. बिनि जो *of two*, पंजनि जो *of five*, etc. (Tr. 169. 171). S. inflects the cardinals, when they are used adjectively (Tr. 171); as दहनि बैरिनि खे or दहें बैरिएँ खे *to ten enemies*; बिनि or बी बैरिनि खे बी बैरिएँ खे *to two enemies*. — In the E. H. form दुन्हुन् the conjunct न्ह् has been dissolved (see § 138). The second उ of दुन्हुन् is probably euphonic, for *दुन्हन्. In this and the other E. H. and M. special obl. forms the plur. suff. has been apparently reduplicated. The Pr. gen. pl. is दोण्हं or ब्बेण्हं *of two* (H. C. 3, 119), तिण्हं *of three* (H. C. 3, 118), which are contr. in S. to बी, ती or slightly modified बिनि, तिनि; but E. H. दूनो or दुन्हुन्, M. दोंहों would presuppose the Pr. form *दोण्हहुं or *दोण्हण्ह, etc.

2. ORDINALS.

400. The formation of the ordinals from the cardinals has been explained in §§ 263—266. They are treated in every respect like adj., i. e., they admit of a weak and strong form (§ 381), and the latter has a fem. in ई or ईं (§ 384) and an obl. masc. ए or एँ (§ 386). The following are the first seven ordinals of which some are formed peculiarly: *First*, wk. f. पहिल् or पहेल् c. g., or st. f. पहिला or पहेला or °लका m., °ली or °लकी f.; *second*, wk. f. दूसर् or दुसर्‌ c. g., or st. f. दुसरा or दुसर्वाँ or दुसरका m., °री or °रई or °रकी f.; *third*, wk. f. तीसर् or तिसर्‌ c. g., or st. f. तिसरा or तिसर्वाँ or तिसरका m., °री or °रई or °रकी f.; *fourth*, wk. f. चउथ् or चौथ्‌ c. g., or st. f. चौथा or चौथर्वाँ or चौथरका m., °थी or °थई or °थकी f.; *sixth*, wk. f. छठ्‌ c. g., or st. f. छठा or छठर्वाँ m., छठी or छठईं f.; *fifth*, wk. f. पंचव्‌ c. g., or st. f. पचा or पंचवाँ m., पची or पंचईं f.; *seventh*, wk. f. सातव्‌ c. g., or st. f. सत्ता or सत्तवाँ m., सत्ती or सत्तईं f. The rest are formed exactly like the forms of the *fifth* and *seventh*. Their obl. forms are, e. g., gen. sg. or pl., masc. पहिले के *of the first*, दसवें के *of the tenth*; fem. पहिली के, दसईं के, etc. When they are used as subst., they are inflected like them; thus gen. sg. पहिला के *of the first one*, pl. पहिलन् के *of the first ones*; but पहिले ज्ञन् के *of the first man*, पहिले ज्ञनन् के *of the first men*, etc.

401. *Affinities and Derivation.* For the derivation of पहिल् see §§ 118. 213. B. and O. पहला or पहिला (S. Ch. 105. Bs. II, 142), M. पहिला, W. H. पहलो or पहिलो or °लो, P. पहिला, G. पेहेलो, S. पेहेरो or पेहेर्यो or पहर्यो. The first ए of the G. and S. forms is merely euphonic (see § 57). — The deriv. and affin. of दूसर् and तीसर् see in §§ 270. 271, and for the deriv. of चौथ्‌, see § 78. B. and O. have चौथ (*chauthŏ*) or चौथा (S. Ch. 105), M. चवथा, W. H. चौथो (Br.) or चोथो (Mw.), P. चौथा, G. चोथो, S. चोथो. — The E. H. छठा, B. and O. *deest*, W. H. छठो or छठो, G. छटो are derived from Pr. छट्ठो, st. f. of Pr. छट्ठो (H. C. 1, 265), Skr. षष्ठः, the M. सहावा, P. छेवाँ, S. छहो are formed anomalously (as if Skr. *षष्मः) from the Gḍ. cardinals M. सहा, P. छे, S. छह. The E. H.

forms छठवाँ, दुसर्‌ऊ or दुसर्‌वाँ anomalously contain the suff. ऊ or वाँ, see § 264. The forms पहिलका, दुसर्‌का, तिसर्‌का contain the pleon. suff. का (see § 198). The form चौथर्‌का is formed anomalously after the analogy of दुसर्‌का, तिसर्‌का. As to the deriv. and affin. of the rest, see §§ 265. 266.

3. MULTIPLICATIVES.

402. The multiplicatives denote how many times a number is multiplied. They are formed from the cardinals by adding the suff. गा or गाँ or गाईं, excepting the first six which are made in a peculiar way. They are used only in the multiplication table.

1. ऐकं or ऐकै or के or कं
2. दूनी
3. तियाँ or त्रिका or तिर्‌का or त्रिके or तिर्‌के or ति
4. चौक् or चौका
5. पचा or पचे or पुरे
6. छक् or छक्का or छक्के or छाक्
7. सते
8. अठे or आठ्
9. नवाँ or नवाँई
10. दहाँ or दहाँई, etc.

403. The forms ऐकं and ऐकै are only used in the phrase ऐकं एक् or ऐकै एक् *once one is one*; and पचा only in पचा पचीस् *five times five are twenty five*. The form पुरे is used only when the product contains the words पच् or पै *five*, i. e., when it is fifty or an odd multiple of five (excepting, however, पाँच् *five*, पंद्रह् *fifteen* and पचीस् *twenty five*). As to the other alternative forms, no strict rule can be given; the practice varies according to local or individual fancy. In general it may be said, that the shorter forms, as ति, आठ्, छक् or छाक्, are used when the product is polysyllabic. The multiplicative always takes the middle place in the sentence. The following tables are given as examples:

10 × 1 is 10, etc.

दस् के दस्	दस् छके साठि	तीन् के तीन्	तीन् छाक् अठारह्
दस् दूनी बीस्	दस् सते सत्तर्	तीन् दूती छ	तीन् सते एकइस्
दस् तियाँ तीस्	दस् अठे अस्सी	तीन् त्रिका नौ	तीन् अठे चौब्बिस्
दस् चौक् चालिस्	दस् नवाँ नब्बे	तीन् चौक् बारह्	तीन् नवाँ सताइस्
दस् पुरे पचास्	दस् दहाँ सौ	तीन् पचे पंद्रह्	तीन् दहाँई तीस्

13 × 1 is 13, etc.

तेरह् के तेरह्	तेरह छाक् छठ्नक्कर्
तेरह् टूनो इक्यिस्	तेरह् सते ऐक्यानब्बे
तेरह् ति अनतालिस्	तेरह् आठ् चलोतरसो
तेरह् चौका आवन्	तेरह् नवाँ सतरहाँसो
तेरह् पुरे पैंसठि	तेरह् टहाँई तीसासो

The table of one is formed in a peculiar manner; thus:

ऐकै एक्	चर् के चार्	सत् के सात्	टहाँई दस्
दु के दुइ	पच् के पाँच्	अठ् के आठ्	
तिन् के तीन्	छ के छह्	नवाँई नौ	

The multiples of five are formed thus:

पच् के पाँच्	चार् पचे बीस्	सात् पुरे पैंतिस्	दस् पुरे पचास्
दो पचे दस्	पचा पचीस्	आठ् पचे चालिस्	इग्यारह् पुरे पंचावन्
तीन् पचे पंद्रह्	छ पचे तीस्	नौ पुरे पैंतालिस्	बारह् पचे साठि, etc.

404. *Affinities and Derivation.* The forms in ए are probably obl. forms or nom. plur. of the resp. nom. sing. in आ, as सते of सता, अठे of अठा, etc. For the rest see § 407. The multiplicatives are identical with the collectives or aggregates; thus तीन् अठे चौबिस् means lit. *three sums-of-eight are twenty-four.*

4. COLLECTIVES.

405. The following words are used to express some aggregate sums: जोरा or जोरी *a pair*, चौका or °री or गंडा *a four*, गाही *a five*, कोडी *a score*, सैकरा *a hundred*, सहस्र *a thousand*, लाख् *a hundred thousand*, कोंरा or कोरो *ten millions*. Collectives may also be formed by adding आ or आँ to the cardinals, so especially बीसा *a score*, तीसा *a thirty*, चलीसा *a forty*, also एका *a one*, पंचा *a five*, सता *a seven*, अठा *a eight*, नवाँ *a nine*, टहाँ *a ten*, etc. The multiplicatives टूनी, तियाँ or त्रिका, चौक् or चौका, छाक् or छक्का may be used as collectives.

406. All collectives are subst.; those in अ (*quiescent*) or आ are masc.; those in ई fem.; they are declined precisely like all other subst.

407. *Affinities.* These numerals probably occur in all Gḍs., though they are not noticed by all Gḍ. grammarians. As to S. see Tr. 178—181 (§§ 26. 27); thus एकों or इकों 1, बिको 2, टिको 3, चउंको or चउंकु or चउंकड़ो 4, पंजो 5, छको 6, सतो 7, अठो 8, नाँवो 9, उहो or उहाको 10, वीहो or वीहारो or विहारो or कोड़ी 20, टीहो or टीहारो or टिहारो 30, चालीहो or चालीहारो (for *चालीहारो) 40, पंताहो or पताही 50, साठीको 60, सवियो or सौकिड़ो 100, सहासु or हसाह 1000 (Tr. 168), लाखु 100000, कोह or किरोड़ि 10000000. As to P., see Ld. 85. 86, thus काउ or काउँ 1, दूणो 2, तिराउँ or तिराउ 3, चौका 4, पाँजा 5, छका 6, सत्ता 7, अठा 8, नाऱ्हाँ 9, दाहा or दहाका 10, कोड़ी or वीहड़ो or वीहा 20, पंताहा 50, सैकड़ा 100, सहसू or हजारू 1000, लक्ख 100000, क्रोड 10000000, etc. As to W. H., see Kl. 105—107; they do not much differ from E. H.; एकाई 1, दूना or दूनी or दोड़ा or दोड़ी 2, तो or तीन् 3, पंजा 5, नम् or नम्मा 9, दहाम् or दहाई 10, कोड़ी or वीसा 20, सैकड़ा 100, सहस or हजारू 1000, क्रोड 10000000; some collectives are formed by adding the fem. suff. ई (for masc. आ), as बतीसी *a thirty two*, पचीसी *a fifty*, etc. In M. सहस or हजारू 1000, लाख् 10000, कोट or क्रोड् 10000000.

408. *Derivation.* Collectives are derived in Skr. by means of the suff. क, whence the Gḍ. forms arise regularly. Thus *unit*, Skr. एककम्, Pr. एक्कअं, E. H. एका; *triad*, Skr. त्रिकम्, Pr. तिअं, W. H. तीं, E. H. ति; *score*, Skr. विंशकम्, Pr. वीसअं, E. H. वीसा; *hexad*, Skr. षट्कम्, Pr. छक्कं, E. H. छाक्; *quaternion*, Skr. चतुष्कम्, Pr. चउक्कं, E. H. चौक्; *pentad*, Skr. पञ्चकम्, Pr. पंचअं, E. H. पंचा, etc. Sometimes the pleon. suff. क (see § 195) is added; thus *triad*, E. H. तियाँ or त्रिका, Pr. तिअअं, Ap. Pr. त्रिक्कअं, Skr. त्रिककम्; *quaternion*, E. H. चौका, Pr. चउक्कअं, Skr. चतुष्ककम्; *hexad*, E. H. छक्का, Pr. छक्कअं, Skr. षट्कम्; *ten millions*, E. H. कोंरा or कोंडा, Pr. कोडिअं, Skr. कोटिकम् (or *कोटकम्); sometimes the pleon. suff. रा (or डा, see § 209) is superadded; as *four*, E. H. चौकरा, W. H. चौकड़ो, Ap. Pr. चउक्कउउ, Skr. चतुष्क°; *hundred*, E. H. सैकरा, W. H. सैकड़ो, Ap. Pr. सयक्कउउ, Skr. शतक°, etc.; perhaps also E. H. दोरा, W. H. दोड़ो, Ap. Pr. *दुअउउ (cf. H. C. 2, 15 विंशं = Skr. विंशान्),

Skr. दिक्, though this might be a noun derived from the R. दुह् or दुह् *join*. Sometimes the „collective" sense is emphasised by making the numeral an abstract noun by means of the suff. आई (see § 220); thus W. H. एकाई *unit*, E. H. नवाई" *nine*, दहाई *decade*, etc. — Differently derived is दूना m. and दूनी f. *duad*, viz. from Pr. दुउणअं (cf. H. C. 1, 94), Skr. द्विगुणकम्. — As to the E. H. सहस्र and करोड़ see §§ 188. 135. — The E. H. गंडा is properly a noun, the Skr. गण्डकः, lit. *aggregate of four sides* (?); so is also the E. H. गाहो, lit. *the aggregate of the five (ancient) planets* (Skr. ग्रह). — For the E. H. कोरी or कोड़ी *score* I know no satisfactory explanation; possibly it may be connected with कौड़ी, (Skr. कपर्दक) *aggregate of twenty shells* (?).

5. REDUPLICATIVES.

409. The reduplicative numbers are defective. Only the following occur in E. H.; इकेहरा *onefold, single*, दुहरा or दोहरा *twofold, double*, तेहरा *threefold, triple*, चौहरा *fourfold, quadruple*. The rest are made by adding the word बार् or बेर् *time* to the cardinal numbers; as पाँच बार् or पाँच बेर् *five times, quintuple*, etc.

410. The reduplicatives are adj. and treated precisely like those of the strong form (§ 381); that is, they make a fem. in ई (§ 384), as दोहरी, तेहरी, etc., and an obl. form in ए (§ 386), as दोहरे, etc.

411. *Affinities.* The reduplicatives exist in all Gds. As to W. H. see Kl. 105. In P. there are 1 इकहरा or कहिरा, 2 दोहरा, 3 तिहरा, 4 चौहरा or चउहरा, 5 पंतौहरा or पंतउहरा, 6 छहौरा, 7 सतौरा; and even the „ordinal" suff. म may be added pleonastically; thus पंतौहरम *quintuple*, just as पंतमाँ or पंतवाँ *fifth* (Ld. 88). In S. there are, 1 इकहर or इकाहर, 2 बिहर or बिहार, 3 ट्रिहर or ट्रिहार, 4 चोहर or चोहार (Tr. 184). M. adds पट *strip* instead of हर; thus 1 एकपट, 2 दुपट, 3 तिपट, 4 चौपट, 10 दसपट, etc. (Man. 42). Similarly W. H. adds लड़ा *string*, e. g., 3 तिलड़ा, 4 चौलड़ा (see Kl. 105). — B. and O. seem to use tats. forms; as एकधा, द्विधा, etc. (see S. Ch. 109. Sn. 24).

412. *Derivation.* Reduplicatives are formed in Skr. by the addition of the *quasi*-suff. विध (from विधा *form, manner*), which in Pr. becomes विह or, curtailed, ह, whence, probably by the addition of the pleon. suff. ल (see § 209, or in S. ार), arises the E. H. हा. Thus in the Bh. (Wb. Bh. 425. 426) the following occur: 2 दुविह, 4 चउविह, 5 पंचविह, 6 छविह, or contracted 1 एगाहिअ, 2 बेहिअ, 3 तेहिअ (perhaps from Skr. विहित past part. of R. वि-धा). Accordingly Skr. द्विविध° *twofold*, Pr. दुविह° (H. C. 1, 94) or बेविह°, whence contracted Ap. Pr. दोहउ or बेहु, and W. H. दोहरो or E. H. दोहरा, S. बिहर. The S. form बिहार presupposes an Ap. Pr. बेहच्चउ, containing the pleon. suff. क and उ. Compare the names of the E. H. metre दोहा masc. (Skr. द्विविधकः) and Pr. दोहडिया fem. However, the Pr. ह and Gḍ. हर might be also derived from the Skr. *quasi*-suff. ध or धा, as in द्विधः (from द्विधा *in two parts*).

6. FRACTIONALS.

413. The following fractional numbers occur in E. H. Those marked with an asterisk are used both as subst. and adj.

1/2 *आधू or *आधा	1/16 सोरही or सोरहिया
1/3 तिहाई or तिहइया or तिहैया	1 1/4 *सवा or सवाई or सवइया or सवैया
1/4 *पाउ or *पाव or चौथाई or चौथइया or चौथैया	1 1/2 *डेढ़ or डेढा or डेढे or देढ़ or देढा or देढे
	2 1/2 *आढा or अढाई or अढइया or अढैया
1/10 दहाई or दहइया or दहैया	3/4 पाउन् or पौना

It is to be noted, that पउने or पौने deducts *one fourth*, but सवा adds *one fourth* and साढे *one half* to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus एक् पाउ सेर् *one fourth of a ser*; आधू सेर् or आधा सेर् *half a ser*; पउन् or पौना सेर् *three quarters of a ser*; सवा सेर् *one ser and a quarter*; डेढ़ सेर् *one ser and a half*; पौने दुइ सेर् *one ser and three quarters* (lit., one quarter less than two sers); सवा दुइ सेर् *two sers and one quarter*; आढा सेर् or अढाई सेर् *two sers and one half*; साढे तीनि सेर् *three sers and one half*, etc.

414. None of the adjectival fractionals change their form in construction with a subst., except आधा *half* which makes re-

gularly fem. आधी (§ 384), and obl. form आधे (§ 386). Thus आधी-रात्रि *midnight*, आधे बाट् मे *at half-way*.

415. *Affinities.* These fractionals occur in all Gḍs., though there are additional forms in some of them. Thus ¼, W. H. पाओ or चौथाई, P. पाउ or चुथाई, S. पाउ or चोथे or चोथाई or चोथा, G. पा, M. पाव्, B. चौथि or सिकि, O. पा or पाए; ⅓, W. H., P. तिहाई, S. तिहाई, B. तिहाइ; ½, W. H. आध् or आधो, P. अठ or अठा, S. अधु or आधो, G. अढो, M. अर्धा, B. आध् or अर्ध or अर्धक्, O. अध or अर्ध or अर्धक्; ¾, W. H., P. पौन्, G. पोणो, M. पाऊणा; 1¼, W. H. सवा or समा or सम, P. सवा or सवाइआ, S. सवाई, G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउआ; 1½, W. H. डेढ् or डीढा or डेओढा, P. डेढ् or ढेढ् or ढेढा or डेउढा, S. डेढु or डेढे, G. डोढ, M. दीड्, B. देढ्, O. देढ्; 2½, W. H. अढाई or ढामा or ढाम्, P. ढाई or ढाइआ or ढाया, S. अढाई, G. अढो or हढो, B. अढाई, O. अढाइ; 3½, W. H. हूँटा or होटा, P. उठा or उँटा or उटा; 4½, W. H. होंचा, P. होंचा (or पौंचा?); 5½, W. H. पोंचा, (P. पौंचा?); 6½, W. H. छोंचा; 7½, W. H. सतोंचा. Again *minus* ¼, W. H., B., O., P. पौन, S. पौणो or मुनो, G. पोणा, M. पाउणे or पावणे; *plus* ¼, W. H., P., S., G. सवा, M. सवा, B. सउआ, O. सउआंइ; *plus* ½, W. H., P., O. साढे, S. साढा (or साढु), G. साडा, M., B. साडे. See Kl. 103. 105. Ld. 85. 86. 87. Tr. 184. 185. Ed. 48. Man. 45. Ś. Ch. 109. Sn. 24.

416. *Derivation.* आध् or आधा regularly for Pr. अठो or अठ्ठो, Skr. अर्ठः or अर्धकः. — तिहाई, चौथाई, ढ्हाई, सोढ्हो are abstract nouns derived with the suff. ई or आई from the ordinal or cardinal forms (see § 220). The ह् in तिहाई is probably merely euphonic, for तिआई = तीआई = Pr. तइअ° (H. C. 1, 101) = Skr. तृतीय°. — पाउ or पाव् (or H. H. पाओ) regularly for Ap. Pr. पाउ, Pr. पाओ, Skr. पादः; O. पा or पाए् or पाए = Mg. पाए or पाये. — सवा curtailed from Ap. Pr. सवाउ, Pr. सवाओ, Skr. सपादः; O. सवाइ, Mg. सवाए or सवाये. — साढे is the obl. form of साढा (which, however, is never used), regularly for Pr. सड्ढो, Skr. सार्धकः from स + अर्ध (lit. *with a half*). — पउने or पौने is the obl. form of पौना or wk. form पाउन् or पौन्, regularly for Pr. पाओणो, Skr. पादोनः, from पाद् + ऊन, lit. *one quarter less*. — The forms ढेढा or डेढा, साढा,

उठा, etc. are made by compounding अर्ध *half* with the next highest ordinal; thus $3^1/_2$ is in Mg. Pr. अड्ढ° (see Wb. Bh. 425), which is evidently shortened for अठोढ° = अट्ठ + अड्ढ° = अट्ठ + चउढ° (cf. H. C. 2, 33) = अर्ध + चतुर्थ° lit. *half-fourth*. The same shortening of ओ to उ occurs in Mg. सत्तमुरं for सत्तोत्तरं = Skr. सप्तोत्तरम् (Wb. Bh. 427). Next Pr. अठोढ° is changed to अहोढ° (see § 119) and the initial अ is dropped (see § 172), whence arises the W. H. होटा or हूँटा or (dropping ढ्) the P. ऊठा or ऊँटा (cf. § 145, exc. 2). Again $2^1/_2$ is in Mg. Pr. अड्ढाइज्जा (Wb. Bh. 425), which is contr. for अड्ढअड्ढज्जा or अड्ढ + अड्ढज्जा = अड्ढ + तइज्जा (cf. H. C. 4, 339 तइज्जो) = Skr. अर्ध + तृतीया lit. *half-third*. An alternative Pr. form of तइज्जा is तइआ (cf. H. C. 1, 101), whence arises Pr. अड्ढअड्ढआ or contracted अड्ढाइआ or E. H. अढाई or अढइआ or (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढाइआ or ढाई. Similarly $4^1/_2$ must be Skr. अर्धपञ्चमः *half-fifth*, Ap. Pr. अड्ढपंचउ or contracted अड्ढौंचउ, whence (dropping initial अ, § 172) P. ढौंचा, W. H. ढोंचा. Similarly $1^1/_2$ would be in Skr. अर्धद्वितीयः, Mg. अड्ढदुइए (or *अड्ढदिवइए), and transposing अड्ढ° and °दुइ° (or *दिव), दिवड्ढ, which form occurs in the Bh. (see Wb. Bh. 190. 411) and whence is contracted E. H. देढ or डेढ, M. दीड or G. डेढ or P. डेउढा and डूढा or W. H. डेढ़ा. — The forms पौंचा, सोंचा, सतोंचा are anomalous and fanciful forms, made after the analogy of ढौंचा under a mistaken idea of its true derivation. They have, certainly, no connection with ऊँचा *high* (as Kl. 108). The ष् of षोंचा is merely the modern pronunciation of ष् in the Skr. षष्, and shows that the word is of modern origin, without any foundation in Pr. — In the W. H. समा or सम the व् of सवा has been changed to म् (see § 134), as W. H. नम्मा or नम *nine* for नवा. In the W. H. छमा or छम corresponding to P. छाया or छाई the म् appears to be merely euphonic.

7. PROPORTIONALS.

417. Proportional numbers are made by adding the word गुना *time* to the cardinal numbers; thus दुइ गुना *two times*, तीनि गुना *three times*; चारि गुना *four times*; पाँच् गुना *five times*, etc.

There are also the contracted forms दुगुना *twice*, तिगुना *thrice*, चौगुना *four times*.

418. *Affinities and Derivation.* The proportionals exist in all Gds. Thus B, दुइगुण 2, etc. (Ş. Ch. 109), O. तिनि गुण 3, etc. (Sn. 24), W. H. दुगुना 2, तिगुना 3, चौगुना 4, सतगुना 7, etc. (Kl. 105); P. uses either the full or the contracted forms throughout; e. g., दूणा or दूणो 2, तीउणा or तिगुणा 3, चौणा or चौगुणा 4, पचौणा or पंतौणा 5, छिऔणा or छिगुणा 6, सतौणा or सतगुणा 7, अठौणा or अठगुणा 8, नौणा or नौगुणा 9, दसौणा or दसगुणा 10, etc. (Ld. 87). S. has only the contracted forms: thus इकणो 1, बीणो 2, ती̃णो 3, चउणो or चौणो 4, पंजूणो 5, छहूणो 6, सतूणो 7, अठूणो 8, नउणो 9, उहूणो 10, etc. (Tr. 182). S. has also इकटो *once*, बीटो *twice*, which, perhaps, are contractions of इक-वटो, बिवटो, as in M. which uses पट् instead of गुण; thus एकपट् 1, दुप्पट् 2, तिप्पट् 3, चौपट् 4, etc. (see § 411). — E. H. दुगुना regularly for Pr. दुगुणाइं, Skr. द्विगुणाकम्; E. H. तिगुना for Pr. तिगुणाइं, Skr. त्रिगुणाकम्; and E. H. चौगुना for Pr. चउगुणाइं, Skr. चतुर्गुणाकम्.

8. SUBTRACTIVES.

419. Subtractive numerals are made by adding कम् *less*; thus 99 is एक् कम् सै *one hundred less one*; 48 is दुइ कम् पचास् *fifty less two*.

420. *Affinities and Derivation.* कम् is thus used also in B. (Ş. Ch. 110), and in W. H., H. H., and probably in all W. Gds., as it is a persian word. B. uses also the Gd. word बाइट् (Ş. Ch. 110).

9. DISTRIBUTIVES.

421. Distributive numbers are made by repeating the numeral; thus दुइ दुइ *by twos, two each*; दस् दस् *by tens, ten each*. Sometimes distribution is idiomatically expressed by the word पाछे *after*; e. g., ब्राह्मनन् के दुइ दुइ पैसा दिह्लेस् or ब्राह्मनन् पाछे दुइ प° हि° *he gave the Brâhmans two paisâs each*. Sometimes करि *having made* is added to the reduplicated num.; e. g., दुइ दुइ करि हि° *he gave two to each*.

422. *Affinities.* This practice of reduplication is common to all Gḍs.; thus B. दश् दश् or दश् दश् करिया *by tens* (Ş. Ch, 108. 245), O. दुइ दुइ *by twos* (Sn. 24), and so in all. B. also expresses distribution by adding the particle टा or टी to a single numeral, as दश् टा करिया देउ *give ten to each* (Ş. Ch. 245).

10. DEFINITIVES.

423. Definiteness or emphasis is given to a number by adding the suff. ओ or ओँ; thus दोनो बरिस् *the two years*; तीनोँ दिन् *the three days*; चारोँ ब्राह्मन् *the four Brâhmans*, etc. A final इ is dropped before the suff., e. g., चारोँ of चारि *four*, साठोँ of साठि *sixty*, etc.

424. *Affinities and Derivation.* This suff. is used also in W. H. (see Kl. 101), to which it more properly belongs. It is the same as the suff. of the obl. plur. (see §§ 362. 363. 365, 7), which is occasionally transferred to the nom. plur. also (see § 369).

11. INDEFINITIVES.

425. Indefiniteness in a number is expressed either by prefixing or suffixing एक् *one* to the numeral, as एक् दस् *about ten*, सौ एक् *about one hundred*, etc.; to एक् itself आध् *half* is added, एक् आध् *about one*. Or it may be expressed by joining another number according to the following rules: 1, every number is used with the one immediately following, as तीनि चारि *about three*, दस् इग्यारह् *about ten*, etc.; or 2, ten or any multiple of ten is used with the next following multiple of five or ten; as दस् पंदरह् or दस् बीस् *about ten* or *any number between ten and fifteen* or *between ten and twenty*; बीस् पचीस् or बीस् तीस् *about twenty*; or 3, exceptionally 2 is used with 4, दुइ चारि *about two*, 5 with 7, पाँच् सात् *about five*, 8 with 10, आठ् दस् *about eight*, 10 with 12, दस् बारह्, 12 with 14, बारह् चौदह् *about twelve*, 20 with 50, बीस् पचास् *about twenty*.

426. *Affinities.* These usages are probably common to all Gḍs. As to B. see Ş. Ch. 106. 107, and as to W. H. see

Kl. 101. B. also expresses indefiniteness by prefixing one of the particles गोटा, गोटी, खान् or थान्, गाह् to a numeral (S. Ch. 106); O. uses गोटा (Sn. 24); S. suffixes जनु (Tr. 180). Thus B. or O. गोटा त्रिञ् or B. खान् त्रिञ् or S. ढिहारो जनु *about thirty*. — The B. खान् or थान्, S. जनु is, probably, the Skr. स्थाणुः *stake* or *post*, which becomes in Pr. थाणू or खाणू (H. C. 2, 7) or खम् (H. C. 2, 99). — The B. गोटा or गाटी is probably the Skr. गोष्ठकः or गोष्ठिकः *assembly, heap*, and गाह् probably the Skr. गाह् *a progression*.

FOURTH CHAPTER. THE PRONOUN.

427. There are six kinds of pronouns, 1) the personal, 2) the correlative, 3) the reflexive, 4) the honorific, 5) pronominal adjectives and 6) pron. adverbs. The genitives of the personal and reflexive pron. serve to express the corresponding possessive pron.

1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

428. E. H. possesses pron. for the first and second person only. For the third pers. the remote demonstr. pron. is used. The pers. pron. are alike for both genders. The forms of the 1st pers. are, dir. sg. मैं *I*, obl. sg. मो or मों, dir. and obl. pl. हम् *we*; those of the 2nd pers. are, dir. sg. तैं *thou*, obl. sg. तो or तों, dir. pl. तूँ *you*, obl. pl. तोह्.

429. There is a long form of the pers. pron., which, however, now occurs only in the fem. plur. and is made by adding the suff. घनी (see §§ 209. 214) to the obl. plur., thus हमनी *we*, तोहनी *you*.

Note: The weak form हमन् *we* occurs in the O. H. (Kl. 127); the corresponding form of the 2nd pers. would be *तोहन् *you*. From these are derived the strong fem. forms हमनी and तोहनी, to which would correspond the strong masc. *हमना and *तोहना, obl. *हमने and *तोहने. Some of these masc. forms may be in actual use. All alike are very vulgar and almost exclusively used

by women, even in a sing. sense [1]). A plur. तुमन् and even a sing. तुइन् actually exists in Gw. (see Kl. 129). See similar long forms of the correlative pron. in § 436.

430. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) *The first pers. pron. sing.* The dir. form is essentially the same in the E., S. and N. Gḍs.; thus B. मुइ, O. मु or मुइ or मुहि, E. H. मैं (Bh.) or मइँ or मएँ (Bs.), M. मी, N. मैं or मो; also H. H. मैं. It is quite different in the W. Gḍs., viz. W. H. हौं (Br.) or हों (Kn.) or हूँ (Mw.), P. हउँ, G. हुं, S. ह्यउँ or ह्यौं (dropping ह्). The other forms, however, also occur dialectically in the W. Gḍs., viz. W. H. and P. मैं, S. मूं or मौं, but, as a rule, they are only used as the obl. form; e. g., abl. sg. Mw. मैंसूं *from me*, P. मै थों, S. मूं खां or मौं खां; act. sg., W. H. and P. मैं, G. मे, S. मूं or मौं. [2] On the other hand, the proper dir. form ह्यौं is occasionally used as an obl. in S. (Tr. 190), and so also हउँ in P. (Ld. 16). This shows that the forms with initial म् are properly obl., and have been anomalously transferred to the nom. sg., as has occasionally happened in the case of subst. (see § 369). — *The obl. form* is essentially the same in all Gḍs.; viz. B. and O. मो, E. H. मो (Bh.) or म्वा or म्वहि (Bs.), O. H. मोहि or मुहि, W. H. मोहि or मुहि or मो or मैं or मे (Br.) or मैं or म्हैं or (shortened) म or म्ह or म्हो or म्हा or मा (Mw.) [3]), P. मे or मै, S. मूं or मौं or मुहुं [3]), G. म or मा or मे [4]), M. म or मो or म्यां [5]), N. म or मैं or मो or मे [6]). — There are, then, in Gḍ. two principal types: 1) that of the proper dir. forms हौं, etc.; 2) that of the various obl. form मैं, मो, etc., some of which are also occasionally used as direct forms.

1) I may state here as a general fact, that among the vulgar in India the plur. forms of the pron. and verb are almost universally used in the place of the sing. Inattention to this fact has led to many errors in the statements of Kl. and Bs. as to E. H.

2) मे and मा or म्हा only in the gen. मेरो (Br.), मारो or म्हारो (Mw.).

3) मुहुं only in the gen. मुहुं तो.

4) मा only in gen. मारो, and मैं in the act.; but acc. म ने.

5) मो and म्यां only in the act., but acc. म लां, etc.

6) मे only in gen. मेरो, मैं only in the act. मैं ले.

The dir. forms are modifications of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. हउँ (H. C. 4, 375) or हमुं (K. L. 39 in Ls. 451) or हमु (Md. अस्मदो हमु सुना सार्ठः । अस्मद् इत्यधिकारः । हमु भणामि s, i. e., *asmad* has *hamu* in the nom. sg.; here the rules on *asmad* commence; hamu bhanami *I speak*). The Skr. nom. *sg.* is अहम्, which becomes in Pr. अहं or हं (Vr. 6, 40) or str. form अहअं (Vr. 6, 40) or *हअं. The latter regularly H. C. 4, 354 changes to हउं in Ap. Pr.[1]), and this becomes in P. हउँ, in Br. हों, in Kn. हों, in Mw. हूँ, in G. हुँ. — The Gd. obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms मइ or मह (H. C. 3, 113) or महु (H. C. 4, 379). The form मइ is used in Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr. and loc. sg. (H. C. 3, 113. 111. 109. 115), and in the Ap. Pr. for the instr. loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 377); that is, it has evidently become a general obl. form. There can be little doubt, that मइ is a curtailment of *महि (see § 126) and the three forms *महि, महु and मह are evidently made by means of the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह (shortened for ह and हो, see §§ 365, 6. 367, 3). In the Ap. Pr. the corresponding pl. suff. हिं, हुं, हं are sometimes transferred to the sg. (see § 367, 5); accordingly we find in the Ap. Pr. also the alternative forms मइं (for *महिं, cf. § 126), महुं and महं (see K. I. 44 in Ls. 451, and H. C. 4, 377. 3, 113)[2]). Now the Ap. मइ or *महि is modified in O. to मुहि

1) Ls. 330 explains the form अहअं as = अहमं, analogous to Pr. तुमं and तुं or तं (H. C. 3, 90); this seems to be supported by the Ap. from हमु; that form, however, is somewhat doubtful; it might well be a false reading for हउं. It appears to me more probable that अहअं is the regular strong form of अहं, and equal to *अहकं, as shown by the corresponding Mg. अहके (Vr. 11, 9) which according to Mg. usage retains the क; there is also a Mg. form हके or हगे (Vr. 11, 9), which represents a Mh. form *हअं and the Ap. हउं; H. C. 4, 354 expressly states that the Pr. strong form termin. अहं (अकं) changes to अउं in the Ap. Pr.

2) The Ap. Pr. has मइं according to H. C. 4, 377, but मइ according to Md. मइ ङिटाम्भिः । मइ । मयि मया मां वार्थः ॥ again it has महु according to H. C. 4, 379, but महुं according to K. I. and Md. उसिङस्भां मत्तमहुंमहा । त्रयः

or मुइ, in B. मुइ, in Bs. म्वहि (for *मुहि, i. e. व for उ, § 71), Br. मुहि (in assimilation to तुइ), and contracted in P. to मे or मै, M. मी. The Ap. मइं is in Bs. मईं or मयूँ, in E. H., W. H., P., N. मैं, in M. मीं or म्याँ (for में, i. e. या for ए, cf. § 71). The Ap. महु is in O. H., B., O., E. H. मो[1]) (for *मउ, § 126, cf. तउ in Nro. 2) or Bs. म्वा, and the Ap. महुं in E. H., N. मों and in S. मुहुँ (in assimilation to तुहुँ) or मूँ. The Ap. Pr. मह occurs in O. H. (e. g., मह सम *like me*, cf. Kl. 121[2]), and is shortened in M., G., N. to म, in O. मु, in W. H. म or म्ह; and the Pr. मइं is in S. मैं. Lastly in the O. H. and in Br. the obl. suff. हि is pleonastically superadded to the obl. form मो, making it मोहि. — 2) *The second pers. pron. sing.* The circumstances here are precisely analogous to those of the 1st pers. pron., with the exception, that of the old Skr. nom. sg. त्वम्, Pr. तं or तुं or तुवं or तुमं (H. C. 3, 90) no trace has survived in Gd. In all Gds. alike, and even in the Ap. Pr., the old gen. sg. or obl. form has taken the place of the dir. form (cf. § 369). Thus as dir. forms are used in B. तुइ, in O. तु or तुइ or तुहि, E. H. तईं or तयूँ (Bs.) or तैं (Bh.), N. त, W. H. ते or तैं or तूँ (Br.) or तूँ or थूँ (Mw.), P. तूँ, S. तूँ, M. तूँ, G. तुं; as obl. forms in B. and O. तो, E. H. तो or तों (Bh.) or त्वा or त्वाँ or त्वहि (Bs.), N. तैं or तँ[3]), W. H. तोहि or तो or तू or तैं or ते (Br.) or थो or थैं or था or थ (Mw.) or तोई or त्वी or त्वै (Gw., Km.)[4]), P. तै or ते, S. तो or तुहुँ[5]), G. त or तु or तें or

स्युः ॥ and in the *Nágara Ap.* ममेत्यर्थे महुं च स्यात्। महुं घरु सुन्दरु। चकारात् मम च ॥ lastly the Ap. has मह according to Md. in the above quotations, and the Mh. Pr. has both मह and महं according to H. C. 3, 113.

1) In the O. H. of Chand मो occurs as a gen., e. g., नाथ मो नाम चंद *Lord! my name is Chand* (Kl. 121).

2) Or, Chand 25, 28 मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केम ॥ *how will she make my kinship*, etc.

3) तैं only in the act. तैं ले *by thee*.

4) ते and था only in the gen. तेरो (Br.), थारो (Mw.), तू and तैं only in the act. in Br. तूने or तैं ने, but in Mw. generally, e. g., abl. तैं सूँ or थैं सूँ, see Kl. 128.

5) तुहुँ only in the gen. तुहुँ तो.

तुँ or ता[1]), M. तूँ or त्वाँ or तु[2]). All these obl. forms are various modifications of the Pr. gen. sg. forms तइ or तइं, तउ (modified for *तहि or *तहिं, *तहु, cf. महु in Nro. 1), तुह or तुहं, तुहुं[3]), which are derived by means of the gen. or obl. suff. हि, हु, ह or हिं, हुं, हं from the bases त or तु (for Skr. त्व). To complete the series, the form तुहि must be added, which is preserved in the O. H. and Br. तुहि, Bs. त्वहि, O. तुहि or तुइ, B. तुइ, Gw. (lg. f.) तुइन्; and also the form तह[4]) which is preserved in the Br. gen. तरो, Mw. थारो *thine* for Ap. *तहारउ, just as Br. मेरो, Mw. मारो or म्हारो *mine* = Ap. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) from Ap. gen. मह. The Pr. तइ or *तहि appears in P. तै or ते or (shortened) G. त, Mw. त or थ; and the Ap. Pr. तइं or *तहिं in Bs. तईं or तयँ, Bh., Br., N. तेँ, Mw. थेँ, G. तेँ, N. तँ. The Ap. Pr. तउ or *तहु becomes

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1) ता only in the gen. तारो, तेँ and तूँ only in the act. तेँ or तुँ ए, त or तु in the acc. त ने or तु ने.

2) M. तूँ or त्वाँ only in the act.

3) The form तइ is used as an obl. form in the Mh. Pr. for the gen., abl., instr., loc. sing. (H. C. 3, 99. 96. 94. 101) and in the form तइं in the Ap. Pr. for the instr., loc. and acc. sg. (H. C. 4, 370) and Mṛ. तइं ज़िताभिः। तृभिः सह युष्मदस् तइं स्यात्। तइं। त्वया त्वयि त्वां वा॥ The form तउ is used in the Ap. Pr. for the gen. and abl. sg. (H. C. 4, 372), and तुह for the gen., abl. and loc. (Mṛ. ङिङसिङ्सां तुहतुह्कतम्भवुह्माः स्युः॥ see also K. I. 44 in Ls. 451) and तुहं for the gen. and abl. (K. I. 44 in Ls. 451); the same form तुह and तुहं are also used for the nom. sg. both in the Mh. (H. C. 3, 90) and Ap. Pr. (K. I. 89 in Ls. 451); the form तुहुं is used in the Ap. Pr. for the nom. sg. (H. C. 4, 368. Mṛ. युष्मदस् तुहं। युष्मद् इत्यधिकारः। सुनेत्येव। तुहुं सोअसि॥ i. e., *thou sleepest*. The identity of the nom. forms तुह or तुहं with the gen. forms तुह or तुहं has been already pointed out by Ls. 465, and that the nom. form तुहुं is really a gen. is shown by the fact of its still being used in S. for the gen. तुहुंजो (Tr. 191. 193). In तइ, तइं, तउ a medial ह has been dropped, as is shown by the Mw. obl. थेँ or थ (contr. for *तहिं, *तह); and the forms in ईं (= *हिं), हं, हुं are gen. pl., used in a sing. sense, precisely as in the case of मईं, महं, महुं (see Nro. 1).

4) तह is given as an obl. form by De Tassy in his Hindi Gramm. (Kl. 121).

in O. H., B., O., E. H., S. तो[1]), and in W. H. तो or थो, Bs. त्वा, and a corresponding Ap. form *तहुं is preserved in the E. H. तों or त्वाँ, M. त्वां (cf. § 71). The Ap. तुह becomes in O., M., G. तु and is preserved also in the E. Gḍ. तोरा *thine* for Ap. तुहारा (cf. H. C. 4, 434). The Ap. तुहं or तुहुं becomes in P., S., G. तूं, Mw. तूँ or यूँ, Br. तू. Lastly, O. H. and Br. form तोहि by pleonastically supperadding the obl. suff. हि to the obl. form तो; and similarly S. forms the gen. तुहे (तो), abl. तोहाँ by pleonastically adding the obl. suff. एँ and हाँ (or हे, हां). — 3) *The first pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are the same as with the 2nd pers. pron. sing. No trace of the old Skr. nom. pl. वयम् has survived in Gḍ.; Pr., however, has वअं or वयं (H. C. 3, 106). But Gḍ. and, generally also Pr., use one of the many obl. forms of the Skr. base अस्म as their direct form. Thus the various dir. forms in Gḍ. are: B. आमि or आम (to the latter, as usual, the pl.-aff. रा is added, आम-रा), O. आम्हे, E. H. हम्, N. हामी (to which, as usual the pl.-aff. हरु or हेरु is added, हामीहरु or हामीहेरु), M. आम्ही, W. H. हम् (Br.) or म्हे or म्हें (Mw.), G. अमे or हमे; and S. and Pa आसीं. The various Gḍ. obl. forms are: B. आमा, O. आम्ह or अम्मन (the latter only in the dat. अम्मङु), E. H. हम् (Bh.) or हम्ह (Bs. see Kl. 127), N. हाँमी, M. आम्हा or आम्हों (only act.) or आम् (only in the gen. आम्चा), W. H. हम् or हमन् or हमनि or हमों or हमें (Br.) or मों or म्हों (Mw.) or हमुं (Gw.)[2]), G. अम् or अमे or हमे (only act.) or अमा (in the gen. अमारो); P. असा or सा or हमा or (only act.) असीं, S. असाँ or असांहे or असाँहूँ. All these forms are modifications respectively of the following Pr. gen. or obl. forms: a) अम्ह or अम्हि or अम्हे, b) अम्हाणं, c) अम्हहं, d) अम्हहिं or अम्हहुं, which may be spelled also अम्मा° (H. C. 4, 412). Of these the first set अम्ह, अम्हि, अम्हे are modifications of the vedic

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1) In the O. H. of Chand तो occurs as a gen. sg., e. g., सुनिय बात तो तात। *having heard the word, thy father*, etc.

2) हमें only in the dat. and acc. हमें को; हमा only in the gen. हमारा *our*.

obl. form अम्हे; and अम्ह, अम्हे are used in Pr. for the gen., instr., acc., nom. (H. C. 3, 114. 110. 108. 106) and अम्हे in the Ap. for the acc. and nom. (H. C. 4, 376)[1]. The Pr. अम्हे or अम्ह becomes आम्हे in O., अमे or हमे in G., and म्हे in Mw.; and the Pr. अम्ह becomes अम् in G., हम् in W. H. and E. H., and आम् in M. — The Pr. form अम्हि or अम्मि, though clearly a mere modification of the plur. obl. form अम्हे (or अम्हे), has assumed the sense of the sing. and is used for the nom. and acc. sing. (H. C. 3, 105. 107). It is so employed also in one of the Ap. Pr. (Mḍ. अहम् अवें अम्मिहुंममाः। अम्मि पल्लिदु (?)। एवं हुंमम (?)). It has only survived in the B. आमि *I*. As to the second Pr. set अम्हाणं or अम्माणं, it is the regular gen. plur. of the base अम्ह or अम्म (H. C. 3, 114, see § 365, 4) and has survived in the O. अम्मन् and W. H. हमन् or हमनि. As to the third and fourth Pr. set अम्हहं, अम्हइं, to which must be added a form *अम्हहुं, they are regularly derived with the Ap. gen. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं (see § 365, 7) from the base अम्ह. The form अम्हहिं or (dropping ह्) अम्हइं is limited in the Ap. to the nom., acc. and instr. (H. C. 4, 376)[2], but in Gḍ. it occurs also in the dat. (= old gen.); thus in O. हमहिँ and contracted in Br. हमैं, H. H. हमें, Mw. म्हैं, M. अम्हीं or अम्ही, N. हाँमी. The form *अम्हहुं is not noticed by the Pr. Gramm., but it appears in Br. as हमौं, H. H. हमों, Gw. हमुँ. The Ap. form अम्हहं, especially mentioned by H. C. 4, 380 as the gen. plur., survives in Mw. म्हाँ or मगँ or (dropping the *anundsika*) in B. आमा, M. अम्हा, W. H., P. हमा, G. आमा. — The anomalous P. and S. forms with स्

1) H. C. allows both अम्हे and अम्हइं to the nom. and acc.; K. I. gives अम्हे to the nom. and अम्हइं to the acc. (K. I. 40 in Ls. 451); again Mḍ. allows both अम्मे and अम्मइं to the nom., but only अम्मइं to the acc., thus अम्मइ इति तृप्रभृत्योः। अम्मइ अहमु पेक्ख वा। अम्मे च तसा। अम्मे भणामु। चकारादु अम्मइं च ॥.

2) H. C. has only अम्हइं and allows it only to the nom. and acc., but Mḍ. has both अम्महिं and अम्मइं and allows them also to the instr., thus अम्मइं अम्महि अम्मो अम्माहिं अम्मेहिम् इति च भिसा। पक्ष स्युः। अम्मइ भणिदु। एवमन्यानि ॥.

cannot have arisen from the ordinary Pr. or Ap. forms, but must be referred to some peculiar Pr., which changed the conjunct स्म् of the Skr. base अस्म to स्ह् instead of to म्ह् or म्ह[1]). Otherwise, however, their formation is exactly analogous to those of the other Gḍ. forms; thus P. and S. असो" is analogous to M. अम्हो" and would presuppose a Pr. form *अस्सहिं or *अस्सइं; and the P. असा, S. असाँ to P. हमा, Mw. म्हाँ, presupposing Pr. *अस्सहं. In the S. असाँहे" and असाँहूँ the obl. suff. हे", हूँ (for हिँ, उँ) are pleonastically supperadded. — 4) *The second pers. pron. plur.* The circumstances here are exactly analogous to those of the first pers. pron. plur., substituting only the base तुम्ह or तुम्भ (= Skr. युष्म) for अम्ह or अम्भ. A simple enumeration therefore of the various Pr. and Gḍ. forms will suffice. Pr. and Ap. have: a) तुम्ह or तुम्हे (H. C. 3, 91. 93. 4, 369); b) तुम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 100); c) तुम्हहिं or तुम्हइं (H. C. 4, 369), d) तुम्हहं (H. C. 4, 373) or e) *तुम्हहुं, all plur., and f) तुमे (H. C. 3, 92. 94. 101) in the sing. (like अम्मि). In Gḍ. there are, 1) the following dir. forms: B. तुमि (f), O. तुम्भे (a), E. H. (a) तूँ (Bh., for तूहूँ) or तोह् or तोँह् or (a) तुम्ह् (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् (Br.) or (a) थे or (c) थें (Mw., for *तहे or *तहें, with थ for त as in G., S. and P.); G. तमे (a), M. तुम्हो (c), N. (f) तिमि (like B. तुमि) or (c) तिमी (with इ for श or उ, as in Br. तिहारो *yours*), S. (c) तव्हो" or तवो" or तहो" or तई" or (c) अव्हो" or अवो" or अहो" or अहूँई" or अहँई", P. (c) तुसी" (for Pr. *तुस्सइं). And 2) the following obl. forms: B. (d) तोमा or (a) तोम (only in the nom. pl. तोम-रा), O. (a) तुम्भ or (b) तुम्मन् (only in the dat. तुम्भङ्कु), E. H. (a) तोह् or तोँह् (Bh.) or (a) तुम्ह (Bs.), W. H. (a) तुम् or (e) तुम्हो" or (c) तुम्हे"

1) The loc. suff. स्मिन् admits both changes in the pron. of the ordinary or Mh. Pr. (H. C. 4, 59. 60, e. g., सव्वस्सिं or सव्वम्मि or सव्वहिं for *सव्वम्हिं *in all*), but only म्मि in subst. (H. C. 3, 11, e. g., देवम्मि *in god*); on the other hand the Mg. Pr. admits a form ʻसि *śi* or सि *si* even in subst. (Wb. Bh. 417, as देवंसि or देवसि). This is noteworthy; for the P. and S. phonetic system shows also in other points (see §§ 16. 18. 14) an affinity to that of the Mg. class of Prs. and Gḍs. The Páli admits both स्मिन् and म्हि in subst. (St. G. 62).

(only in the dat.) or (d) तुम्हा or तिहा (only in the gen. तुम्हारौ or तिहारौ), all these in Br., or (e) तुमुं (Gw.) or (b) तुमन् (Km.) or (d) तमें (Mw., for *तन्हें, see S.), G. (d) तमा (in the gen. तमारो) or (a) तम् or (a) तमे (only act.), M. (d) तुम्हा or (c) तुम्ही (only in the act.) or (a) तुम् (only in the gen. तुम् चा), N. (f) तिमि or (c) तिमी, S. (d) तव्हीं or तवीं or तहीं or तीं or (d) युव्हीं or युवीं or युहीं or युीं, P. (d) तुसा (for Pr. *तुस्सहं) or (d) तुहा or तुचा or (d) तुमा or (c) तुमी (only in the act.). As to the origin of the S. forms; the ɜ of the Pr. तुम्हइं is changed to व्ह् (similarly as in Bs. त्वहि *to thee* for तुहि) and म् is elided, whence S. तव्ही; next either ह् or व् is dropped, making तवी or तही; finally व् or ह् is elided, making तई; the other S. set व्हीं, etc. arises in a precisely similar way from the Pr. forms derived from the Pr. base उम्ह् (H. C. 3, 99. 95). — 5) *There remain a few peculiar obl. forms*; viz., of the first pers. pron., M. मत् or माके or माक्या (Man. 47. 85), G. मत, W. H. मुत, H. H. मुझ् or मुझे, and of the second pers. pron., M. तुत् or तुके or तुक्या, G. तत्, H. H. तुझ् or तुझे, P. तुध्. These obl. forms are modifications of the Pr. gen. मज्झ (H. C. 3, 113) or Ap. मज्झु (H. C. 4, 379), Pr. तुज्झ (H. C. 3, 99) or Ap. तुज्झु (H. C. 4, 372) or तुध (H. C. 4, 372). The origin of these forms is obscure. In Pr., the forms मज्झ and तुज्झ are treated as regular bases, just like Pr. अम्ह and तुम्ह, Skr. अस्म and युष्म, and declined as *nouns*. Thus in the gen. sing. the pure base मज्झ or अम्ह (H. C. 3, 113) is used after the Ap. Pr. fashion, i. e., dropping the gen. suff. (H. C. 4, 345); loc. sg. मज्झम्मि or अम्हम्मि (H. C. 3, 116), gen. pl. मज्झाणं or अम्हाणं (H. C. 3, 114), loc. pl. मज्झसु or अम्हसु (H. C. 4, 117), etc. In Gḍ. the gen. sg. (or pure base) मज्झ, तुज्झ become H. H. मुझ्, तुझ्, M. मज्, तुज् (with ज् for झ्, § 145, note). And Gḍ. derives from them even regular obl. st. forms, H. H. मुझे, तुझे, M. माके or माक्या, तुके or तुक्या (just as H. H. घोडे, M. घोड्या of घोडा *horse*). The corresponding direct st. forms exist only in M. माका m., माकी f., माकें n., and तुका, तुकी, तुकें. They serve both as the gen. sing. of the personal pron., and as possessive pron. In E. H., also, the possess. pron. are often used in the place of

the pers. pron.; thus abl., E. H. हमरे सो" or हमरा सो", just as M. माझ्या हून, loc. E. H. मोरे मे, M. माझ्यांत. It appears, probable, therefore, that the bases मक and तुक are really those of possessive pron. and perhaps connected with Skr. मदीय *mine* and त्वदीय *thine* by substituting the Pr. bases मह, तुह for म, त्व (or मद्, त्वद्); thus महइय = मका = मक्क or तुहइय = तुका or तुक्क (cf. H. C. 3, 91. nom. pl. तुह्हे) = तुक. Or they might be referred to the Skr. bases मादृश *like me*, त्वादृश *like thee*, which would easily assume a possessive meaning (see §§ 218. 251), and which might change in Pr. to मरिह = मक्क, तुरिह = तुक. It may be remarked that a somewhat analogous process has taken place in the case of the demonstrative pron.; thus Pr. एहो is both *that* and *such-like* = Skr. ईदृश, and S. has इको = इत्तहो = ईदृशः (see § 438, 4). This would explain also the P. form तुध, which would be = तुदह = त्वादृश, and the ह् in the Ap. Pr. form तुध might be a reminiscence of the Skr. श of दृश[1]). Ls. connects मक and तुक with the gen. sing. of the pers. pron. *मस्य and *त्वस्य, but these change regularly to मह or महि, तुह or तुहि (see Nros 1. 2); I believe, there is no example of the Skr. conjunct स्य ever changing to क्क in Pr.

431. Personal pron. are declined precisely like nouns, with the exception that in the gen. they use their corresponding possessive pron. (§ 449). The weak form of the latter is preferred in the nom., and the st. form in the obl. cases: thus मोर बाप or rarely मोरा बाप *my father*, but मोरे बाप कै *of my father*; हमार माई or rarely हमरी माई *our mother*, but हमरी माई कै *of our mother*, etc.

432. A sort of pleonastic declension may be made by adding the case-aff. to the obl. form of the gen. in र; but in

1) Or again, मक might be = मह-त्त, and तुक = तुह-त्त and तुध = तुह-द्; त्त and द् being the gen. postpositions which occur in O. H. and O. P., and are still used in M., P. and M. S. They may have existed in Pr. already, just as the modern gen. postpositions चा, का, केरा lit. *done* (see § 377).

the *khaṛi bhāshā* this is restricted to the loc., as मो मे or मोरे मे *in me*, हम मे or हमरे मे *in us*, etc.

432a. 1. First personal pron.

a) Simple form: मैं *I*, हम् *we*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	मैं	हम्	हमलोग्
a., d.	मो के or मोँ के	हम् के	हमलोग् के or हमलोगन् के
i.,abl.	मो से or मोँ से	हम् से	हमलोग् से or हमलोगन् से
gen.	मोर् or मोरा, मोरी, मोरे	हमार् or हमरा, °री, °रे	हमलोग् के, के or हमलोगन् के, के
loc.	मो मे or मोँ मे or मोरे मे	हम् मे or हमरे मे	हमलोग् मे or हमलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: मैं हीं or मैं हूँ *even I*.

	Singular.		Plural.	
nom.	मैं हीं	मैं हूँ	हम हीं	हम हूँ
a., d.	मोहीं के	मोहूँ के	हम हीं के	हम हूँ के
i.,abl.	मोहीं से	मोहूँ से	हम हीं से	हम हूँ से
gen.	मोरी or मोरे ही	मोरी or मोरे हूँ	हमरी or हमरे ही	हमरी or हमरे हूँ
loc.	मोहीं मे or मोरे मे or मोरे ही मे	मोहूँ मे or मोरी मे or मोरे हूँ मे	हम हीं मे or हमरे मे or हमरे ही मे	हम हूँ मे or हमरी मे or हमरे हूँ मे

432b. 2. Second pers. pron.

a) Simple form: तैं *thou*, तूँ *you*.

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	तैं	तूँ	तूँलोग्
a., d.	तो के or तोँ के	तोहू के	तूँलोग् के or तूँलोगन् के
i.,abl.	तो से or तोँ से	तोहू से	तूँलोग् से or तूँलोगन् से
gen.	तोर् or तोरा, तोरी, तोरे	तोहार् or तोहरा, °री, °रे	तूँलोग् के, के or तूँलोगन् के, के
loc.	तो मे or तोँ मे or तोरे मे	तोहू मे or तोहरे मे	तूँलोग् मे or तूँलोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: तैं हीं or तैं हूँ *even thou*.

	Singular.		Plural.	
nom.	तैं हीं	तैं हूँ	तूँ हीं or तुँह ई	तूँ हूँ or तुँहउँ
a., d.	तोहीं के	तोहू के	तुँहई के	तोहउ के
i.,abl.	तोहीं से	तोहू से	तुँहई से	तोहउ से
gen.	तोरी or तोरे ही	तोरी or तोरे हू	तोहरी or तोहरे ही	तोहरी or तोहरे हू
loc.	तोहीं मे or तोरे मे or तोरे ही मे	तोहू मे or तोरी मे or तोरे हू मे	तुँहई मे or तोहरे मे or तोहरे ही मे	तोहउ मे or तोहरी मे or तोहरे हू मे

Note: हौ and हु may or may not be spelled हौँ, हुँ; also हम and तुँह may be spelled हमँ and तुँहँ before हौँ and ईँ (see § 67); e. g., हमँ हौँ के *to us*, तुँहँ ईँ के *to you*. — The gen. pl. may also be तोहार, हमार, etc.

2. THE CORRELATIVE PRONOUNS.

433. By the term. „correlative pronoun" I here designate the demonstrative, the relative, the interrogative and the indefinite. The demonstrative pron. include the near, the far and the general. The forms of the *near dem.* are: dir. sg. or pl. ई (also यह or emphatic एहै or इहै or इहई), obl. sg. ए or एह (or emph. एही), pl. एन्ह (or emph. एन्हही); of the *far dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ऊ (also वह or emph. ओहै or उहै or उहई), obl. sg. ओ or ओह (or emph. ओही), pl. ओन्ह (or emph. ओन्हही); of the *general dem.*: dir. sg. or pl. ते (or emph. तेहै or तिहई), obl. sg. ते or तेह (or emph. तेही), pl. तेन्ह (or emph. तेन्हही); of the *relative*: dir. sg. or pl. जे (or emph. जेहै or जिहई), obl. sg. जे or जेह (or emph. जेही), pl. जेन्ह (or emph. जेन्हही); of the *interrog.*: dir. sg. or pl. के (or emph. केहै or किहई), obl. sg. के or केह (or emph. केही), pl. केन्ह (or emph. केन्हही); of the *indef.*: dir. sg. or pl. के or केह, obl. sg. or pl. के or केह. These forms are alike for the masc. and fem.

434. The interrog. pron. has a peculiar form in the sing.: dir. का, obl. का or काहे, when inanimate objects are spoken of. It is, in fact, practically a *neuter*. The obl. काहे is used only, when no subst. is expressed. Thus का करैलह *what do you do*, का घर मे *in what house*, काहे से खइत्रे *with what wilt thou eat it?* In the plur., the ordinary forms are used.

435. The general dem. pron. has an alternative dir. form से *he, that* for both, sing. and plur. It is generally used instead of ते, but has no emph. forms to express which तेहै, तिहई are used.

436. All correlative pron., exc. the near and far. dem., have long forms, made by adding the pleonastic suff. धन् (see §§ 209. 214). They are treated like adj., i. e., they may be

either weak or strong (§ 381), they are alike in the sing. and plur. (§ 386), and they form a strong fem. in ई (§ 384)* and a strong masc. obl. in ए (§ 386). Thus *weak forms*: dir. and obl., sg. and pl., com. gen., तवन् or तउन् or तौन् *he*, जवन् or जउन् or जौन् *which*, कवन् or कउन् or कौन् *who*, कौनो *any one*; *strong forms*: sg. and pl., masc. obl. तउने or तौने, जउने or जौने, कउने or कौने; fem. dir. and obl. तउनी or तौनी, जउनी or जौनी, कउनी or कौनी. The existence of the strong masc. dir. forms *तउना or तौना, etc. is doubtful.

437. *Affinities.* In the following list, forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. Thus *a*, *a* denote forms of the same group, *a*, *a* or *a*, *a* forms of the same variety of the same group, etc. It will be noticed, that the various groups have been much intermixed, the dir. form of a declension sometimes belonging to one group or variety, and its obl. form to another.

1) *The near dem. pron.*; *dir. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (c) इनि; O. (a) ए or एहि or (*a*) इहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐहू or इह or यहू or Bs. या; (W. H.) Br. (a) यह or यहु or इहु or Mw. (*a*) यो or यो (masc.) and या or या (fem.); P. (a) इह or एहू or यह or (f) इन्; S. (a) ही or हे (com. gen.) or (a) होउ or हिउ (masc.) and हीय or हिय (fem.) or (*a*) इहो or ईहो or इयो or ईयो (masc.) and इहा or ईहा or इया or ईया (fem.) or (e) इको (masc.) and इका (fem.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) हा (masc.), ही (fem.), हे* (neut.); N. (*a*) यो. *Obl. sg.*, B. (a) ए or (*a*) इहा or (c) ईहा, O. (*a*) इहा or एहा or एहाँ; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ए or ऐहू or Bs. (a) आ or यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) इहि or या or यहि or Mw. (c) इणा or ई* or (*γ*) इणो or यणो or H. H. (b) इस् or (*β*) इसे (in the dat. and acc. only); P. (a) इह or यह or (b) इस् or एस् or ऐस् or (c) इन् or एन् or ऐन् (only act.); S. (c) हिन् or इन् (or इनाँ only abl.); G. (a) आ or ए; M. (a) ह्या or या (masc.) and हि or इ (fem.) or ह्यास्, होस् (only dat.); N. (a) ए or (b) यस् or Km. (*a*) ये or ए. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *decst*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ई or ऐहू or यहू or इह or Bs. (a) ए or एन्ह or इन्; W. H. (a) यह or (*a*) ये or यै or ऐ; P. (a) इह or एहू or यह; S. (a) हो or हे or (*a*) इहे or (e) इके; G. (a) आ or एवो; M. (a) हे (masc.), ह्या

(fem.), होँ (neut.); N. (a) इन् or एन्ह्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऐन्ह् or Bs. अन्हु or इन्ह् or अन् or इन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) इन् or (c) इन्हो (or इन्हे dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) यहँ or यहाँ or (c) इणाँ or यणाँ; P. (c) इनाँ or इन्हाँ or एनाँ or (a) यहाँ or (c) इनो or इन्ही or एन्ही or एनो (act. only); S. (a) इनि or हिनि or (c) इननि or हिननि or इन्हनि or इन्हिनि or इन्हे; G. (a) एओ or (c) एवन्; N. (a) इन्ह् or इन् or Km. (a) यँ or (c) इनूँ or इनो.

2) *The far dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (c) उनि; O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ऊ or ओह् or वह् or उह्; (W. H.) Br. (a) वह् or वुह् or वुहि or उहि or (*a*) वो or Mw. (*a*) ऊ or वू (masc.) and वा (fem.); P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or ऊ (com. gen.) or हो or ओ (masc.) and हुअ or उअ (fem.); G. (d) ओलो or पेलो (masc.), वाली or पेली (fem.), ओलुँ or पेलुँ (neut.); M. *deest*; N. (a) ऊ. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) ओ or (*a*) उहा or (c) उँहा; O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओ or ओह् or Bs. (a) वहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) उहि or वा or वाहि or (b) उस् or विस् or (*β*) उसे or विसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) उणा or वो or (*γ*) उणो or वणो; P. (a) उह् or (b) उस् or (c) उन् or ओन् (only act.) or (f) उत्; S. (c) हुन् or उन् or उनिह or उन्हिअ or उन्हे (or हुनाँ or उनाँ abl. only); G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (b) उस् or Gw. (*a*) वे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ऊ or ओह् or वह् or उह् or Bs. (a) ओ or उन्हु; W. H. (a) वह् or (*a*) वे or वै; P. (a) उह् or ओह्; S. (a) हू or हो or (*a*) हुए or उए or होए or उहे; G. (d) ओला or पेला (masc.), etc.; M. *deest*; N. (c) उन्ह् or उन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ओन्ह or Bs. (a) उन्ह or उन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) उन् or उनि or (c) उन्हो or (a) विन् or विनि or (c) विन्हो (or उन्हे or विन्हे dat. acc. only) or Mw. (a) वहँ or वाँ or (c) उणाँ or वणाँ; P. उनाँ or उन्हाँ (or उनो or उन्ही act. only); S. (a) हुनि or उनि or (c) हुननि or उननि or उन्हनि or उन्हिनि; G. (d) ओलाओ or पेलाओ; M. *deest*; N. (a) उन् or उन्ह् or Km. (a) उँ or (c) उनू or उनो.

3) *The general dem. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) से or (*a*) ताहा or (c) तिनि or तेहुँ; O. (a) से or सेहि; E. H. (a) से or से or तेह् or तिहि or (c) तवन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) सो; P. (a) सो; S. (a) सो (masc.) and सा (fem.); G. (a) ते; M. (a) तो (masc.), ती (fem.), ते (neut.);

N. (a) त्यो or (c) तुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (*a*) ताहा or (c) तॉंहा; O. (a) ता or (*a*) ताहा or ताहाँ or ताहिं; (E. H.) Bh. (a) ते or तेहु or Bs. (a) त्या or त्यहि or (c) तब्बन् or (*γ*) तउने or तौने; (W. H.) Br. (a) ता or ताहि or तिहि or तिहु or (b) तासु (gen. only) or H. H. (b) तिस् or (*β*) तिसे (dat. acc. only) or Mw. (c) तिणा or तिणो or तणो; P. (a) तिहु or (b) तिस् or (c) तिन् (act. only) or (f) तित्; S. (a) तेंहिं (or तहाँ abl. only); G. (a) ते; M. (a) त्या (masc.) and ति (fem.); N. (a) त or तो or (b) तस् or (c) तुन् or Km. (a) तह or तै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. (a) ते or तेहु or तिहु or (c) तब्बन् or तउन् or तौन्; W. H. (a) तो; P. (a) स; S. (a) से; G. (a) ते or तेओ; M. (*a*) ते (masc.), त्या (fem.), तो" (neut.); N. (c) तुन्. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) तन्हु or (c) तौन् or (*γ*) तौने or Bs. (a) त्यन्हु or त्यन् or तेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) तिन् or तिनि or (c) तिन्हो" (or तिन्हे" dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्याँ or तॉं or (c) तिणाँ; P. (c) तिनाँ or तिन्हाँ (or तिन्हो" or तिनो" act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिननि or तिनिनि or तिन्हनि or तिन्हिनि; G. (a) तेओ or (c) तेम्; M. (a) त्याँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तिनहू or Km. (a) त्यँ or (c) तनू or तनन्.

4) *The relat. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) जे or (*a*) याहा or (c) यिनि; O. (a) ये or येहु or (c) येकु or येउँ or यो"; E. H. (a) जे or जेहु or जिहु or (c) जब्बन् or जउन् or जौन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. जो (masc.) and जा (fem.); G. (a) जे; M. (a) जो (masc.), जी (fem.), जे" (neut.); N. (a) जो or (c) जुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (*a*) याहा or (c) याँहा; O. (a) या or याहिँ or याहा; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेहु or (c) जौन् or (*γ*) जौने or Bs. (a) ज्या or ज्यहि; (W. H.) Br. (a) जा or जाहि or जेहि or H. H. (b) जिस् or (*β*) जिसे (dat. acc. only), or Mw. (c) जिणा or जो" or जणा or जणो; P. (a) जिहु or (b) जिस् or (c) जिन् (act. only) or (f) जित्; S. (a) जेंहिं; G. (a) जे or (c) जेवन्; M. (a) ज्या or जा or जे (masc.), जि (fem.); N. (a) ज or जो or (b) जस् or (c) जुन् or Gw. (a) जइ or जै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जे or जेहु or जिहु or (c) जब्बन् or जउन् or जौन् or Bs. (a) जेन्हु; (W. H.) Br. (a) जो or जो or (c) जौन् or Mw. (a) ज्यो; P. (a) जो; S. (a) जे; G. (a) जे or जेओ; M. (a) जे (masc.), ज्या (fem.), जो" (neut.); N. (c) जुन् or (a) जिन्हू. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) जेन्ह or Bs. (a) ज्यन्हू or ज्यन् or जेन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) जिन् or जिनि

or (c) तिन्हो" (or तिन्हे" dat. acc. only), or Mw. (a) त्यहाँ or तहाँ or (c) तिणहाँ or तणहाँ; P. (c) तिनहाँ or तिन्हहाँ (or तिनो" or तिन्हो" act. only); S. (a) तिनि or तनि or (c) तिन्हनि or तिन्हिनि or तिननि or तिनिनि; G. (a) तेणो; M. (a) त्यतँ; N. (a) तिन्ह or तुन्ह or Km. (a) त्यूं or (c) तनू or तन्नन्.

5) *The interrog. pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) के (com. gen.) or कि or कोन् (both neut.); O. (a) के or केहु or (c) केउ or केउँ or कौ" (all com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किस or (c) कणा (all neut.); E. H. (a) के or केह् or किह् or (c) कवन् or कउन् or कौन् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काह् (neut.); (W. H.) Br. (a) को or कौ or (c) कौन् or कौन्नु or Mw. (c) कोण् or कुण् or कण् (all com. gen.), or Br. (a) का or कहा or क्या or Mw. (a) कहाँई" or कँई (all neut.); P. (a) किहडा or (c) कौण् (com. gen.) or (a) कौ or किया (neut.); S. (a) केहो or केघो or (d) केरहो or केहरो or केह or (e) कुत्ताडो (all com. gen.) or (a) ढा or कोहु or कुहु (neut.); G. (a) प्रो (masc.), प्री (fem.), प्रुं (neut.) or कघो (masc.), कई (fem.), कयुं (neut.) or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोण् (com. gen.) or (a) काय् (neut.); N. (a) को or (c) कुन्. *Obl. sing.*, B. (*α*) काहा (com. gen.) or (a) कि or (b) किसे (both neut.); O. (a) का or (*α*) काहा or काहिँ (all com. gen.); (E. H.) Bh. (a) के or केह् (com. gen.) or (a) का or काहे (neut.) or Bs. (a) क्या or क्याहि (com. gen.); (W. H.) Br. (a) का or काहि or किहि or Mw. (c) कुण् or कण् or को" or कुणी or कणी or H. H. (b) किस् or (*β*) किसे (dat. acc. only) com. gen., or काहे (neut.); P. (a) किहडे or किह् or (b) किस् or (f) कित् or (c) किन् (act. only) com. gen., or कास् or काह् (neut.); S. (a) केहे or (d) केरहे or केन्हिँ or (e) कुत्ताडे (com. gen.); G. (a) के or (c) कोण् (com. gen.); M. (c) कोणा or कोणया or कोणे (or काणी" instr. only) com. gen., or (b) कसा or कस्या or कश्या or कश्या (all neut.); N. (a) क or को or (b) कस् or (c) कुन् or Gw. (a) कह् or कै. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (a) किहडे or (c) कौण्; S. (a) केहा or (d) केरहा or केरे or (e) कुत्ताडा (com. gen.); G. (a) कया (masc.), कई (fem.), कयाँ (neut.); M. and N. like sing. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केन्ह् or Bs. (a) क्यन्ह् or क्यन् or केन् or किन्; (W. H.) Br. (a) किन् or किनि or (c) किन्हो" (or किन्हे" dat. acc. only); Mw. (c) कुणाँ or कणाँ; P. (c) किनहाँ or

किन्हाँ (or किनो˜ or किन्हो˜ act. only); S. (a) केहनि or (d) केरहनि or (a) किनि or कनि or (c) किन्हनि or किन्हिनि or किनानि or किनिनि; M. (c) कोणाँ (com. gen.) or (b) कसाँ or कज्ञाँ (neut.); N. (a) कुन्ह or Gw. (a) क्यूँ or कनू or कनन्.

6) *The indefinite pron.*; *dir. sing.*, B. (a) केहू; O. (a) केहि or (c) कोणासि or कउणासि; (E. H.) Bh. (a) केहू or (c) कौनो or Bs. (a) केउ or कोउ; W. H. (a) कोई or कोउ or (c) कौनो; P. (a) कोई; S. (a) को or कोई (masc.), का or काई (fem.), को (neut.); G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणी or कोणही; N. (a) कोहि. *Obl. sing.*, B. (a) काहा; O. (a) काहा; E. H. like dir.; (W. H.) Br. (a) काहू or (b) किसू or किसो or (c) कौनो or Mw. (a) को˜ or (c) कुणी or कणी; P. (b) किसे or किसो; S. (a) कँहिँ or कँहो˜; G. (a) कोइ; M. (c) कोणा or कोणहा; N. (a) कोहि or (b) कसे. *Dir. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H., W. H., P. like sing.; S. (a) के or केई or कई or कँई; G. (a) कई; M. (c) कोणी. *Obl. plur.*, B. and O. *deest*; E. H. and W. H. like sing.; P. (b) किसे or किसो or (c) किन्हाँ; S. (c) किने or कने or कनो or कन्हो˜; M. (c) कोणहाँ.

438. *Derivation.* It will be observed that in the preceding list there are *six* principal types of forms, which I have severally marked with a, b, c, d, e, f, and the characteristic features of which are the letters ह (occasionally elided), न्, न् (or ण्), ल् (or र्), फ़ (or ब्), त् respectively. The derivation of these forms is involved in many difficulties, the explanation of which, however, in most cases (I think) will be found to be the fact, that the forms which are now used as simple pron. were originally those of pron. adj. of quality or quantity.

1) The pron. of quant. are in Skr. इयत् (or Ved. ईयत्), तावत्, यावत्, कियत् (Ved. कीयत्) *so large* or *so much*, etc. In Pr. these become एव, तेव, जेव, केव (cf. H. C. 4, 407. 408) or एम, तेम, जेम, केम (K. I. 10. 11. 12 in Ls. 450. 451), or slightly modified इव, तिव, जिव, किव or इम, तिम, जिम, किम (K. I. 10. 11. 12); sometimes they are variously spelled एँव or ईंव, etc. (H. C. 3, 397. 401) or एम्व or इम्व, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 418); again they may be shortened to ए, ते, जे, के (see Wb. Bh. 422). Thus the Ap. Pr. uses the first set एव, etc., with the addition of the pleon. suff. डु,

as quant. pron., एवड्, तेवड्, etc. (H. C. 4, 407. 408 and see § 218), and S. and P. similarly use the shortened forms ए, ते, etc. with the pleon. suff. डो or डा; viz. S. एडो, तेडो, etc., P. एडा, तेडा, etc. Again G. uses the set एव, तेव, etc., itself without adding any pleon. suff., as qual. pron., एवो, तेवो, etc. But already in the Ap. Pr. these quant. (or qual.) pron. had come to be commonly used as *simple pron.*; so especially the bases इम *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 361. 3, 72; it is also so used in Skr. in the obl. cases of इदम्) and किम *what* (K. I. 13 in Ls. 450); again as *pron. adv.*, viz. एँव, तेँव *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401; एव or एवम्, an acc. sg., occur even in Skr.), or एम्वइ *so, thus* (H. C. 4, 420, a loc. sg. cf. H. C. 4, 334) and एम्वहिं *now* (H. C. 4, 420, also a loc. sg., cf. H. C. 4, 357). Again the shortened bases (कि etc.) occur in the Ap. Pr. abl. sg. किहे (H. C. 4, 356, with the abl. suff. हे of nouns in इ, cf. H. C. 4, 341), and perhaps in the pron. adv. तिह्, तिह्, किह् (H. C. 4, 401, lit. abl. sing. with suff. ह, shortened for हे). Again the shortened forms ते (ते?), से are mentioned by Md. as nom. sg. (ते से एस सुना यन्नदेतदां। एषां सुना सह ते से एस इत्य् एते स्युः। ते (?) पुरिसो महिला वणं वा। एवं से एस॥). The latter are used in all E. Gds. and in G. as nom. sg.; thus E. H. ए, ते or से, ते, के. By adding the regular obl. sing. suff. ह (shortened for Ap. हो or हु, see § 365, 6) the E. H. obl. forms ऐह्, तेह्, तेह्, केह् are derived and by adding the regular obl. plur. suff. ंह (see §§ 365, 4. 368, 5) the plur. obl. forms ऐंह्, तेंह्, etc. The older form in हु is occasionally met with, as तिहु (Kl. 137, e). The corresponding obl. form made with the gen. or obl. suff. हि (shortened for Ap. हे, see §§ 365, 6. 368, 2) is found in Bs. and Br.; thus Br. याहि (for *एहि) or इहि, तेहि or तिहि, etc., Bs. यहि (for *इहि), त्यहि (for *तिहि), etc. Again (just as with nouns, see § 365, 6) the obl. suff. ह or हि may be dropped in E. H.; thus Bh. ए, ते, etc., Bs. या, त्या (= ए, ते), etc., Br. या, ता, etc. In the obl. pl. of Bs. the suff. ंह usually drops the ह (as in E. H. and Br. nouns, see § 368, 5); thus Bs. इन्ह or यन्ह or इन् or यन्, etc. In Br. it optionally ends in इ; e. g., Br. इन् or ईनि, तिन् or तिनि, etc. (cf. O. H. कविन्ह or कविन्हि, Br.

कवि॰ or कविनि, obl. pl. of कवि *poet*). In P., also, the short obl. sg. forms in ह॰ occur; e. g., इह॰, तिह॰, etc.; and, on the other hand, in S. the short obl. pl. forms in नि॰; as इनि or हिनि (transposed for *इन्हि), तिनि or तनि (with ष for ह॰, see § 26). As regards the S. obl. sg. इन॰ or हिन॰, etc. and the Br. obl. pl. इन्हों॰, etc., P. इनाँ or इन्हाँ, etc., see below Nro. 2. — Just as the forms of the near demonstr. pron. have arisen from the shortened form ए॰ of the old quant. pron., so those of the far dem. pron. have originated from the long form of the quant. pron. Thus the E. H. obl. sg. थोह॰ is a contraction of *थवह॰, shortened (see § 26) from the Ap. Pr. gen. *एवहु or *एवहो॰. The other E. H. obl. form थो॰ has dropped the final ह॰. The dir. sing. थो or उ॰ is a contraction of the Ap. Pr. nom. sg. *एव or *एवु॰. In G. the latter contracts to था *that* (abl. था थी *from that*). There is, also, in H. a fuller obl. form वाहु॰ (Kl. 137, d) for *थोहु॰ = *एवहु॰; and in Br. there is the obl. form वाहि॰ for *थोहि॰ = Ap. *एवहि॰ or *एवहे॰. And so forth as to the rest of the forms of the far dem. pron. and their derivatives; they are exactly analogous to those of the near dem. pron., as explained above. Here, also, must be mentioned the S. neut. interrog. pron. कोहु॰ or कुहु॰ *what, why* (Tr. 208); it is an obl. form and contracted form *कवहु॰ for Ap. *केवहु॰ or *केवहो॰.

2) Among the Ap. Pr. quant. pron. एवडु॰, तेवडु॰, जेवडु॰, केवडु॰ (H. C. 4, 407. 408, see Nro 1) the last one is already used in the Ap. as a simple pron. But it shortens एव to अव (cf. § 26 and Nro 1, p. 291) and changes ड to ण (cf. § 106), and thus becomes कवणु॰ (H. C. 4, 367). In E. H. it appears as कवन॰ or कउन॰ or कौन॰, in W. H. कौनु॰ or कौन॰, P. कौण॰, G. and M. कोण॰, Mw. कुण॰ or कण॰, N. कुन॰. Similarly Ap. जेवडु becomes in G. जेवन॰, in E. H. जवन॰ or जउन॰ or जौन॰, W. H. जौन॰, N. जुन॰; and Ap. तेवडु becomes in E. H. तवन॰ or तउन॰ or तौन॰, N. तुन॰. E. H. makes a regular obl. form कौन॰ or कौने॰ representing the Ap. gen. sg. कवण or कवणहे (H. C. 4, 425) with or without the gen. suff. हे॰. The Ap. एवडु॰ gives rise to the B. उनि *that*; the intermediate forms G. एवन॰, P. थोन॰ or उन॰, Mw. उण॰ occur only as obl. forms sing.;

Mw. has also the alternative obl. sg. उणी or वणी beside उण्, just like E. H. कौन् and कोन. Mw. possesses also the corresponding plur. obl. forms उणां or वणां; and similarly in the other pron., as obl. sg. कुण् or कण् or कुणी or कणी, obl. pl. कुणां or कणां. The latter are regularly contracted from the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. कवणाहं, etc. These obl. pl. occur, also, in P. उनँ or उन्हँ, Br. उन्हौं (= Ap. gen. *ध्वणाहुं = एवडुहुं), S. उननि or उन्हनि or (with ह् transposed) हुननि. The Br. possesses also as plur. obl. forms उन्हें (used only in the sense of the dat. and acc.), in O. H. उनहिं which are made by the Ap. obl. pl. suff. हिं (see § 367, 2). Corresponding to the Ap. quant. pron. एवडु, etc., S. has the shorter forms एडो, तेडो, जेडो, केडो. Just as the Ap. एवडु becomes in B. a simple pron. उनि, so एडो, तेडो, जेडो by changing ड् to ण् give rise to the B. simple pron. इनि, तिनि, जिनि (read झिनि)[1]. This set exists also in P. एन् or इन्, Mw. इण्, S. इन, etc., which, however, occur only as obl. forms sing. There are, also, the fuller obl. sg. forms, Mw. इणी or वणी, S. इनिह (also spelled इन्हिय or इन्हो) or इन्हे (for *इनहे), N. इनह or इनहे (in the plur. इनह-रु or इनहे-रु, also spelled इन्ह-रु, इन्हे-रु, retaining the obl. suff. हे or ह, see § 364, 3)[2]. There are, also, the corresponding obl. pl. forms Mw. इणां or वणां, Km. इन् or इनो, P. एनँ or एन्हँ or इनँ or इन्हँ, Br. इन्हों, S. इन्हे or इननि or इन्हनि or हिननि (probably with an anomalously transposed ह्, for इनन्हि, cf. § 368, 5). Moreover, Br. has a dat. इन्हें, O. H. इनहिं, and P. an act. एन्हों or इन्हों. The obl. forms in न्हँ, न्हौं, न्हें contain the Ap. Pr. gen. pl. or obl. suff. हं, हुं, हिं respectively (see § 365, 7, being contractions of *नहँ, *नहुँ, *नहिं). These remarks apply, *mutatis mutandis*, also to the analogous forms of the relat., interrog., and gen. dem. pron. in Mw., P. and S. — Even the original forms एडो, तेडो, etc. occur in S. as simple pronom. adv.; viz. in

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1) It should be noticed that here, again, the far dem. उनि is founded on the longer form एवउ, but the near dem. on the shorter एउ.

2) S., also, has an obl. sg. हिन् which stands for *इन्ह = इनह.

the obl. form एडे or एडहँ or एडहुँ *hither*, तेडे or तेडहँ or तेडहुँ *thither*, केडे or केडहँ or केडहुँ *whither*[1]). Some of these exist, also, in E. H. (with the usual change of ड् to न्), एने *hither*, तेने *thither*, जेने *whithersoever*, केने *whither*.

3) The Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एव, तेव or तिव or तेम, जेव or जिव or जेम, etc. (see Nro 1) seem to have also produced the following Gḍ. simple pron.; viz. O. तेउँ, केउँ, G. जेव, तेव (also spelled जेउ, तेउ or जेथो, तेथो) or जेम, तेम which, however, appear to be used only as obl. plur. forms (see Ed. 41. 43); also G. कथो m. (कई f., कउँ n.), probably for *कव्यो, shortened from the strong form केवो, which occurs in G. as a qualit. pron.; S. has केथो m. (केई f., Tr. 209); the corresponding weak form *कउ occurs in Br. कौ or को, N. को, and is used alike for masc. and fem., sing. and plur. (just like Ap. एहु, see Nro 6). Similarly N. has त्यो (for *तिव्यो) and तो, Mw. त्यो or तो, Br. तौ, P. तो; M. also has masc. तो, but makes a regular fem. ती and neut. ते", and obl. sg. त्या or ते, obl. pl. त्यां, dir. pl. ते, त्या, ती"; a fact which points to their origin from the strong forms *तथो, *तई, *तउं. To the M. obl. pl. त्यां corresponds the Mw. obl. pl. त्यां, Gw. त्यूं. The S. has m. तो, but a rather anomalous f. ता, pl. ते c. g. Exactly analogous are M. sg. तो, ती, ते", pl. ते, त्या, तो"; obl. sg. त्या, ति, pl. त्यां, Mw. त्यां, Gw. त्यूं. The G. neut. कउँ was used already in the Ap. Pr. as pronom. adv. कउं *why* (H. C. 4, 416). Also तउ, जउ are mentioned as Ap. Pr. acc. (= nom.) and gen. sg. forms by Mḍ. in the following two sútras: यत्तदोर् अमा जउ तउ। अमा सह यत्तदोर् जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ मागसि तउ देमि॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the acc. sg.; e. g., what thou askest, that I give; and उसिऊस्यां जउ तउ च। यत्तदोर् इत्य् एव। चकारात् पक्षे प्राकृतवत्॥ i. e., *yat tad* become *jaü taü* in the abl. and gen. sg. or they have the regular Pr. forms[2]). I believe, N. is the only Gḍ., which

1) The forms in हँ, हुँ are, properly, obl. plur., but used as sing.

2) My MS. reads यत्तदो मा जउ पतिउ। अमा सह यत्तदोर्जउ तउ स्यात्। जउ म° तउ द°; there can be little doubt, that जउ, तउ (or perhaps जउं, तउं) is the true reading as shown by the succeeding sútra, where the MS. reads जउ,

admits ज़ो, तो as obl. forms; viz. in the abl. sg. ज़ो थाट् or ज़ो सँगै *from which*, तो थाट or तो सँगै *from him*. — In G., एम, तेम *thus*, etc. occur also as pron. adv. (Bs. II, 336, 337); so also in O. H. केम or कैसं *how*, etc.[1]). B. adds the pleon. suff. थन् (§§ 209. 214); thus एमन् or एमनि or एमने, तेमन् or तेमनि or तेमने *thus*, etc. (see S. Ch. 216).

4) From the Ap. Pr. quantit. pron. एवडु, तेवडु, etc. are also derived the G. far dem. pron. थोलो or पेलो *he, that* and the pronom. adv. थइले or ऐल्हे *now*, तइले or तैल्हे *there*, etc. by the change of ड् to ल्. Thus Ap. एवडो becomes *थवडो, *थवलो or contr. थोलो or पेलो (for वेलो with an anomalous hardening of व् to प्). The N. थइले or ऐल्हे (for *एलहे) is a loc. (or obl. form) sing. made with the obl. suff. हे and is = Ap. Pr. एवडहे (see § 469). The Pr. loc. sg. ताला *there*, जाला *where*, काला *where* (H. C. 3, 65) are probably to be explained in a similar manner. Possibly the S. interrog. केह् *who* may be identified with the short quant. pron. केडु by the change of ड् to ह्; but it may be also (as Tr. 206) the curtailment of the Ap. qual. pron. *केरिड्, a slight modification of the ordinary Pr. केरिसो, Skr. कीदृशः. The Ap. strong form *केरिहो becomes in S. the simple pron. केहेँ *what* (usually spelled केहरो with transposed ह्). Substituting in केरिहो the long Ap. form केव° for के°, and the original ड् for ह्, we obtain केवडिहो (cf. Pr. कीदिसो Ls. 116); and similarly एवडिहो or एडिहो for the ordinary Pr. एरिसो or *एडिसो, Skr. ईदृशः. Here the palatal vowel इ changes ड् to ल्, and thus in S. the Ap. *एडिहो and *एवडिहो become the simple pron. इको *this* (for *इलिहो, just as S. केहेँ for केरिहो) and उको *that* respectively; the one being the near, the other the far dem. pron., corresponding to the short and long

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तउ. In the original MS., which was in the Oṛiya characters उ (or उ) would be hardly distinguishable from ड.

1) E. g., Chand Pr. Rāj 25, 28 कहै" नट्ट सो" रातन वट्ट प्रेमं। मह सगपन सा करिहि सु केमं॥ i. e., says the king to the actor, full of affection: how will she make kinship with me? or 1, 82 ज़रो" ताप उधरो" केम नथ्थ। i. e., I am hot with fever; how can I remove it, oh Lord?

qual. pronominal forms. Similarly the S. कुतादो *what* stands for the Ap. *केवहिहउ (with the pleon. suff. हउ, see § 217, H. C. 4, 429). In H. there is a pron. adv. कुआ *where*. In the Ap. there is a qualit. pron. एत्ताहु *such-like* (K. I. 5, see Ls. 449, 455) = Skr. एतादृशः. In P. there is the qual. pron. ऐतिहा or ऐत्तहा *of this sort* (Ld. 19, 56).

5) The pron. of qual. are in Skr. ईदृशः, तादृशः *such-like*, etc. They become in the Ap. Pr. एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or (in the st. form) एहो, केहो etc. The first of these एहो or एहु or एह was already used in Pr. as a simple pron. *he* or *this* (H. C. 4, 362)[1]), and it occurs in most Gds. as the dir. form of the near dem.; thus P. एहु or इहु, Br. इहु or यहु or यह, E. H. इह or ई (for *इअ dropping ह) or ऐहु. O. has एहि which appears to be founded on the form *एहे mentioned by K. I. 8 in Ls. 449, and is Ap. Mg. (see § 46). The S. ही or हे or हिउ (for इह, एह, इहु) transposes the ह; and the S. इहो (for इहो) elides it; so does also the N. यो (for इहो) and Mw. यो; and the Mw. यो drops the initial य् of यो. In M. the initial इ or ए is dropped; thus हा m., ही f., हे n. (for Ap. *इहउ, *इहिआ, इहं, all st. forms) with a regular obl. sg. ह्या, pl. ह्यां, and dir. pl. हे m., ह्या f., हीं n. The Ap. Pr. qual. pron. केहो occurs in S. as the adjectival simple pron. केहो (fem. केही) or (eliding ह) केो *which* (Tr. 209); so also in G., where, however, ए is shortened to अ, thus G. कयो (fem. कई, n. कउं). But perhaps these S. and G. forms are rather to

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1) H. C. limits all three forms to the nom. and acc. sg., but Md. only एहो and एहु, while he appears to allow एह for all cases; thus तदश् चैह सुपा। सुपा सह तद्दो (दशा ते सेडा?) एहः स्यात्। एह तणो वाला वणां वा। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तरूपम्॥ i. e., *tad* in declension becomes *eha* or (*ima*) as before mentioned. The reading in brackets is doubtful; perhaps it is to include the pron. अदस्; as in the succeeding rule: एहो एहु च स्वम्-यां। स्वम्-यां सह तद्दसोर् एहो एहु च स्यातां। एहो सोहेइ देक्ख वा। एष शोभते। एतं पश्यति। एवं एहु। चकारात् पूर्वोक्तं च॥ i. e., in the nom. and acc. sg., *tad* and *adas* become *eho* or *ehu* or as before mentioned (*eha*). Md. is correct; for *eha*, being a pure base, may serve as an obl. form, while एहो and एहु are proper nominatives.

be connected with the base केव (see Nro 3). In P. the pleon. suff. ज्ञ is added, thus केहज्ञ *which*, जेहज्ञ *whichsoever* (fem. °जे). — Connected with the Ap. Pr. केहो is also the W. H. (so-called) neut. interrog. pron. कह्या or P. किय्या *what*, with ए shortened to इ and य. They are really obl. forms. The P. किय्या stands for *किह्या and is contracted in H. H. to क्या. S. transposes ह् (i. e., क्षिया *khiá*, § 132, note) and changes कि *khi* to छ *chh* by the influence of the palatal इ, thus making छा (Tr. 208). Similarly G. changes *किहो, *किही, *किहुं into शो, शी, शुं (for छो, छी, छुं, see § 11, for *क्षिशो, *क्षिई, *क्षिउं). — Here is also to be mentioned the peculiar E. and W. Gḍ. (exc. G.) general dem. pron. से or सो, O. also सेहि *that*, which I am inclined to derive from the Skr. सदृशः *like*. It would become in the Ap. Pr. *सेहो or *सेहु or *सेह, just as Ap. एहो, एहु, एह for ईदृशः; and it would easily acquire the meaning of *such-like* in correlation with the relat. pron. जे or जो. It is commonly (Bs. II, 314) identified with the Pr. nom. sg. सो (H. C. 3, 3) or the Pr. gen. sg. से (H. C. 3, 81). But the Gḍ. से is *never* an obl. form; and both the Gḍ. से and सो are used indifferently in the nom. sg. and plur. Besides the S. सो forms a fem. सा and plur. से; and the O. सेहि seems to be an analogous form to O. एहि. Possibly the E. H. nom. sg. and pl. ते, जे, के may be identified with the Ap. qual. pron. तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or तेह, जेह, केह, by dropping the final ह्; for a form तेहु, etc. appears in the emphatic forms तेहु, etc.

6) The same Skr. qual. pron. ईदृशः, etc. also become अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or अइसु, तइसु, etc. (cf. H. C. 4, 331. 332) in the Ap. Pr. In Gḍ. अइ is changed to ऐ or ए or इ or य; thus strong forms: W. H. ऐसो, तैसो, P. and H. H. ऐसा, तैसा, N. यसो (for *ऐसो or *इसो, see §§ 71. 171), तसो, M. यसा, तसा, etc. But the weak forms इसु or इस्, तसु or तस्, etc. also occur in Br. (see Bates' Hindi Dict.) and O. H. Thus Chand in Pr. Raj 24, 52 थांन थांन नर उडै। चंद तस उप्पम पाइय॥ i. e., *from place to place men fly up* (i. e., *like birds*), *such a simile has Chand devised*. In modern Gḍ., however, the weak forms have become

simple pron. Thus P. ऐस् or एस् or इस्, तिस्, N. यस्, तस् *he* or *this*, etc. They are found only as obl. forms. The corresponding fuller obl. forms in ए also occur; thus H. H. has इसे, तिसे (as dat. acc. *to him* or *him*) besides इस्, तिस्, etc., (just as E. H. कीन् and कीने, see Nro. 2; contr. for Ap. यहसहि or यहसहे, see § 365, 6). B. has the gen. sg. किसे-र् *of what*, dat. loc. किसे *to* or *in what* (S. Ch. 122; just as B. देवे-र् *of god*, देवे *to* or *in god* of देव्). M. has not only the sing. obl. कसा or कस्या (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाह or कइसयाह, Skr. कीदृशस्य or कीदृशकस्य, see § 365, 1), but also the pl. obl. कसां or कस्यां (= Ap. Mg. gen. कइसाहँ, etc., § 365, 4) *of whomsoever* (see Man. 54; just like M. obl. sg. देवा, pl. देवां of देव् *god*). The existence of these fuller obl. forms shows that the shorter ones (तिस्, तिस्, etc.) cannot, probably, be identified with the Pr. gen. तस्स, इस्स, Skr. तस्य, यस्य, etc. (as Bs. II, 315).

7) Again the before mentioned (see Nro. 1) Skr. quant. pron. इयत्, तावत्, etc. are changed in the Ap. Pr. to एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), तेत्तिउ, जेत्तिउ, केत्तिउ (cf. H. C. 4, 383) or, in the strong form, to एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. (H. C. 4, 395, cf. 2, 157, for *एत्तिअउ, etc.). The latter become in W. H. इत्तौ, तित्तौ, etc., H. H. इत्ता, तित्ता, O. इत्ते, तेत्ते, etc. (Bs. II, 332); the former in S. एति°, तेति°, etc., G. एट°, तेट°, etc., W. H. and P. इत°, तित°, etc., E. H. ऐत°, तेत°, etc., B. एत्, तेत्, etc. (S. Ch. 85). As a rule, these weak forms add some pleon. suff. (ना or रो or लो); thus P. इतना, तितना, etc., S. एतिरो, तेतिरो, etc., G. एटलो, etc. (see §§ 452. 453). But the plain weak form is used in P. as a simple pron.; thus इत्, तित् *he* or *that*, जित् *which*, कित् *who* (Ld. 22, 66); it occurs, however, only in the obl. sing. (e. g., gen. तित् दा *of this*). Both these shorter obl. sg. and the corresponding fuller obl. sg. forms are used as pron. adv.; thus Br. इत् or इते *here*, तित् or तिते *there*, etc., P. इत्थे, तित्थे, etc., S. इति or इते or इत्थि or इत्थे, तिति or तिते or तित्थि or तित्थे, etc. The forms इत्थि, इत्थे, etc. are contracted from इअहि or इअहे, तिअहि or तिअहे, etc. These are loc. sg., made with the Ap. Pr. obl. suff. हे (see § 365, 6), and occur even in the Ap. Pr.

itself, as एत्रहे *here*, तेत्रहे *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 436)[1]). By the side of the shorter forms एत्रिय, केत्रिय, etc., Pr. uses also the longer forms एवत्रिय, केवत्रिय, etc. (see Wb. Bh. 422); and as Pr. एत्रिओ originates the W. H. near quant. pron. इत्तो, so Pr. *एवत्रिओ (shortened *यवत्रिओ, *थोत्रिओ) becomes the far quant. W. H. उत्तो *that much*, H. H. उत्ता. The corresponding weak forms are S. ओति°, G. याट°, W. H. and P. उत°, E. H. ओत°, B. यत् (S. Ch. 85, see §§ 452. 453); and the pron. adv. are, Br. उत् or उतै, P. उत्थे, S. उति or उते or उत्थि or उत्थे; and P. uses उत् as a simple pron. in the obl. cases; e. g., उत् दा *of him, of that*.

8) The following Gd. pron. forms appear to be remnants of the old simple pron. The Skr. gen. sg. तस्य, यस्य, etc. become in the Ap. Pr. तस्स, ज्ञस्स or तास, ज्ञास or तासु (also तस्सु H. C. 4, 419), ज्ञासु (H. C. 4, 358. 3, 63). In O. H. the following instances of the latter two kinds of forms occur, तास or तासु and ज्ञास or ज्ञासु[2]), in Br. only तासु and ज्ञासु (Kl. 122, a); and P. has कास् as the obl. form of the neut. interrog. pron. (*of what*, Ld. 20, b). But in the Ap. Pr. the gen. or obl. form is also made by adding the ordinary obl. suff. हो or हे, before which the vowel may be either long or short; thus तहे, कहे (H. C. 4, 359) or ताहे, काहे (H. C. 3, 65), एत्रहे (H. C. 4, 436) or एत्राहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134); again ताहो, काहो or ताह, काह, etc.[3]). Some of the forms with आ

1) Perhaps the Ap. Pr. forms एत्थु *here*, तेत्थु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) may be similarly explained as contr. from एत्रहु, तेत्रहु, etc., made with the abl. or obl. suff. हु (H. C. 4, 336, see § 365, 6); and the Ap. Pr. forms ज्ञत्थु *where*, तत्थु *there*, etc. (H. C. 4, 404) as acc. neut. in उ (H. C. 4, 331) or as containing the abl. suff. तो or तु (= Skr. तस्). Some of these Ap. forms have been received into the literary Pr.; viz. एत्थ (for एत्रह = एत्रहु) or एत्राहे or एत्तो, see H. C. 3, 82. 83. Vr. 6, 20. 21, where they are expressly described as being abl. sing.; and ज्ञत्थ, तत्थ, कत्थ, see H. C. 2, 161 and Wb. Bh. 422 (कत्थ and एत्थं = *एत्रहें abl. pl., § 365, 7).

2) Thus Chand, Pr. R. 25, 16 तास रात्त समीपं। रहो नट विद्या उचारं॥ i. e., *near that* king I remain to practise the art of the actor.

3) Md. says: दीर्घो ऽस्से वा ऽसादेशे। स्वरादिते ऽसादेशे एषां (i. e. किंयत्तदां) दीर्घो वा स्यात्। काहो। काह। कासु। काहे। काहुं। एवं यत्तदोः॥ स्से। कस्स। तस्स॥

are preserved in Gḍ.; thus ताहि, ज़ाहि, काहि (for *ताहे, etc.) and ताहु, ज़ाहु, काहु (for ताहो, etc.) in Br. (Kl. 122. 226) and, as the obl. form of the so-called neut. interrog., काहे in E. H. and Br., and काह् in P.; in O. H. also ताह् or ता [1]). The Ap. Pr. loc. sg. is तहिं, ज़हिं, कहिं (H. C. 4, 357); apparently these have become general obl. forms in S. तहिं, ज़हिं, कहिं, and with ध्रा in O. ताहिँ, ज़ाहिँ, काहिँ, and perhaps serve as neut. interrog. pron. in Mw. काईं or कईं (dropping ह्) and also in the Ap. Pr. काइं (H. C. 4, 367) and कइं (H. C. 4, 426).

9) The indefinite pron. are made by adding the emphatic particles उ or ई (see § 550) to the interrog. pron. Thus E. H. केहू *any one* = केहु + उ *kehu* + *u* and कौनो = कौन + उ *kauna* + *u*, M. कोणी = कोण् + ई *kon* + *i*, H. H. कोई = को + ई *ko* + *i*.

439. *Declension.* Correlative pron. are declined regularly like nouns, with the following two exceptions: 1) those of the short form (ई, ऊ, ने, ऐ, के, § 433) may optionally use in the gen. the aff. कर् or करा. This affix is treated precisely like an adj.; i. e., it follows the gender, number and case of the governing noun. Thus कर् is the weak form, of com. gen. and incapable of inflexion, but करा is the masc. st. form (§ 381), making a fem. करी (§ 384) and obl. masc. करे (§ 386), fem. करी, both in the

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i. e., *ka*, *ya*, *ta* may become *ká*, *yá*, *tá* before the gen. suff., exc. when the latter is *ssa*. — It will be observed, that हे is a general obl. suff.; for in H. C. 4, 359 (तहे) it is a gen. suff., in H. C. 3, 65 (ताहे) and H. C. 4, 436 (एत्तहे) and H. C. 2, 134 (एत्ताहे) it is a loc. suff.; in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्ताहे) it is an abl. suff. Moreover, हे may be shortened to हि and ह, see H. C. 2, 161 (तहि, तह); and ह or त्थ is an abl. suff. in H. C. 3, 82 (एत्थ = *एत्तह), but a loc. suff. in H. C. 2, 161 (तत्थ = *तेत्तह).

1) Thus Chand Pr. Ráj 25, 36 न न हंस धीर् न न सुथ्थ ताह ॥ i. e., *neither his soul nor his felicity was firm*; again 25, 16 ता ग्रह सु पात्र घनेक गुन ॥ i. e., *in his house is a daughter of many virtues*. — It may be observed, that the so-called neut. interrog. pron. is, in reality, merely some obl. form of the common interrog. pron.; thus M. has काण् (for *काहि = *काइ); Bs. has काह and Bh. का (for काह्) *what*.

sing. and plur. (§ 386); but करे may be used, though anomalously, as a fem. obl. The strong forms are not commonly used in the nom., nor the weak forms in the obl. cases. Practically, therefore, the aff. are; dir. form कऱ् c. g., obl. करे m. or करी f.; just like कै and के. It should be observed also that the latter aff. only (but not कऱ्, करे) can be used with the full pron. obl. forms in ह् (viz. ऐह्, थोह्, तेह्, केह्) and with the emph. obl. forms in ही (as ऐही, थोही, etc. § 433). Thus dir. form sg. or pl. के कऱ् घऱ् or केह् कै घऱ् or rarely के करा घऱ् *whose house* or *houses*; के कऱ् मेह्ऱ् or केह् कै म° or rarely के करी म° *whose wife* or *wives*; obl. sg. के करे घऱ् मे or केह् के घऱ् मे or rarely के कऱ् घऱ् मे *in whose house*; के करी मेह्ऱ् से or केह् के मेह्ऱ् से or rarely के कऱ् or के करे म° से *from whose wife*; obl. pl. के करे घरन् मे or केह् के घरन् मे *in whose houses*; के करी मेहरन् से or केह् के म° से or rarely के करे म° से *from whose wives*; etc. — 2) There is no acc. proper, identical with the nom., but only the (improper) acc. formed with the dat. aff. के. Thus *whom* is के के or केह् के or कवन् के or कौने के, but not simply के or कवन्.

440. Optionally a sort of pleon. declension may be made, by adding the case-aff. to the ordinary obl. form of the gen. in ए. In the *khaṛī bhāshā*, however, this is not commonly done, exc. in the loc.; e. g., sg. थो करे मे *in him*, pl. थोन्ह् करे मे *in them*, etc.

441. 1. Short form.

a) Simple form: ई *he, this.*

	Sing.	Simple plur.	Comp. plur.
nom.	ई	ई	ईलोग्
acc., dat.	ए के or ऐह् के	ऐन्ह् के	ऐन्ह् लोगन् के
instr., abl.	ए से or ऐह् से	ऐन्ह् से	ऐन्ह् लोगन् से
gen.	ए कै, के or ऐह् कै, के or ए कऱ्, करी, करे	ऐन्ह् कै, के or ऐन्ह् कऱ्, करी, करे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् कै, के
loc.	ए मे or ऐह् मे or ए करे मे	ऐन्ह् मे or ऐन्ह् करे मे	ऐन्ह् लोगन् मे

b) Emphatic form: इहै or इही *even he, even this.*

Singular.

nom.	इहै or इहई	इही or इहउ
acc., dat.	एही के	एहू के
instr., abl.	एही से	एहू से
gen.	एही कै or एही कर् or ए कहाँ or ए करे ही	एहू कै or एहू कर् or ए कहाँ or ए करे हू
loc.	एही मे or ए कहाँ मे or ए करे ही मे	एहू मे or ए कहाँ मे or ए करे हू मे

Plural.

nom.	इहै or इहई	ऐन्ह हूँ
acc., dat.	ऐन्ह ही" के	ऐन्ह हूँ के
instr., abl.	ऐन्ह ही से	ऐन्ह हूँ से
gen.	ऐन्ह ही" कै or ऐन्ह ही" कर् or ऐन्ह कहाँ or ऐन्ह करे ही"	ऐन्ह हूँ कै or ऐन्ह हूँ कर् or ऐन्ह कहाँ or ऐन्ह करे हूँ
loc.	ऐन्ह ही" मे or ऐन्ह कहाँ मे or ऐन्ह करे ही" मे	ऐन्ह हूँ मे or ऐन्ह कहाँ मे or ऐन्ह करे हूँ मे

Note: Like ई are declined उ *that*, ते *he*, जे *which*, के *who*; only substituting ऊ, ओ, उ, ओ and ते, ति, ते, etc. for ई, ए, इ, ऐ respectively. — All forms with ऐ or ओ may, optionally, be spelled with इ or उ; e. g., ऐन्ह के or इन्ह के *to these*, and ओन्ह के or उन्ह के *to those*, etc.

442. 2. Long form: तब्बन् or तउन् or तौन् *he, this.*

Sing. and simple plur.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तब्बन्	तउनी
acc., dat.	तौने के	तौनी के
instr., abl.	तौने से	तौनी से
gen.	तौने कै, के	तौनी कै, के
loc.	तौने मे	तौनी मे

Compound plural.

	Com. gen.	Fem.
nom.	तौनेलोग्	तौनीलोग्
acc., dat.	तौनेलोग् के or तौनेलोगन् के	तौनीलोग् के or तौनीलोगन् के

	Com. gen.		Fem.	
instr., abl.	तीनेलोग् से	or तीनेलोगन् से	तीनीलोग् से	or तीनीलोगन् से
gen.	तीनेलोग् कै, के	or तीनेलोगन् कै, के	तीनीलोग् कै, के	or तीनीलोगन् कै, के
loc.	तीनेलोग् मे	or तीनेलोगन् मे	तीनीलोग् मे	or तीनीलोगन् मे

Note: Like तवन् are declined ज्ञवन् *which* and कवन् *who*; also आपन् *own* (§ 449). — Their forms may, optionally, be spelled with ध्व or ध्उ or ध्ौ according to § 34; e. g., तउने के or तौने के *to this.*

442a. Short form: के or केहू. Long form: कौनो *any one.*

	Sing. and simple plur.			Compound plural.		
nom.	के	केहू	कौनो	केलोग्	केहू लोग्	कौनो लोग्
a., d.	के के	केहू के	कौनो के	कि लोग् के	केहूलोग् के	कौनोलोग् के
i.,abl.	के से	केहू से	कौनो से	or के लोगन् के	केहूलोगन् के	कौनोलोगन् के
gen.	के कै, के	केहू कै, के	कौनो कै, के	etc.	etc.	etc.
loc.	के मे	केहू मे	कौनो मे			

Note: Like केहू is declined ज्ञेकेहू *whosoever.*

3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN.

443. The reflexive pron. *self* is आपू. It is alike for both genders, and is declined regularly like a subst., but has no plur.; the sing. form being used for both numbers; dat. sg. and pl. आपू के *to himself* and *to themselves.*

444. *Affinities.* W. H. and P. use the same refl. pron. आपू; O. has आपे or आपणा, B. आपनि (with obl. आपना), M. आपण्; while in S. it is पाणा; H. H. has in the dir. form आपू, but in the obl. आप् or अपने. The M., B. and O. forms आपणा and H. H. obl. अपने are properly the corresponding possess. pron. (*own*), see § 449; it is in fact a sort of pleonastic declension, see §§ 440. 432.

445. *Derivation.* The original of the refl. pron. is the Skr. subst. आत्मा (nom. sg. of आत्मन्) *soul* or *self.* In Pr. it becomes अप्पा or अत्ता (H. C. 2, 51. Vr. 3, 48) or अप्पो (H. C. 3, 56) or Ap. Pr. अप्पु (or st. f. अप्पउ H. C. 4, 422). In Gḍ. it is आपू; in O. H. and Br., also, आपु. The Pr. form अत्ता, I believe, has left no trace in Gḍ. In Pr. the pron. also assumes a long form

अपाणो (H. C. 2, 51. 3, 56), Ap. Pr. अप्पाणु (H. C. 4, 396), which survives in the S. पाणा with the loss of the initial अ; O. H., also, has it as m. अपान्, f. अपानि (Kl. 124, 231). Cw. 46 mentions also a Pr. form अत्ताणो, which, however, has left no trace in Gd., and is, probably, a false reading.

4. THE HONORIFIC PRONOUN.

446. The hon. pron. is substituted for the pron. of the 2nd pers. sg. तैं and pl. तुँ, in respectful address. It is, in the wk. f. राव्ऱ् or राउऱ् c. g., in the st. f. रउरा or रौरा m., रउरी or रौरी f. It is declined regularly like a subst. (§ 379). But the refl. pron. आप् may also be used as a honorific; and in that case it always forms the comp. plur. आप् लोग् when applied to more than one person.

447. *Affinities and Derivation.* The use of राउऱ् as a hon. pron. seems to be confined to E. H.; but आप् and its cognate forms are used so in all Gḍs.; thus B. uses आपनि (S. Ch. 114. 115. note, with obl. f. आपना or आपनका), O. आपणा (Sn. 18), W. H. आप्, P. आप् (Ld. 20, 58), etc. — The original of राउऱ् I believe to be the Skr. noun राजकुल° (or राजकुल्य) *royal*, Pr. राअउल° or राउल° (Vr. 4, 1. H. C. 1, 267), see § 78.

5. PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

448. By the term. *pron. adjectives.* I designate the possessive pron. (as *mine, thine, own*), the correl. adj. of quantity and quality, and the indefinite pron. *all, whosoever, some.*

a) Possessive pronouns.

449. Possess. pron. may be derived from the first and second pers. and from the refl. pron. Those of the first pers. pron. are: wk. form मोऱ् c. g. *mine*, or st. f. मोरा m., मोरी f.; and wk. f. हमाऱ् c. g. *our*, or st. f. हमरा m., हमरी f. Those of the second pers. are: wk. f. तोऱ् c. g. *thine*, or st. f. तोरा m., तोरी f.; and wk. f. तोहाऱ् c. g. *your*, or st. f. तोहरा m., तोहरी f. Those of the refl. pron. are: wk. f. आपन् c. g. *own*, or st. f.

अपना m., अपनी f. They are declined regularly like adj. of the corresponding form (see § 386). The possess. pron. of the third pers. is identical with the gen. of the near or far dem. pron.; viz., wk. f. एकर् or ओकर् c. g. *his* or *her*, or st. f. एका or ओका m., °री f.; and wk. f. ऐन्हकर् or ओन्हकर् c. g. *their*, or st. f. ऐन्हका or ओन्हका m., °री f.

Note: The following bye-forms also occur: हमारा *our*, तोहारा *your*, fem. °री. — The adj. निज् *own* is also frequently used as a refl. pron.

450. *Affinities.* The forms of these pron. do not differ materially in the Gḍs., exc. in M., S. and, partially, P. They are: of the first pers., B. मोर्, आमार्; O. मोर् or मोहोर्, अम्हर्; W. H. मेरो, हमारो (Br.) and मारो or म्हारो, माँरो or म्हाँरो (Mw.); G. मारो, अमारो; N. मेरो, हामो; but P. मेरा, असाडा or साडा; M. माका, आम्-चा; S. मूँ-ञो or मुहुँ-ञो, असाँ-ञो. Of the second pers., B. तोर्, तोमार्; O. तोर्, तुम्हर्; W. H. तेरो, तुम्हारो or तिहारो (Br.) and थारो (or थाऊ), थाँरो (Mw.); G. तारो, तमारो; N. तेरो, तिमो; but P. तेरा, तुसाडा or तुहाडा; M. तुका or तुम्-चा; S. तो-ञो or तुहुँ-ञो, तव्हाँ-ञो or थव्हाँ-ञो. It should be observed, that B. and O. use आमार्, अम्हर् and तोमार्, तुम्हर् as sing. *mine, thine*, and form new plur., B. आमा-देर् and even मो-देर् *our*, तोमा-देर्, तो-देर् *your*, O. अम्हमानङ्कर्, तुम्हमानंकर्. Similarly also N. हामीहेरु-को, तिमीहेरु-को or तिमीहेरु-को. B. forms also आमादिगेर् or आमार्-देर् or आमार्-दिगेर् and similarly तोमादिगेर्, etc. — Of the refl. pron.: E. H. आपन् or अपना, O. H. आपुन् or अपुना, Br. अपनो or आपनो, M. आपला, P. आपणा, N. आफ्ना, G. आपणो, but also आपन्-नो, O. आपणा, but also आपणा-र् (Sn. 18), S. पाँ-ञो or पाँहुँ-ञो. — The possess. pron. of the third pers. are made in all Gḍs. in the same way as in E. H.

451. *Derivation.* It will be observed that these adj. pron. are made by simply adding the gen. aff. (see the list in §§ 374. 377 also §§ 272—280) to their corresponding subst. pron. In some cases the aff. still remains a separate word; thus in S. मूँ-ञो *mine*, M. आम्-चा *our*, P. तुसा-डा *your*, S. पाँ-ञो *own*, Mw. आप-रो *own*, O. आपणा-र् *own*. In others it has coalesced with the base into one

word; as E. H. मोर् *mine*, हमार् *our*, etc. The latter contain two of the ancient gen. aff. केर् and करु, on the derivation of which see § 377. The former appears in the ordinary Pr. possess. pron. of the plur. अम्हकेरो *our*, तुम्हकेरो *your* (H. C. 2, 147); in the sing., however, the ordinary Skr. forms seem to have been used, thus Pr. मईय *mine* = Skr. मदीय (H. C. 2, 147). The aff. कर always elides क्, and coalesces with the base; thus in the Ap. Pr. महारउ (H. C. 4, 358) or महारा (H. C. 4, 434) *mine* (for *मह्कर्उ or *मह्कारा, मह being the gen. of हउं *I*, cf. H. C. 3, 113), or contracted in the Nágara Ap. मेरो (Md. खदीये तेर । मदीय मेर ॥); so also in Br. मेरो or in Mw. माहो or म्हारो. The E. H. मोर् is founded on a form *मह्कारो (from gen. मह्, H. C. 4, 379) or has been assimilated to तोर् *thine*. Again Ap. Pr. तुहारु (cf. H. C. 4, 434) *thine* stands for *तुह्कर् (from gen. तुह्, H. C. 3, 99) and is contracted in E. H. to तोर्. The Br. तेरो and Mw. थारो presuppose an original form *तह्कारा (from gen. तह्, see § 430, 2) or have been assimilated to मेरो, म्हारो. Again Ap. Pr. अम्हारा (H. C. 4, 434) *our* (= *अम्ह्कारा, from gen. or base अम्ह् H. C. 3, 113. 114) becomes, by transposition of ह्, H. H. हमारा, W. H. हमारो; or, by elision of ह्, B. आमार्, G. अमारो; or, by elision of अ, Mw. म्हारो; or, by shortening आ, O. अम्मर्, E. H. हमरा. Similarly Ap. Pr. तुम्हारा for तुम्ह्कारा, whence H. H. तुम्हारा, E. H. तोह्रा, etc. — The P. form असा-ड़ा (or सा-ड़ा with loss of अ, just as in Mw. म्हारो), तुसा-ड़ा or तुहा-ड़ा are made with the old gen. aff. ड़ा (= M. P. दा, see § 377, 3); as to the स् of असा, तुसा see § 430, 3. 4. It will be observed that in P. and M. the plur. only, but in S. both the plur. and sing. are made by a separate gen. aff. As regards the M. forms माका, तुका see § 430, 5. — As to आपन् or अपना, see §§ 60. 111. The Mw. आपरो contains either the gen. aff. रो, or the र् is a modification of the Pr. ल् of अप्पुल्लो (H. C. 2, 163). — The S. पाहें-ञो appears to contain the old gen. *पानह् (Ap. अप्पाणहो), contracted to पान्ह् = पाहें (see § 132, note).

b) Correl. pron. of quantity and quality.

452. The pron. of quant. are: इत्ता or एत्ता *this much*,

तेता or तेतना *that much*, जेता or जेतना *as much*, केता or केतना *how much*. They are strong forms, and consequently are treated precisely as adj. of a like form; that is, they have a fem. in ए् (§ 384, as एतो or एतनो, etc.), and an obl. form in ए् (§ 386, as gen. एते कै or एतने कै *of so much*, etc.). Sometimes also the forms ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक् or इतेक् इतिक् or इतक् or ऍतेक्, etc.; उतेक् or उतिक्, केतेक् or कितेक् or कतेक् or केतिक् or कितिक् or कितक्, and so forth of तेत°, तेत°, are met with (see Bs. in J. R. A. S. vol. III, 490 and Kl. 141), see § 26. I have also met with the forms तौठा or तौणा *as much*, कौणा *how much*.

453. *Affinities.* Nearly the same forms are used in all Gds.; thus B. एत, यत, तत, यत, कत or एतक्, यतक्, etc. (S. Ch. 84); एत, etc. are sounded *etă*, etc., but एतक् *etak*; hence gen. एत-ऱ्, but एतक-ऱ्. O. एते, तेते, येते, केते, W. H. (Br.) इत्तो or इतनो, उत्तो or उतनो, तित्तो or तितनो, etc. or (Mw.) इतरो, उतरो, तितरो, etc., P. इतना, उतना, तितना, etc., G. एटलो, थाटलो, तेटलो, etc. (Ed. 44), S. एतिरो or हेतिरो, थोतिरो or होतिरो, तेतिरो, etc. (Tr. 224), M. इतका or इतकाला, तितका or तितकाला, etc. (Man. 52; also कितो or कितीक? as Tr. 223), N. यति, उति, तति, ऊति, कति.

454. *Derivation.* The quant. pron. in Pr. are एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, जेत्तिओ, केत्तिओ (H. C. 2, 157) or Ap. Pr. एत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 341), केत्तिउ (H. C. 4, 383), etc.; and in the strong form: Pr. एत्तिअओ, etc., Ap. एत्तिअउ, etc. The Mg. Pr. would have wk. f. एत्तिए् or एत्तिइ् or एत्तिअ (Vr. 11, 11) or st. f. एत्तिअए् or एत्तिअके or एत्तिअकए् (see § 202), etc. Now Mg. एत्तिअ contracts to O. एते, N. यति, etc.; Mg. एत्तिअए् to E. H. एत्ता; Mg. एत्तिअके to E. H. ऐतेक् or ऐतिक् or ऐतक्, B. एतक्; Mg. एत्तिअकए् to M. इतका. In Pr. the pleon. suff. लो may be added: एत्तिलो (for एत्तिअलो, see § 58, note) or Ap. Pr. एत्तुलो, etc., whence G. एटलो, etc. (with ट् or ड् for त् or त्त्, as in Pr. पट्टण for Skr. पत्तन H. C. 2, 29), S. एतिरो, etc., E. H. ऐतना (see §§ 58. 111. 214). In M., the pleon. suff. ला may be superadded to the pleon. suff. का, thus इतकाला, etc. (lit. Ap. *एत्तिअकअलउ). The Gd. forms उति, उतेक् or उतिक्, थातिरो, etc. are similarly derived from the Pr. एत्तिआ (see Wb. Bh. 422), as explained in

§ 438, 1. 7. — The Pr. forms एत्तिओ, तेत्तिओ, etc. are in Skr. एतावत्कः, तावत्कः, etc. — The E. H. forms केता, तेता or तेहा are perhaps derived from केवतिष्ठ, तेवतिष्ठ with an anomalous aspiration, as in M. केवढा, and cerebralisation, as in G. तटलो.

455. *Cognate quant. forms.* By the side of the forms एवुलो, तेवुलो, etc. The Ap. Pr. has the forms एवडु, तेवडु, तेवडु, केवडु (H. C. 4, 407. 408), made by adding the pleon. suff. डु to the quant. pron. एव, तेव, तेव, केव, in Ved. Skr. ईवत्, कीवत्. M. has them in the strong form एवढा or (with pleon. ला) एवढाला, तेवढा or तेवढाला, etc. (Man. 52); so also G. एवडो, आवडो, तेवडो, etc.; S. also has them, but in the shorter form एडो or हेडो, ओडो or होडो, तेडो, etc. (Tr. 224), made by adding the pleon. suff. डो to the short quant. pron. ए, ते, ते, के (see § 438, 1), so also P. wk. f. एड़ or ऐड़, तेड़ or तैड़, etc., and st. f. एडा, तेडा, etc.; also O. एउ, तेउ, तेउ, केउ (Bs. II, 336). In this form the quant. pron. usually expresses *size*, i. e., *so large, how large*, etc. In S. the diminutive suff. डो may be added, as एडिडो or हेडिडो, ओडिडो or होडिडो, तेडिडो, etc. (Tr. 224), meaning *so small*, etc. — The W. H. has also तै, तै, कै which are derived from the Skr. quant. pron. तति:, यति:, कति:, Pr. तई, जई (H. C. 1, 177), कई (H. C. 1, 180?), Ap. Pr. तइ, जइ, कइ (H. C. 4, 376).

456. The pron. of qual. are: अइसन् or ऐसन् *of this kind*, तइसन् or तैसन् *of that kind*, जइसन् or जैसन् *of which kind*, कइसन् or कैसन् *of what kind*. They are the same in the masc. and fem., and are declined regularly, like any adj. (see § 386). But they may also take the strong obl. forms; viz. in the sing., m. ऐसने, f. ऐसनी, etc., in the plur. m. ऐसनन्हू (or ऐसनेन्हू), f. ऐसनिन्हू, etc.

457. *Affinities.* There is much difference among the various Gds. as regards these pron. There are four main types, the characteristics of which are: 1) स, 2) ह, 3) व or म and 4) ड or र or ल. To the first or स्-type belong: E. H. ऐसन्, तैसन् and in Bs. also ऐस् or अस् or यस्, तैस् or तस्, etc.; W. H. ऐसो, वैसो, तैसो (Br.) or इस्यो, उस्यो, तिस्यो (Mw.), etc.; M. असा or असला or असलाला, तसा or तसला or तसलाला, etc. (Man. 52); and

N. असो, उसो, तसो, etc. Of the second or ह-type are: P. एहा or इहा or अत्तिहा or अत्तेहा, तेहा or तिहा, etc., S. इहओ or हिअओ, तिहओ, etc. Of the third or अ-type are: G. एवो, आवो, तवो, etc., B. एमत् or एमन्, तेमत् or तेमन, etc., O. एमन्त, तेमन्त, etc. Of the fourth or उ-type are: Mw. ऐडो or ऐरो, वैडो or वैरो, तैडो or तैरो, etc., Gw. ऐनो or ऐन् or अन्, वनो or वन्, तनो or तन्, etc. (Kl. 141).

458. *Derivation.* The qual. pron. in the Ap. Pr. are either अइसो, तइसो, जइसो, कइसो (H. C. 4, 403) or एहु, तेहु, जेहु, केहु (H. C. 4, 402) or in the strong form, एहउ or (contr.) एहो, etc., (K. I. 9, in Ls. 449). The former set produces the स-type, the latter the ह-type. M. असला, etc. and E. H. ऐसन्, etc. add the pleon. suff. ल or न, see §§ 111. 214. M. even reduplicates the suff. ल in असलाला, etc. The S. इहओ, etc. add the pleon. suff. ड. The P. अत्तिहा preserves the ह-type in a more complete form; for it stands for a Pr. form एदिहधो = Skr. ईदृग्: (see § 438, 4). — The Skr. qual. pron. are ईदृग्:, तादृग्:, यादृग्:, कीदृग्:, which become in Pr. एरिसो, तारिसो, जारिसो, केरिसो (H. C. 1, 142) or एहिसो, तादिसो, etc. (see Ls. 115). As a rule र् (or ऱ्) is elided (see § 124), whence the Ap. Pr. अइसो, etc. (see § 25, note); and स् (or श्) is changed to ह्, whence Ap. एहो, तेहो contracted for *अइहो, *तइहो, etc. (see Ls. 455). It may be observed, that the P. and S., which alone have the ह्-type, similarly change the स् (or श्) of Pr. वीसा 20, तीसा 30 (Skr. विंशति, त्रिंशत्) into ह्, P. वीह्, तीह्, S. वीह, तीह. — The forms of the अ- and उ-types were originally quant. pron. The Skr. इयत् (Ved. ईयत्), तावत्, etc. become in Pr. एव, तेव, etc. or एम, तेम, etc. (cf. Wb. Bh. 422. Ls. 458), whence G. एवो, तेवो, etc. and B. एमन्, तेमन्, etc. (with pleon. suff. अन, see §§ 209. 214); and the O. एमन्त, B. एमत्, etc., perhaps, are based on the Skr. इयतकः, etc., Pr. *एअन्तधो, and probably contain the suff. Skr. वत्, मत्, Pr. अन्त, मन्त (see §§ 232. 236). — The Mw. ऐडो or ऐरो, etc. are identical with the S. quant. pron. एडो, P. एड्डा, etc.; and so also the Gw. एनो, where ड् has been changed to न् (see §§ 106. 438, 2) — The forms, Br. वैसो and Gw. वनो

are founded on the Ap. Pr. forms *एवड्डो (= Skr. *एवाड्ढ्रः) and एवडो respectively.

c) Indefinite pronouns.

459. The indef. pron. *all, every one* is सव्व् or सम or emph. सव्वे or सभे. It is the same in both genders, and is declined regularly like any other adj. of the weak form. But when plurality is to be emphasised, it has an obl. form सभन् or सव्वहन्; thus gen. सव्व् or सभ कँ *of all* taken as *a whole*, but सभन् or सव्वहन् कँ *of all* taken *severally*.

460. *Affinities.* The forms of this indef. pron. are nearly alike in all Gds. Thus B. सब्, O. सबु, W. H. सब् or सबद्, P. सभ, G. सभ or सर्व (Ed. 44, 1), S. सभु m., सभ f., or सभुको m., °को f., M. सर्व, N. सब्. S. has the emph. forms सभोई and सिड्ढोई or सिजोई. — E. H. also uses सकद् or सगद् and साहा *all, whole*.

461. *Derivation.* The original is the Skr. सर्वः, which becomes in Pr. सव्वो, in the Ap. Pr. सव्वु (H. C. 4, 366) or *सब्बु (cf. H. C. 4, 399, see § 135, note). The former becomes O. सबु, E. H., N., Br. सब्, the latter Br. सबद् (emph. सबदै). The form सभ has an anomalous aspirate (see § 131), perhaps analogous to N. आपु *self* for आपु, आगि *before* for आगि, etc. — The S. सभुको adds the pleon. suff. को. — The G. and M. सर्व is a semitats. — The strange S. सिड्ढोई or सिजोई, I believe, to be merely a curtailment of the emph. सभोई or सब्बोई. The final ई is the emph. particle; the initial स् of the remainder सिजो stands for व (see § 134); the final इड्ढो or इजो is a pleon. suff., the same as in S. पेहेंयो or पेहरो *first* (see §§ 118. 213), थोरिजो *very little* (Tr. 79), एडिजो *so small* (§ 455). In S., स often changes to ह (see Tr. XXX); hence सव्व° may have become हव्व° or हम°, next ह्म° (by suppressing व), next म° (cf. Mw. म्हाँरो or माँरो *our* for Br. हमारो). — The E. H. सगद् is the Skr. सकल° (see § 102); and साहा is, perhaps, really the past part. of साधय् *to complete*, the causal of the R. सिध् (= Skr. part. साधितः), or it may be the Skr. सार्वः.

462. The indef. pron. *whoever* is जेकेहु which is both masc. and fem.; and जेकिहु *whatever*, which is used with *things* only.

They are compound forms, made of जे and कहु or किछु, and are declined regularly like their component parts; thus gen. sing. जेकहु कै *of whomsoever.*

463. *Affinities and Derivation.* This pron. is formed in the same way in all Gds. by compounding the relat. with the indef. pron. Thus S. जेको m., जेका f., जेकी n. (Tr. 213); B. जेकिछु or जेकोन् n. (S. Ch. 127), etc. As to its derivation, see § 438.

464. The indef. pron. *some* is केतना or कई which is masc. and fem., and किछु or कुछु or कछु which refers to *things* only. They are declined regularly like adj. Thus gen. केतने लोगन् कै *of some men,* कई घोरन् कै *of some horses,* किछु धान् कै *of some thing.* When केतना is used independantly, it forms the obl. केतनन्, and to कई the pleon. aff. एक् (§ 289) is added; thus gen. केतनन् कै or कईएक् कै *of some.*

465. *Affinities and Derivation.* The impersonal indef. pron. is in B. किछु, O. किहि, Br. कछु, H. H. कुछ, M. काँही", Mw. काँई" or कँई", S. को, P. कुछ. I know no satisfactory derivation for किछु, perhaps it is Pr. *किंचि हु = Skr. किंचित् खलु.

466. Here may be added the E. H. धान् or दूसर् or धउर् or पराई *another,* and एक् दूसर् *one another.*

Note: धान् is the Mg. धणे (cf. H. C. 3, 58), Skr. धन्यः; — धउर् is the Mg. धवले, Skr. धवलः; — पराई seems to be connected with the Skr. परकीयः; it also occurs in the Ap. Pr. पराई (H. C. 4, 350) or पाया (H. C. 4, 376). — On दूसर् see § 271.

6. PRONOMINAL ADVERBS.

467. The E. H. pron. adv. are the following: a) *of place,* इहँ or इहाँ or इह्वाँ or एठे" or एठाँ or ऐठेन् or ऐठान् or ऐठाई" *here;* तहँ or तहे or तहाँ or तह्वाँ or तेठाँ or तेठेन् *there;* जहँ or जहे or जहाँ or जह्वाँ or जेठेन् *where;* कहँ or कहे or कहाँ or कह्वाँ or केठेन् *where?* The same in emph. form are: इह्वे" or ऐहीठे" or ऐहीठाँ *even here;* तह्वे" or तेहीठे" or तेहीठाँ *even there;* जह्वे" or जेहीठे" or जेहीठाँ *even where;* कह्वे" or केहीठे" or केहीठाँ *even where?*

b) *of direction*, ऐहर् or ऐह्वर् *hither*; ओहर् or ओह्वर् *thither*; तेहर् or तेह्वर् *thither*; जेहर् or जेह्वर् *wither*; केहर् or केह्वर् *wither?*

c) *of time*, अब् *now*, तब् *then*, जब् *when*, कब् *when?* In emph. form: अबही" or अबहिये" *even now*; तबही" or तबहिये" *even then*; जबही" or जबहिये" *even when*; कबही" or कबहिये" *even when?*

d) *of manner or cause*: यूँ or एउँ or एसो" or एइसे or ऐसे *in this manner* or *for this cause*; त्यूँ or तेउँ or तेसो" or तइसे or तैसे *thus* or *therefore*, also *then*; ज्यूँ or जेउँ or जेसो" or जइसे or जैसे *in which manner* or *for which cause*, also *when*; क्यूँ or केउँ or केसो" or कइसे or कैसे *how* or *why* or काहे *why*, केह् काल् or काहे बट् *what for*, काहे" *why not?*

468. *Affinities.* Forms of the same origin are designated by the same letter. — a) *Adv. of place*; B. (a) एथा or हेथा, ओथा or होथा, तथा or सेथा, यथा (i. e. जथा), कोथा or (b) ए ठाने, ओ ठ°, से ठ°, ये ठ°, कोन् ठ°, or (d) हेंदे *here*, or (γ) हेरो *here*. O. (α) एठा, सेठा, येठा, कोठा, or (b) ए-ठा-रे, येउँ ठारे, केउँ or को" ठारे, etc. Bs. (α) ऐठ्यां or ऐठ्यन्, ओठ्यां or ओठ्यन्, तेठ्यां or तेठ्यन्, etc., or (b) उहँ or उहां or उह्वां, इहँ, etc. (as in E. H.); (W. H.) Br. (a) इत् or इते, उत् or उते, तित् or तिते, जित् or जिते, कित् or किते or कत्, or (b) यहाँ or याँ, वहाँ or वाँ, तहाँ or ताँ, जहाँ or जाँ, कहाँ or काँ; Mw. (α) यठै or यहो or ईठै, उठै or उठो or ऊठै, तठै or तहो (or तैठै?), कठै or कहो or कैठै or कोठै (also थठै, ठठै, etc., Kl. 265); P. (a) इत्थे, उत्थे, तित्थे, जित्थे, कित्थे; S. (a) इति or हिति or इते or हिते or इत्थे, उति or हुति or उते or हुते or उत्थे, तिति or तति or तित्थि or तिते or तित्थे or तते, जिति or जित्थि or जति or जिते or जित्थे or जते (also जाते or जात्थे), किति or कित्थि or कति or किते or कित्थे (Tr. 392. 393); G. (b) ह्यहाँ, थाँहीं", त्यहाँ or तहीं" or ताँहाँ, ज्यहाँ or जहीं" or जाँहाँ, क्यहाँ or कहो" or काँहाँ (Ed. 115. Bs. II, 336. 337); M. (a) येथे", तेथे", जेथे" or तिथे, केथे" or (α) कोठे" (Man. 100); N. (b) यहाँ or यहाँ or याँहाँ or आहाँ, वहाँ or वाँहाँ, तहाँ or ताँहाँ, जहाँ or जाँहाँ, कहाँ or काँहाँ.

b) *Adv. of direction*; B. (c) एमने, थमने, कमने; O. (γ) एने, केने; E. H. (c) ऐह-र् or ऐह्व-र्, etc.; in some parts also (γ) एने or (c) एमह-र् or (γ) एनह-र्, etc. (cf. Kl. 266); W. H. इधर्, उधर्, तिधर्,

ञिधर्, किधर्; P. unknown; S. (γ) एडे or हेडे or एउहँ or ऐउएँ or एउहुँ or हेउहुँ, थोडे or होडे or थोउहँ etc., तेडे or तेउहँ or तेउहुँ, केडे etc., कडे etc.; G. (γ) थाणी-गम्, तेणी-गम् (cf. Bs. 336. 337); M. (c) इकडे or हिकडे (Man. 127), तिकडे, तिकडे, किकडे; N. (b) यौंहिँ, वौंहिँ, तौंहिँ, ञौंहिँ, कौंहिँ. The adv. of place may also be used in all Gds.; generally with the dat. aff. added; e. g., E. H. तहाँ के, O. सेहा कु *thither*, etc.

c) *Adv. of time*; B. (c) एब्बे, तब्बे, यब्बे, कब्बे (S. Ch. 207) or (b) ए-खन्, त-खन्, य-खन्, क-खन्; O. (c) एब्बे, तेब्बे, येब्बे, कब्बे; E. H. (c) यब्, तब्, तब्, कब्; W. H. (c) यब्बै or यब्बे, तब्बै or तौ (= तब्), ञब्बै or ञौ, कब्बै, or (d) ञदू or ञदै or ञहा or तदू, तहू or तदै, कदू or कदै or कहा or कदू, or (e) ञरै, तरै; O. H. (c) ताम, ञाम; P. (d) तदू, ञदू, कदू; S. (c) तवँ, ञवँ, or (γ) तडिहो", ञडिहो", कडिहो"; M. (c) एव्हाँ, तेंव्ह or तेव्हाँ, ञेंव्ह or ञेव्हाँ, केंव्हाँ (Man. 100. 125), or (a) यातां *then* (Man. 100); N. (c) यब्, तब्, तब्, कब्, or (c) यल्ले or ऐल्हे, तल्ले or तैल्हे, ञल्ले or ञैल्हे, कल्ले or कैल्हे, or (e) ञरू, तरू.

d) *Adv. of manner*; B. (γ) ऐन्, केन्, or (c) एमन् or एमत् or एमनि or एमने or एमते, यमनि, तेमन् or तेमत् etc., येमन् or येमत् etc., कमन् or कमत् or किमत् etc. (S. Ch. 216. 217. 218); O. (c) (एमन्त, सेमन्त, येमन्त ?), केमन्त 'or कियाँ or काहिँ-के or काहा-रू; O. H. एम or एमि, तेम or तिमि, ञेम or ञिमि, केम or किमि; P. (c) एउँ, तउँ, ञउँ, कीउँ; S. (c) ईंध or हीँध or ईंध or हिँध or इएँ, ऊंध or हूँध or ऊंध or हुँध or उएँ or हुएँ, तोँध or तिँध or तिएँ, ञोँध or ञिँध or ञिएँ, कोँध or किँध or किएँ; G. एम्, धाम्, तेम्, तेम्, केम्; M. (f) यसें", तसें", ञसें", कसें" (Man. 101. 126); N. (f) यसे, तसे, ञसे, कसे, or यस्ले, तस्ले, ञस्ले, कस्ले, or (h) यसो-गरि, तसो-गरि, etc., क्याम् *why*.

I may add here, that pron. adv. implying *from* or *up-to* are made in all Gds. by adding abl. or loc. aff. to the above mentioned pron. adv. Thus O. के-हुं *whence*, E. H. कहाँ-से or केहु-से *whence*, कब्-से *since when*, कब्-तक् or कहाँ-तक् *how long*, S. के-सीँ or का-सीँ or के-सीँध or के-ताईं *how long* (Tr. 394); N. कौंहाँ-बाट् or कौंहाँ-देखि *whence*, etc. But in P., M., Mw., S. and occasionally in the other Gds. they may be made by giving to the adv. of place or direction a different (abl.) inflection; thus P. (a) इत्थों"

hence, उथेंˇ *thence*, etc. (Ld. 70. 103); M. (a) एथून् (Man. 126) or इकडून् *hence*, तिकडून् *thence*, etc. (Man. 100, 2. d); Mw. (α) यहा सूं *hence*, कहा सूं *whence*, etc.; S. (a) इताँ or इनाउँ or इतहूँ or इताहूँ or (γ) एडां or एडाउँ or एडहूँ or एडाहूँ *hence*, etc. (Tr. 394. 39P); O. काहुँ *whence*.

469. *Derivation.* The case of the pron. adv. is similar to that of the pron. themselves (see § 438). Here also, there are six different types, marked *a* (or *a*), *b*, *c* (or *γ*), *d*, *e*, *f* respectively; and the adverbs are in reality obl. forms of what were originally qual. or quant. pron. adj. Thus: 1) the Ap. Pr. uses the obl. form (or loc. sg.) in हे of the quant. pron. एत्रिअ, etc. as pron. adv. of place (as explained in § 438, 7), एत्रहे, तेत्रहे, etc. (H. C. 4, 436); in P. and S. they are contracted to इत्थे (for *इत्रहे), तित्थे or (eliding ह्) W. H. इते, तिते or S. इते, तिते or (shortening the final ए) इति, तिति, etc. The M. येथेˇ, तेथेˇ, etc. are similarly contracted from Ap. Pr. एत्रहिं, तेत्रहिं (with the obl. or loc. suff. हिं H. C. 4, 357, see also § 378, 3); and the B. एथा, तथा (also एथाए, तथाए, see S. Ch. 214. 222), etc. from the Pr. एत्राहे (H. C. 3, 82. 2, 134), etc. There is also a series of by-forms of this *a*-type (marked *a*) which substitute ठ् for त्र; e. g., Mw. यठै, उठै (like S. इत्थे), E. H. ऐठेˇ, तेठेˇ (like M. येथेˇ), O. एठा, सेठा (like B. एथा), etc.; analogously to the change in the pron. adj., G. एटलो *so many* for E. H. ऐतला, S. एतिरो, etc. It appears, that some confusion originated at an early period between the terminations था and ठा, थेˇ and ठेˇ, थे and ठे and the nouns (loc.) थान् or ठान्, थाईˇ or ठाईˇ *in a place*. The E. H. emph. forms एही-ठाईˇ or एही-ठेˇ, etc., and the O. येउँ-ठाहु, केउँ-ठाहु can hardly be explained on any other theory. Indeed, the real phrases, E. H. ए थान् *in this place*, ते थान् *in that place*, etc., B. ए थान, त थान (with थ् for स्थ as in Pr. थाण for Skr. स्थाणु, H. C. 2, 7) are not unfrequently used. — Again 2) Ap. Pr. uses the loc. sg. in हिं or इं of the quant. pron. एव as a pron. adv. of time and manner: एम्वहिं *now*ˇ (H. C. 4, 420) and एम्वइं or एम्वइ *thus* (H. C. 4, 421. 420). In B. and O. they are contracted to एबे or एबे, and in W. H. shortened to बे *now*,

O. H. इमि *thus* (for *एमि), S. इएँ *thus* (for *इमे or *इवे). Similarly the W. H. तवै, O. H. तिमि, S. तिएँ, etc. postulate an Ap. Pr. तेम्वहिं or तेम्वइ, etc. The Ap. Pr. also uses the plain obl. form (without suff., H. C. 4, 345) एम्व *thus* (H. C. 4, 420), तेम or तेवं or तिम or तिवं *thus*, etc. (H. C. 4, 401. 397). They become in O. H. and G. एम, तेम, etc., in S. एउँ, तउँ (changing व *va* to उ) or इधँ, तिधँ (eliding म् or व्) or ईंध, तींध, etc. (with ई, perhaps, to compensate for the elision of the conj. म्व्), in W. H. contracted यौं, त्यौं, etc. or E. H. यूँ, त्यूँ (for *एउँ, *तेउँ) *thus*, etc.; but also as adv. of time M. तंव *then*, E. H. and H. H. अब् *now*, तब् *then*, N. अब्, तब्, etc. B. adds the pleon. suff. अन्, thus एमने or एमनि or एमन् *thus*, etc. (= Ap. Pr. *एम्वउइ); so also W. H. एवन् *thus*, etc. B. also uses these forms as adv. of place or direction, thus एमने *here* or *hither*. N. adds to them the pleon. suff. ल and uses them as adv. of time; thus एल्हे (= Ap. Pr. *एविल्लहे) or अहले (= Ap. *एविल्लइ), etc. The O. H. and E. H. use the shorter form ए, etc. for एव or एम्व, etc., and add the pleon. suff. न (= Ap. उ); thus एने *here* or *hither*, etc. (for B. एमने, Ap. Pr. *एम्वउइ); so also S., which preserves the original इ; thus एइ *hither*, etc. S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हँ and हुँ (H. C. 4, 340, see also § 378, 3) instead of ए; thus एउहँ or एउहुँ *hither*, etc. These last forms are purely Ap. Pr., exc. that in that language they would be loc. *plur.* Similarly the obl. suff. हिं is used in the M. एव्हां *now*, etc. (for *एव्हचें with transposed ह् for *एवह्). In the M. forms इकडे *hither*, etc. (shortened for *एकडे) both the pleon. suff. क and ड have been added. The simpler forms तिको, तिको (without उ) occur in Mw. (see Kl. 132). This seems to me more probable, than the assumption of a compound इ + कडे *on this side* from the subst. कउ *side* (as Man. 127). S. also uses the obl. or loc. suff. हिं (H. C. 4, 347. 357), probaby confused with the emph. aff. ई or हो, in तडिहो *then*, etc. — The Ap. also uses the forms ताम, जाम (for तेम, जेम = Skr. तावत्, यावत्, H. C. 4, 406) as adv. of time. They are in O. H. (Chand) ताम, जाम and in S. तां, जां. — The E. H. ऐह्र *hither*, etc. (lit. ऐह-र्) contain the loc. suff. र् (shortened for रे,

as in O. हत-रे *in the hand*) and the obl. form ऐह् (on which see § 438, 1); similarly E. H. ऐह्वर् (transposed for ऐवह्र्), ऐमह्र् or ऐम्ह्र्, ऐनह्र् or ऐन्ह्र् *hither*, etc. contain the obl. forms ऐवह् or ऐमह् or ऐनह् of the bases एव or एम or एन. — Again 3) the Ap. Pr. has the pron. adv. तहाँ, जहाँ, कहाँ (H. C. 4, 355). They are stated by H. C. to be abl. forms in the phrases तहाँ होंतओ आओ *he came thence*, etc. That phrase means lit. *he came being there*, i. e., *from there*. In fact, होंतओ is the abl. aff. added to the adv. of place तहाँ, just as in O. H. तहाँ हुंतो, E. H. तहाँ से (see §§ 376, 1. 468, p. 312). Those Ap. Pr. forms are still used as adv. of place in E. H. and W. H. तहाँ *there*, etc. or, slightly modified, in G. and N. तहाँ, etc. They are, I think, derived by means of the obl. suff. हं (forming gen., abl. and loc. in Ap. Pr., see § 376, 4) from the qual. bases Ap. Pr. एह, तेह, etc., but shortening ए to इ or अ; thus Ap. Pr. एहहं, E. H. इहाँ (for *इहघं), W. H. यहाँ; Ap. Pr. तेहहं or तहाँ, E. H. तहाँ (compare Ap. Pr. तुम्हहं होंतओ आओ *he came from you*, H. C. 4, 373). Similarly the Ap. Pr. obl. or loc. suff. हिं is contained in the G. तहे *there*, etc. (for Ap. *तेहहिं) and perhaps in the N. तहिं *thither*, etc. — Again 4) the forms M. असे, N. अस, E. H. ऐस *thus*, etc. are obl. forms of the Ap. Pr. qual. pron. अइसो, etc. (H. C. 4, 403, the Ap. instr. would be अइसे, loc. अइसइ or अइसे H. C. 4, 342. 334, but see § 367, 2. 4 on such obl. forms). — Again 5) the W. H. forms इधर् *hither*, etc. are perhaps contracted for इदह-र् and connected with the Pr. qual. pron. एरिस, etc. (H. C. 2, 157); the medial ध being suppressed and the loc. aff. र् (for रे) added. To this type belong the B. हेदे *here* (S. Ch. 215) for *एदहे or *एदहे = Pr. loc. sg. एरिसे, and the W. H. adv. of time जदै or जदा or जदू or जद् *when*, तदै *then*, etc. for *तदहे (eliding ह) or Pr. तेरिसे, etc. Similarly W. H. has इदर् *hither*, etc. by the side of इधर्, etc. — Again 6) the Mw. तरै, जरै, N. तर्, जर् *then*, *when* are, perhaps, connected with the Skr. तर्हि, जर्हि; or they may be of the same origin as the P. तेउे *whither*, तेउे *thither* (see Nro. 2 changing उ or ऊ to र्); and the B. हेरो *here* (S. Ch. 215) also belongs to this type. — Lastly, the B. ए खन् *now*, etc. are com-

pounds of ए *this* and खन् *moment* (Skr. क्षण, Pr. खण H. C. 2, 20), and the N. वसो नहि *thus*, etc. of वसो *such* and नहि *having done* (conj. part. of the R. कर् *to do*, for करि); just like B. ए खान् *here* (see Nro. 1).

FOURTH SECTION. INFLECTION OF VERBS.

FIRST CHAPTER. FORMS OF THE VERB.

470. There are two *kinds* of verbs, the transitive and the intransitive; two *degrees*, the simple and the causal, of which the causal is always transitive; two *voices*, the active and the passive, of which the intransitive verb possesses only the active, but the trans. has both; four *moods*, the indicative, conjunctive, imperative, infinitive, to which may be added as a fifth mood the participles.

1. KINDS.

471. A trans. verb is formed from an intrans. by lengthening the radical vowel, viz. अ to आ, इ to ई or ए, उ to ऊ or ओ; and *vice versa* an intrans. from a trans. by shortening the same vowel. Thus from the intr. कटब् *to be cut* comes the trans. काटब् *to cut*; similarly गाउब् *to be buried*, गाउब् *to bury*; मरब् *to die*, मारब् *to kill*; लदब् *to be laden*, लादब् *to load*; मिलब् *to be mixed*, मेलब् *to mix*; दिखब् *to be seen*, देखब् *to see*; दिसब् *to be seen*, दोसब् *to see*; लिपब् *to be smeared*, लोपब् *to smear*; खुलब् *to be opened*, खोलब् *to open*; छुटब् *to be loosed*, छाउब् *to loose*; गुथब् *to be plaited*, गूथब् *to plait*. Again from the trans. उखाउब् *to pluck up* comes the intr. उखउब् *to be plucked up*; likewise नहाथब् *to bathe*, नहब् *to flow*, etc., see also § 351. Trans. and intr. verbs are conjugated alike, except in the 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind., where they have different forms (see § 504); e. g., tr. कइलेस् *he did*, but intr. गइल् *he went*.

472. *Affinities.* In all Gḍs. these sets of trans. and intr. verbs occur; but in M. and S. the trans. root may optionally end in ड्; thus M. सुट् *to get loose*, but सोडि *to loose*; S. मर् *to die*, but मारि *to kill* (see Tr. 48); e. g., M. सुटलों *I get loose*, but सोडिलों *I loose* or (in Konkaṇi, see Man. 68, note) सोडलों; again सुटला *it got loose*, but सोडिला *he loosed*; again सुटत् *getting loose*, but सोडीत् *loosing*, etc.; again S. मरण *to die*, but मारिण (or in Lāṛi) मारण *to kill*; again मर *die thou*, but मारि *kill thou*; again मरंदो *dying*, but मारिंदो *killing*; again S. सुनि or सुनु *hear thou*, सुनंदो or सुनींदो *hearing*, etc. But E. H. डुटलों, डुटलो, डुटत्; मरब्, मर्, मरत्; and so also डोडलों, डोडलो, डोडत्; मारब्, मार्, मारत्; सुन्, सुनत्.

473. *Derivation.* As a rule, the E. H. intrans. and its respective trans. verb correspond to the simple verb and its resp. causal in Skr., where the causal is made by lengthening the radical vowel of the simple verb with *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. In some cases, however, the E. H. trans. and intr. verbs correspond to the Skr. act. and pass. verbs; see § 351. The originally causal character of such Gḍ. trans. verbs is shown by their possessing the Skr. causal suff. इ in M. and S.

2. DEGREES.

474. The causal is formed from the simple verb by adding the suff. वाव् to the root (see §§ 339. 349). To the causal root, thus formed, the infin. suff. वय् or इय् is reattached. If the simple root contains a long vowel it is shortened; viz. आ to अ, ई and ए to इ (or ऐ), ऊ and ओ to उ (or औ). Thus S. V. कारय् or करिय् *to do*, S. R. कर्, whence C. R. कराव्, inf. कराइय् (eliding व् by § 33) *to cause to do*; or S. V. मिलय् *to mix*, S. R. मिल्, whence C. R. मिलाव्, inf. मिलाइय् *to cause to mix*; similarly S. Vs. पोयय् *to drink*, लेय् *to take*, घुमय् *to turn*, बोलय् *to speak*, whence C. Vs. पियाइय् *to cause to drink*, लियाइय् or लेयाइय् *to cause to take*, घुमाइय् *to cause to turn*, बुलाइय् or बोलाइय् *to call*, etc.

Exception. खाय् or खाइय् *to eat*, R. खा, forms its causal खियाइय् *to cause to eat* for *खवाइय् (cf. § 55).

Note: Observe that, according to §§ 25. 33. 34, the suff. आव् may, in certain positions, undergo various changes, viz. व is elided before इ् or ई्; आ, when antepenultimate, is shortened to अ, and व् vocalised to उ, while अ + इ may change to ऐ and अ + उ to औ. Thus चलाई *he will cause to walk* (for *चलावो); चलइबो or चलैबो *I shall cause to walk* (for *चलाविबो); चलउतो or चलौतो *I cause to walk* (for *चलावतो); but चलावत् *he causes to walk* (not चलउत्).

475. *Affinities.* The causal is formed nearly in the same way in all Gds.; but B., O., H. H. and S. use the caus. suff. आ, as C. R. पढ़ा *teach* of S. R. पढ़् *read*; E. H. and G. have आव्, as पढ़ाव्; W. H. has आव् or आउ, as पढ़ाव or पढ़ाउ; P. and N. have आउ, as पढ़ाउ; M. has अवि, as पढ़वि. The shortening of आव् to अव् (as in M.) also occurs occasionally in Hindí (poëtry), as पुतव् for पुताव् *fill* (see Kl. 207) and पुरव् for पुराव् *fill* (Kl. 228); so also the contraction of आव् to औ, as रिसौ for रिसाव् *be angry* (Kl. 228); and H. H. optionally contracts आव् to ओ in डुबो or डुबा *immerse* of R. डुब्, and भिगो or भिगा (for भिगाव्) *moisten* of R. भीग्; also in P. भिगो (Ld. 67); M. accasionally changes अवि to इव in trans. verbs, as सोडिव or सोउवि *loose* (Man. 78, note. 110), and sometimes retains आव्, as बोलावि or बोलवि *call* (Man. 109). — Monosyllabic roots, ending in a vowel, form in most Gds. irregular caus.; thus the C. Rs. of R. खा *eat* are in B. खाओया (S. Ch. 129), O. खुआ (Sn. 37), E. H. खिवाव्, W. H. खवाव् (or खवा Kl. 207. 217), P. खुआउ (Ld. 67), M. खावि (Man. 77), G. खवाड् (Ed. 114), S. खारा (Tr. 257), H. H. खिला. Again of R. दे *give* they are in B. देओया (S. Ch. 129), O. दिया (Sn. 37), E. H. दिवाव् (also Bs. दिवाव्), W. H. दवाव् or दिराव् (Kl. 214), M. देवि or देविव् (Man. 118), G. दवाड्, S. डिआर (Tr. 256), H. H. दिला. Exactly analogous are the C. Rs. of the Rs. जा *go* and ले *take*; but H. H. has लिवा *cause to take*, not *लिला. Similarly formed are the C. Rs. of पी *drink*, सी *sew*, जी *live*; thus S. पिआड़, जिआड़ (Tr. 256), G. सीवाड़ (Ed. 114), H. H. पिला, सिला, जिलां; but E. H. regularly पिवाव्, सिवाव्, जिलाव्. Also of the Rs. चू *leak*, सो *sleep*, रो *weep*,

धो *wash*, ढो *carry*, बो *sow*; thus H. H. चुला, सुला, हुला, धुला, ढुला, G. ब्वाड् (but H. H. बोषा), S. चुवार् (Tr. 256). Some roots which end in consonants, form irregular causals in the same manner; thus R. सिख् or सेख् *learn* has in H. H. सिखला, S. सेखार् (Tr. 257) *teach*, but regularly in E. H. and W. H. सिखाव्, N. सिखाड, M. शिकवि (Man. 78), B. and O. (also optionally H. H.) सिखा; again R. देख् *see* in H. H. optionally दिखला or दिखा, P. दिखाल् or दिखलाउ (Ld. 67), S. उखार् (Bs. I, 242) *show*, but regularly E. H. and W. H. दिखाव्, N. देखाड, etc. Again R. कह् *speak* in H. H. optionally कहला or कहा (*be called*, in pass. sense, see § 354, 2), G. कहेवड़ा (Bs. I, 243), but regularly in E. H. कहाव्. Again R. बह् or बिह् *sit* (Skr. उपविश्) in H. H. बहला (in the sense of *amuse*, lit. *cause to sit*), P. बहाल् (Ld. 87), S. बिहार् (Tr. 256). Again R. बैठ् *sit* (Skr. उपविष्ट) in H. H. optionally बिठला or बैठाल् or बैठा; and R. पैठ् *enter* (Skr. प्रविष्ट) in H. H. पैठाल् (Kl. 186). Again R. पाह् *see* in M. पाहवि (cf. Man. 75); R. लिह् *write* in M. लिहवि (Man. 77); R. सोह् *regard* in H. सुहाह् *salute* (lit. *cause to be regarded*); R. उम् *be excited* (cf. H. C. 2, 57) in H. उमाह् *excite*; R. उठ् *rise* in S. उथार् (Tr. 257); R. सुम्ह् *sleep* in S. सुम्हार्; R. डिड् *be afraid* in S. डिड़ार्; R. चिंहिड् *bathe* in S. चिंहिड़ार् (Tr. 257); R. ञम् *eat* in G. ञमाड् (Ed. 50); R. घट् *diminish* in G. घटाड् (Bs. I, 243), and others.

476. *Derivation.* Caus. verbs are formed in Skr., as a rule, by adding the suff. णय (or इ) to the S. R., but exceptionally also by means of the suff. आपय (or आपि), as क्षमापयति *he causes to tremble* from S. R. क्षमाय्; चापयति *he causes to collect* from S. R. चि, etc. In Pr. these two suff. become ए and आवे resp. (Vr. 7, 26. 27); in later Pr. (by a change of class, see § 347) अ and आव, and finally in Gd. अ-*quiescent* and आव् (see § 349). Besides, while in Skr. the formation with आपय is exceptional, in Pr. the two modes of formation with ए and आवे are equally common; and finally in Gd. the formation with आव् (or आड or आ) is the exclusive one, while the other is only preserved in the trans. verbs (see §§ 471—473). Thus Skr. S. R. मृ *die*, C. R. मारय (or

मारि) *kill*, Pr. मारे or मार्, E. H. मार्; again Skr. कृ *do*, C. R. कारय (or *कारपय), Pr. कारे or कार् or कारवे or कराव्, E. H. कराव्; or in the 3. sg. pres. ind. Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ, E. H. कारै; Skr. कारयति, Pr. कारेइ or कारइ or कारवेइ or कारवइ, E. H. करावै. — The Gd. suff. वाव् changes व् to उ in N. and P. (cf. § 34) and drops it in B., O., H. H. and S.; it also shortens वा to व in M. The Pr. suff. वावे becomes in M. वि or व (cf. § 472); the former is trans. and forms causals, the latter is intr. and forms potent. pass. (see § 483). — The irregular monosyll. verbs appear to use the double causal (see §§ 477. 478) in the place of the ordinary one; compare e. g., M. खावि *cause to eat* (for *खावावि), B. खाओया (for *खावा with वाओ for वाव्), W. H. खवाव्, O. खुआ (with उ for व्व्) with M. निज्जवि or निज्जिव *cause to cause to sleep* (Man. 109); again S. खाइ *cause to eat* (contr. for *खवाइ) with S. फेराइ *cause to cause to turn* (Tr. 258). The G. खवाउ *cause to eat* is transposed for *खवउा; the original form is preserved in G. केहेवउा *cause to speek* from R. केह्, and the suff. वउा or वाउ् belong to the double causal, as may be seen from the M., where roots in ह्, as a rule, take the double caus. suff. वावि (Man. 77); e. g., लिहवि *cause to write* from R. लिह्. Similarly the S. suff. वाड़ or वाइ (for *वावाड़ or *वावाव्), H. H. वाल् or वाला are double causal suff. The origin of these strange forms °उा, °इ, °ला which are confined to the W. Gds. (espec. G. and S.) is very obscure. The identification of ल् with the व् of the Skr. caus. suff. वय (as Bs. I, 24.1) is hardly correct; for the H. ल् as well as the S. ड़् are modifications of the G. ड् (or ड़्)[1]), but the Skr. व् could not possibly change into ड्. It should be observed, that there is a remarkable similarity between the Gd. caus. formation and that of Psh. The latter language forms causals by means of the suff. वव or एढ्; the former corresponding to the M. वि, G. वाव्, S. वा; the latter to the G. वाउ, S. वाड़,

1) Not *vice versa*; ड् sometimes changes to ल्, see § 105; but never ल् to ड्.

H. H. आल्. See also the remarks in § 354, 2. A few instances of caus. in आड occur in the Pr.; e. g., भमाडेइ or भमाडइ (besides the regular भामेइ or भमावेइ or भमावइ) of R. भम् *roam* (H. C. 3, 151); also तमाडइ (H. C. 4, 30. see also H. C. 4, 161); धंसाडइ *he looses* (H. C. 4, 91).

477. From the caus. verb an other causal may be formed, precisely in the same way, by adding the suff. आव् to the caus. root, the long आ of which is shortened to अ. Thus S. V. पढ्व् *to read*, S. R. पढ्, C. R. पढाव् *cause to read* (i. e. *teach*), whence other C. R. पढ्वाव्, inf. पढ्वाइव् *to cause to cause to read* (i. e. *to cause to teach*). This I shall designate the *double causal*. It may, obviously, be formed from the simple verb immediately, by adding to the S. R. the compound or reduplicated suff. धवाव्. These double causals are conjugated in every respect like the ordinary causals.

Note: The double caus. of a trans. verb implies that something is done by the intervention of a *third* person; as कर्व् means *to do*, कराइव् *to cause an other person to do it*, but कर्वाइव् *to order an other person to cause a third person to do it*. In the case of an intr. verb, the double caus. has the sense of an ordinary caus., and the ordinary caus. the sense of a trans.; as बनव् *to be made*, बनाइव् *to make*, बनवाइव् *to cause an other person to make it*.

478. *Affinities and Derivation.* The double caus. probably exists in all Gds., and it is formed in the same way by reduplicating the ordinary caus. suff. Thus E. H. has धवाव्, W. H. धवाव् or धवाउ, P. धवाउ, M. धवावि or धविव (Man. 109), G. धवाव् (or धवडा), S. धारा (Tr. 257), H. H. (and probably B. and O.) धवा. Thus of R. पढ् *read*, double caus. R. in E. H. पढ्वाव्, W. H. पढ्वाव् or पढ्वाउ, P. पढ्वाउ, M. पढ्वावि or पढ्विव, G. पढ्वाव्, S. पढारा, H. H. पढ्वा *to cause to cause to read*. The principle of the formation of the double caus. seems to be analogous to that of the redundant forms of subst. (see § 203). As there the pleon. suff. क, so here the caus. suff. आपि is reduplicated (i. e. * आपापि or * आपापय).

3. VOICES.

479. The passive voice is formed by adding to the past part. of the act. verb the auxiliary जाइब्, which is the same as the intrans. verb जाइब् *to go* and is conjugated in the same manner. The past part. undergoes no change whatever may be the gender or number of the subj. Thus act. खाइब् *to eat*, pass. खायल् जाइब् *to be eaten*; or पढ़ैला *he reads*, pass. पढ़ल् जाला *it is read*. This I shall call the *compound passive*.

Exception. The pass. of the verbs जाइब् *to go* and होइब् *to become* is not formed with their ordinary past part. गयल् and भयल् but with the special past part. forms जायल् and होयल् (see § 304).

Note: Observe that the comp. pass. is very rarely used in E. H. or, indeed, in any of the Gds. It is commonly paraphrased by means of compound verbs; e. g., *to be beaten* is मार् खाइब्, lit. *to eat a beating*, not मारा जाइब्.

480. *Affinities.* All Gds. form this pass. by composition with the verb जाइब्, except S. and optionally Mw., N. and P. In the latter it is made by adding some suffix to the root; viz. S. इज, Mw. ईज (see Kl. 214), N. इय, P. ई. But P., Mw. and, probably, N. also use the comp. pass. The B. and O. do not use their past part. in इल् but that in आ in the formation of the pass. base, after the manner of the W. Gds. The E. H. and M. alone use the part. in अल (or इल) for the pass. (see § 303). Thus E. H. पढ़ल् or पढ़िल् जाए *it may be said*, M. पढ़िला (or पढ़ला) जाए *it was wont to be read* (Man. 99); but B. पड़া জাए (S. Ch. 142), O. ପଢ଼ା ଯାଏ (Sn. 39), H. H. पढ़ा जाए (or जावे), W. H. पढ़ि जाए or पढ़्यो or पढ़्यो जाए, P. ਪੜ੍ਹਿਆ ਜਾਵੇ (Ld. 60), G. પઢ્યો જાય; but S. પઢિજે (Tr. 259. 331), Mw. पढीजे, N. पढ़िये, P. ਪੜ੍ਹੀਏ [1]). The latter kind of pass. is occasionally preserved in H. and M.; thus

1) Thus in the 3. sg. fut. pass. Mw. पढीजैलो *it will be read*, N. पढ़ियेला, P. ਪੜ੍ਹੀਏਗਾ.

in the H. H. respectful imperatives: कीजे (cf. S. क्रियाणु *to be done* Tr. 260), दीजे, पीजे, लीजे, सीजे, मूजे, हूजे lit. *let it be done, given, drunk, taken, sewn, died, been* (cf. Kl. 164, d); also H. H. करिये, पढ़िये, etc. *let it be done, read*, etc., W. H. करीजे or करजे, पढ़ीजे or पढ़जे, etc. (Kl. 212, a); again in the M. पाहिजे *it is wanted* (Man. 90). In O. E. H., O. W. H., O. P. and O. M. they are also often met with; in O. M. sometimes even in an active sense (Man. 139). Thus in O. E. H. (Tulsí Dás) करिय or करिये or करीजे *let it be done* (Kl. 220. 422), करियत *being done* (part. pres., cf. Kl. 220, a), O. P. करीयतु or करीयत; in O. M. करिजे *let it be done*, करिजेतो *it is being done*, करिजेला *it has been done*, करिजेल *it will be done* (Man. 139). Similarly in S. इडिजे *it may be given up*, इडिजेंयो *it is being given up* (Tr. 301. 333).

481. *Derivation.* The origin of the modern comp. pass. can be distinctly traced. In Skr. the pass. is made by the suff. य. In Pr. this becomes ईअ or इज्ज (Vr. 7, 8. H. C. 3, 160), and in Gḍ. इअ or ई or ईज्ज or अज्ज or इज्ज. Thus Skr. पठ्यते *it is read*, Pr. पढीअइ or पढिज्जइ, whence P. पढीए or N. पढ्यि or Mw. पढीजे or पढजै or S. पढिजे. Again Skr. क्रियते *it is done*, P. किज्जइ (H. C. 1, 97) or करिज्जइ (H. C. 4, 250) or करीअइ, whence H. H. कीजे, S. किजे, Mw. करीजे or करजे, O. M. करिजे, P. करीए, N. करिये. In O. H. and M. H. (Bs. or Br.) the pass. forms पढि जाए, करि जाए are used. This shows that the old forms पढिजै, करिजै began to be looked upon as compounds of the past part. पढि, करि (= Pr. पढिअ, करिअ, Skr. पठित, कृत, see § 302) and the verb जै (contracted for जाए, Pr. जाइ, Skr. याति) *it goes*. This misunderstanding, being once established, naturally led to the further step of using the ordinary past part. (in चल and गो or धा) in conjunction with the verb जा *to go* to form the pass.; thus पढिजै became पढि जाए, पढा or पढ्यो or पढल् जाए. It is probable, however, that the old Skr. suff. य itself is a curtailment of the R. या (= Gḍ. जा) *to go*; so that the language has merely reverted to the point whence it started. It may also be observed, that there is a tendency in Pr. to shorten a final radical आ, which would facilitate the con-

fusion of the R. ज (= जा) with the suff. त. Thus Pr. has जंति *they go* (H. C. 4, 388) for Skr. यान्ति; Pr. उव्वइ *he rises* (H. C. 4, 17) from R. उत्था (= *उत्थाति); Pr. थवइ *he raises* (H. C. 4, 357) = Skr. स्थापयति; Pr. दइ *he gives* (Wb. Spt. 59) from R. दा; etc.

482. Besides the comp. pass., made with जाइअ (§ 479), E. H. possesses an other pass., the root of which is made by adding the suff. श्रा to the root of the act. verb. If the latter contains a long vowel, it is shortened, precisely as in the formation of the causal (see § 474). These pass. roots in श्रा are conjugated precisely as any other intrans. roots in श्रा. Thus act. R. पढ *read*, pass. R. पढा *be read*, inf. पढाइअ *to be read*, just like inf. जाइअ *to go* of the intr. R. जा *go*; again act. R. घुम *turn*, pass. R. घुमा *be turned*, inf. घुमाइअ *to be turned*, etc. Though this pass. may be used in the same sense as the comp. pass., yet properly and generally it has a peculiar, viz. a potential, signification. Hence I shall call it the *potential passive*. Thus पढाला means *it can be read*, while पढल् जाला means *it is read*.

Exception. The R. खा *eat* makes its pot. pass. R. खिवा *be eaten*.

Note: As the pot. pass. may have the sense of the ordinary pass., so the comp. pass. may have that of the pot. pass. Thus पढल् जाला may mean *it can be read*, and पढाला *it is read*.

483. *Affinities.* The pot. pass. also exists in M. and G. I think it probable that other Gds. also possess it, but it does not seem to have attracted the attention of grammarians. In M. it is formed by means of the suff. श्रव or श्रवव, and in G. by the suff. श्रा or श्रवा. The longer suff. श्रवव and श्रवा are used with monosyllabic roots and roots ending in ई. Thus E. H. होआव् *it can be loosed*, G. होआय्, M. सोडवे; again E. H. कहाव् *it can be said*, G. केहेवाय्, M. कहववे. This pass. is called in the Man. 75 „the potential verb“ and in Ed. 54 „the first potential mood“, in Ed. 107 „the passive verb“ and in Ed. 51, d apparently „the deponent“. It is constructed in E. H. and G. with the instr. case of the agent, but in M. either with the act. (classically) or

the acc. (colloquially), see Man. 75, 128. note, where, however, the case is erroneously called the dative.

484. *Derivation.* A comparison of the suff. of the pot. pass. with those of the causals (§§ 474. 477) will at once show their identity. Thus the E. H. and G. pot. pass. suff. वा is identical with the B., O., H. H. and S. caus. suff. वा, and the G. pot. pass. suff. ववा with the H. H. double caus. suff. ववा; again the M. pass. pot. suff. ववव and ववव are the same as the M. caus. suff. वि and double caus. ववि, even as regards the shortening of the original वा of the suff. वाव or ववाव. Again the pot. pass. suff. and the caus. suff. have precisely the same influence on the root; thus in E. H. the R. खा *eat* becomes खिवा in the pass. and खिवाव in the caus. (see §§ 474, exc. 482, exc.). Lastly the longer pass. suff. ववा and ववव and the double caus. suff. ववाव and ववि are used precisely in the same way; viz. they are added principally to monosyllabic roots. So far, then, there can be no question as to the identity of the forms of the pot. pass. and the two causals. But the sense and mode of construction of the pot. pass., also, prove that identity. In fact, it is merely a caus. with a peculiar reflexive sense. Thus E. H. caus. मै "पोथी पढ़उलों" might be translated: *I caused* (some one) *to read the book*, or briefly, *I caused the book to be read.* Similarly the E. H. पोथी पढ़ावल् is either *the book caused* (some one) *to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read* (by some one). It will be seen at once that, practically, this is the same as the pass. *the book was read.* It will also be noticed, that the agent who reads (*some one* or *by some one*) may be expressed either by the acc. or the act. case. Accordingly both cases may be used in M., मला (acc.) or माकूनें (act.) पोथी पढ़वली *by me the book was read*, lit. *the book caused me to read itself* or *the book caused itself to be read by me.* In E. H. and G. the instr. only is employed; thus E. H. मो से पोथी पढ़ायल् or G. मारा थी "पोथी पढ़ायो. This pass. is now commonly used in a potential sense, *by me the book could be read*; but that sense is not really inherent in the peculiar form of the verb,

but only attached to it conventionally. For even the ordinary comp. pass. may take that meaning; thus मो से पोथी पढ़ल् गयल् *by me the book could be read.* On the other hand, the pot. pass. may have the ordinary pass. sense; see § 482, note.

4. MOODS.

485. *Infinitive.* The infinitive is made by adding the suff. बऽ or इबऽ, obl. बे or इबे or ऐ to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 308—310. Thus पढ़बऽ *to read* of R. पढ़; पढ़बे से or पढ़ै से *by reading*; again खाइबऽ or खाबऽ *to eat* of R. खा; खइबे or खैबे or खाबे or खाबै से *by eating*, etc.

Note: For affinities and derivation, see §§ 313. 314.

486. *Adjective participles.* The pres. part. is made by adding the suff. अत् c. g., and the past part. by adding the suff. अल् or इल् c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 298. 299. 302. 303. Thus पढ़त् c. g. *reading*, पढ़ल् c. g. *read*; खात् c. g. *eating*, खाइल् or खायल् c. g. *eaten*, etc. The fut. part. is identical with the infinitive, see §§ 310. 485.

Note: For exceptions see § 304; and for affinities and derivation see §§ 300. 301. 305—307.

487. *Prayogas.* The past and fut. part. are used with a pass. sense in the pass. and the infin. respectively, but with an act. sense in the past and fut. tenses act. Thus E. H. मै होउल् ताली° *I am loosed*, मै होउब् बाटो° *I am to be loosed*, but घोरा के (or घोरा) मैं° होउली° *I did loose the horse*, घोरा के मैं° होउबो° *I shall loose the horse*, or पोथी के (or पोथी) मैं° पढ़ली° *I did read the book*, प° के मैं° पढ़बो° *I shall read the book.* The latter usage (with the part. in the act. voice and the subj. in the nom. case and the obj. in the acc.) is what I have called (§ 371) the *pass.-act. construction*, or the कर्तरि प्रयोग् of the native grammarians. It is peculiar to all E. Gds. Thus the above sentences are in B.: घामि (or मुइ) होडा ताइ, but घोडा के (or घोडा) घामि होडिलाम् and घ° के घा° होडिब; पोथी के घामि पढ़िलाम and घ° के घा° पढ़िब; in O. मुहि होडा ताईं, but घोडा कु मुहि होडिलि (or मो होडिलुं) and घ° कु म° होडिबि

(or प° होड्या); पोथी कु गुहि पढ़िलि and प° कु म° पढ़िचि. On the other hand, the W. and S. Gds. always use these participles in the pass. sense, and, in consequence, where they are employed to express the pret. ind. and pres. conj. (see § 509, 3) tenses act., they take the subj. in the act. case and the obj. in the nom., and agree with the latter in number and gender. This usage I call the *pass. constr.*; and it is the कर्मनि प्रयोग् of the nat. gramm. Thus M. मी सोडिला त्रातो" *I am loosed*, but घोडा मी" सोडिला *I did loose the horse* (lit. *the horse was loosed by me*) or पोथी मी" वाचिली *I did read the book* (lit. *the book was read by me*), घोडा मी" सोडावा *I may loose the horse* (lit. *the horse may be loosed by me*), or प° मी" वाचावी *I may read the book* (lit. *the book may be read by me*). The same in W. H. हौं" होड्यो त्रह्यो", but घोडा मैं" ने होड्यो, पोथी मैं" ने वाँची; or in S. घाँडे हडिब्रो थाँहियाँ[1]), but घोडो मूं हडिब्रो, पोथी मूं पढी; or in H. H. मैं" होडा त्राता हूँ, but घोडा मैं" ने होडा, पोथी मैं" ने पढी. There are, however, a few verbs in M., which take the E. Gd. *pass.-act. constr.*; as पढणे" *to read*, पावणे" *to obtain*, पिणे" *to drink*, बोलणे" *to speak*, लेणे" *to take* and others (see Man. 32); thus मी पोथी पढ़लो" *I did read the book*, not मी" पोथी पढ़लो. — There is a third kind of constr. which is also confined to the W. and S. Gds. It is likewise a pass. constr., but differs from the ordinary one, by having the obj. in the acc. case, and the part. in the nom. sing. masc. or neut. It is, in fact, a sort of impersonal pass. constr., and is called by nat. gramm. the भावे प्रयोग्. Thus in this constr. the above sentences would be: M. घोड्या ला मी" सोडिले" lit. *as to the horse, it was loosed by me*, पोथी ला मी" वाचिले" lit. *as to the book, it was read by me*; W. H. (Br.) घोडा कों" मैं" ने होड्यो, पोथी कों" मैं" ने वाँच्यो; S. घोडे खे मूं हडिब्रो, पोथिअ खे मूं पढिब्रो. — Lastly there is a fourth constr., which, I believe to be confined to the N. Gd. (N.). It is *pass.-act.*, but differs from

1) Here, the part. हडिब्रो is in the pass. voice, but in the pres., instead of the fut. tense, see § 313; but S. has also the old pass. घाँडे हडिजाँ थो, see § 480.

that common in E. Gd. by having the subj. in the act. case, with which, however, the verb (i. e. past part.) agrees in number and gender. Thus the same sentences in N. are: घोड़ो मैं ले छोड़्यो lit. *as to me, I loosed the horse*, पोथी मैं ले पढ़्यो lit. *as to me, I read the book*; or with a fem. subj. घोड़ो स्त्री ले छोड़ो lit. *as to the woman, she loosed the horse*.

488. *Adverbial participle.* This part. is the same as the obl. of the strong form of the adj. part., and ends, according to the tense (*see* § 486), in ण्ते, ण्ले (or ड़्ले), ण्च्चे (or ड़्च्चे). The pres. adv. part. commonly takes the emphatic particle ई, which coalesces with its termination to ण्तै. In order to distinguish more clearly the resp. time, some noun or case-affix is often added; thus समै *time* after ण्ते, से *from* after ण्ले, के *to* or च्चे *for* after ण्च्चे. Thus पढ़्ते or पढ़्तै or पढ़्ते समै *on reading* or *during the time of reading*; पढ़्ले or पढ़्ले से *after reading* or *on condition of reading*; पढ़्च्चे or पढ़्च्चे के or पढ़्च्चे च्चे *for reading* or *for the purpose of reading* or *on the point of reading*.

Note: The pres. adv. part., as a rule, expresses *coincidence*; the past, *precedence* or *condition*; the fut., *imminence* or *object*. The distinction between the pres. and past, however, is not very strictly observed. — The past adv. part. and the conj. part. may be interchanged, as पोथी पढ़ि-आयल् or पोथी पढ़्ले से आयल् *he came, having read* or *from reading the book*. — Instead of होते *on being* सते is sometimes used.

489. *Affinities.* These adv. part., as a rule, exist in all Gds., and are used in the same manner, as in E. H. Their termin. are: in B. इते, इले (S. Ch. 148. 184. 185), O. ण्ते, इले (Sn. 28), M. ण्तां (or emph. ण्तांना, Man. 63. 64), H. H. ण्ते (emph. ण्ते ही), ए, ण्ने (Kl. 311, 2. 3. 309, d. e), P. ण्दे, ए (Ld. 79, 146. 78. 139), S. ण्दे, ए (Tr. 485. 487). See S. Ch., Kl. and Tr. for syntactical observations and examples. They apply equally to E. H.

490. *Conjunctive participle.* This part. is made by adding the suff. ऐ or इ to the root of the verb. It is, however, usually changed to य्, after a vowel, and dropped after a con-

sonant. In order to emphasise the part. the aff. के is commonly superadded. Thus पढे or पढि or पढ् or पढेके or पढिके or पढ्के *having read* from R. पढ्; खाए or खाए् or खाएके or खाएके *having eaten*; होएके etc. *having been* from Rs. खा, हो. The simple conj. part. without के is especially used in the formation of compound verbs (see § 537), as कहे देब् or कह् देब् *to inform*, खाए् लेब् *to eat up*, खाए् आइब् *to come on*, etc.

491. *Affinities and Derivation.* The suff. of the conj. part. in Skr. are त or त्वा. The former is used for comp., the latter for simple roots; but in the Ved. Skr. त may be used for either kind. In Pr. (both in Sr. and Mg., H. C. 4, 271. 302) they become इअ and ऊण respectively. Both are preserved in Gḍ.; so, however, that इअ is common to the E., W. and N. Gḍ., while ऊण is confined to S. Gḍ. and, optionally, E. R. Thus B. has इया (S. Ch. 148), O. इ (Sn. 28), E. H. ऐ or इ or *quiescent*, W. H. इ or *quiescent* (Kl. 202, 378. 209, 394), P. इ or *quiescent* (Ld. 79), G. ई (Ed. 113), S. ई or ए (Tr. 280. 281), N. ई; but M. ऊन्, E. R. ऊने (Kl. 209, 394). Thus Skr. कृत्वा (or कर्य) *having done*, Pr. Sr. करिअ (H. C. 4, 272), E. H. करे or करि or कर्, N. गरी, etc., or Pr. करिऊण, M. करून्, E. R. करूने. Or Skr. प्राप्य *having obtained*, Pr. पाविअ, E. H. पाइ or पाए्, N. पाई, etc., or Pr. पाविऊण, M. पावून्, E. R. पावूने. I know no satisfactory explanation of the final ए of the E. R. form ऊने. Similar are the O. M. forms ओनि or ओनियाँ (also उनि or उनियाँ, see Man. 138. 139, as करोनियाँ or करोनि *having done*), and the Mg. Pr. form दाणि (Vr. 11, 16, as करिदाणि; also Md. 12, 17)[1]. Analogous to the latter, there might have been a Pr. form *टूणि, from which rather than from the Mg. दाणि the modern M. and E. R. forms appear to be derived. Both Pr. forms दाणि and टूण (or ऊण) are modifications of the Ved. Skr. and Páli त्वानं, a by-form of the ordinary Skr. त्वा (see Wb. Bh. 435), which occurs in the

1) Mḍ's sútra seems to be, क्त्वो दाणिआ स्यात्। पुच्छिदाणि। पक्षे पुच्छिअ a i. e., *having asked*; but both H. C. 4, 272. 302 and T. V. 3, 2. 10. 27 omit दाणि and replace it by टूण.

Pr. of the Bh. as ञाणं, just as Skr. त्वा becomes in Pr. त्रा (Wb. Bh. 435) or तुअ (H. C. 4, 272). If त्वानम् be (with Ls. 289) the acc. sg. of a base त्वान (or त्वन्), the Pr. दाणि or Gd. शेनि, ऊने might be a loc. sg. for *ञाणे or *तूणे (cf. H. C. 3, 56); and the Gd. शेनियाँ might be an emphatic form of the same[1]). — Of the Pr. form तुअ (as in कदुअ *having done*, गदुअ *having gone*, H. C. 4, 271) no traces, I believe, have survived in Gd. — The aff. के is itself a contraction of the E. H. conj. part. कए *having done* of R. कर्. It also occurs in P. के (Ld. 24, 79), in Br. के or कै or कए or करि (Kl. 202); in E. R. it is curtailed to ए (for कए); e. g., मार्-ए *having beaten* for मार्-कए; खा-ए *having eaten* for खा-कए (Kl. 209, 394). Mw. has the aff. ने for के; e. g., कर्-ने *having done* = Br. कए-के (Kl. 209, 394). The two aff. are related to each other precisely as the G. gen. aff. नो is to the W. H. को or कौ (see § 377). In H. H. the aff. is reduplicated, कए-के; e. g., मार्-कए-के *having beaten*; similarly E. R. reduplicates कने (Kl. 209, 394) and N. कन् (shortened for के-ने); e. g., N. गरीकन् *having done*, खाई-कन् *having eaten*, बसी-कन् *having sat*, etc.

492. *Nouns of agency.* This is made by adding the suff. वनिहार् c. g. to the root of the verb, as explained in §§ 315. 316. 318. Thus पढनिहार् *a reader* from R. पढ्; खानिहार् *eater* from R. खा, etc. According to circumstances, these nouns may have the sense of a pres. part. or a fut. part.; thus पढनिहार् may mean *one who is reading* or *one who is going to read.*

Note 1: The masc. strong form in वनिहारा is also used occasionally; likewise, the W. H. suff. वनेवारा (for वनेवाला), fem. °री; but the fem. strong form in वनिहारी only forms nouns, expressing an act; thus पढनेहारा *a (male) reader*, but पढनेहारी the act. of *reading* (not *female reader*), see § 319.

Note 2: For affinities and derivation see §§ 320. 321.

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1) Ls. 400 supposes दाणि to have lost a final anuswára (for *दाणिं) and to have changed the ण of *दाणं = ञाणं to इ.

SECOND CHAPTER. TENSES.

493. There are three tenses, the present, past and future, each of which may be either simple or periphrastic (see § 510). The indicative mood possesses all three; the conjunctive has only two, the pres. and past; the imperative has only one, the present. Every tense possesses two numbers, sing. and plur.; and three persons, first, second and third; and also, though with the exception of the pres. conj. and imper., two genders, masc. and fem.

494. Some of the tenses are formed from the root of the verb, others from the participles. From the root are formed the three pres. tenses of the ind., conj. and imp.; from the part., the past and future tenses, viz. the first and second preterite ind., the past conj. and the fut. ind. Tenses made from the root will be called *radical*; those made from the part., *participial*. A third class, made by adding an auxiliary verb to a participle, I shall call *periphrastic*.

1. RADICAL TENSES.

495. *Present conjunctive and imperative.* These are identical in every respect, and are made by adding to the root the subjoined suff., according to the number and person (but not gender) of the subj. In the 2. sing. the suff. may optionally be omitted. After roots in आ the forms of the suff. are slightly modified by coalescence with that letter.

	Sing.	Plur.		Sing.	Plur.
1. pers.	ओ॑	ऐं॑	after Rs. in आ	आवँ॑	आईं॑
2. pers.	उ or quiesc. अ	अह् or अ		ओ or आ	आहु or आ
3. pers.	ऐ	एं॑		आय्	आएँ॑

Note 1: The pres. conj. is occasionally used in the sense of the fut. indic.

Note 2: The 2. pl. ends throughout the conjugation either in अह् *ah* or अ *a*. The latter (अ), being the resultant of the drop-

ping of the final ह् of पढ़, is always *sounded* (see § 24, exc.). It is important to observe this circumstance, as, in the future tense, it forms the only difference between the 1. pl. and the 2. pl., and affects the vowel combination. Thus पढ़ब् *parhab we shall read*, but पढ़ब *parhaba you will read*; खाब् *khâb we shall eat*, but खाब *khâba you will eat*, or खाइब् *khâib we shall eat*, but खइब *khaiba* or खैब *khaiba you will eat* (see § 508). So पढ़ *parha read you*, but पढ़ *parh read thou*. Again पढ़ैल *parhaila you read*, not पढ़ैल् *parhail* (see § 500). — In Kellogg's Hindi Grammar (p. 201. 233—241) the forms of the 2. pl. are given, by mistake, as forms of the 2. sg. Colloquially the plur. is commonly used in the place of the sing. This practice, probably, has been the cause of the misapprehension.

496. *Affinities.* The E. H., I believe, is the only Gḍ. language, in which the pres. of the conj. and of the imper. are completely identical. In W. Gḍ. the two tenses are also alike, with the exception of the 2. sg. But in S. Gḍ., N. Gḍ. and E. Gḍ. (exc. E. H.) the differences are more numerous; viz. 2. and 3. sg. differ in B., 2. and 3. sg. and pl. in N., and 1., 2. and 3. sg. and 2. and 3. pl. in M. — The tense, which is *now* the pres. conj. in E. H., exists in all Gḍs., but in some of them it has slightly modified its original meaning. It was originally the same as the Skr. and Pr. pres. indic.; and this sense it has preserved in M., though it is now used only in a special case, viz. as a *historical present* or what practically amounts to a *habitual past* (see Man. 59, 3, e. g., तो धहेर् निघे *he sallies forth* = *he used to sally forth*); but in O. M. it is employed for the ordinary pres. indic. (Man. 138). Again in B., O. and G. it is both a pres. indic. and a pres. conj. (see S. Ch. 136. 142. Sn. 27. 32. Ed. 54). On the other hand, in E. H., W. H., P., S. and N. it is only a pres. conj. (see Tr. 284—287. Ld. 23, 74. 53)[1]). As a natural

1) Even in these languages it may still be heard occasionally as a pres. ind., e. g., E. H. गुरु तोहूं के बोलावे *the teacher calls you*; see also Tr. 287, note and Kl. 206. 212, 402. a; and in O. H. it is still the ordinary

consequence the W. and N. Gd. and E. H. form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old pres. some auxiliary verb (see §§ 500. 501). On the other hand, M. employs, for the purpose of expressing the pres. conj., the part. fut. (called *supine* in Man. 62, see §§ 313. 509, 3), ending in the sing. in ावा m., ावी f., ावं n., in the pl. ावे m., ावया f., ावी n. G. may do the same; there the termin. are वो m., वी f., वुं n. (called *second pres. of the second pot.* in Ed. 54, see § 509, 3)[1]). — In all W. Gds. the pres. conj. (i. e., the old pres. ind.) may be used as a future. Such was the case in O. M. also (Man. 59, 3. note); but it is not so in modern M. In O. M. it was also used in the sense of the *habitual past* (Man. 59, 3. note), as it is in modern M. (see above); but of this usage there are traces even in Pr.; see Wb. Spt. 63; e. g., तद्दा ण रमसि *thou wast not wont to enjoy* (Spt. 91), or तद्दा ण णेसि *thou wast not wont to direct* (Spt. A, 38). — The following table shows the various Gd. termin. of this tense:

Present conjunctive or old pres. indic.

	M.	N.	B.	O.	E. H.	H. H.	Br.	Mw.	P.	G.	S.
1.	ऊँ[3]	उ, ए	इ	इ, अइँ	ओ"	ऊँ	ओ"	ऊँ, उँ	ऊँ	उँ	ऊँ
2.	अस, एस्[1]	इस, ए[1]	इस्[1]	उ[1]	उ, अq.	ए[1]	ऐ[1]	ए[1]	एँ[1]	ए[1]	एँ, ईं"[2]
3.	ए[4]	ए[10]	ए[7]	अइ, ए[7]	ऐ	ए	ऐ	ए	ए	ए	ए
4.	ऊँ	ओ", ए	इ	ऊँ, इ	ईं"	एँ	ऐ"	ऊँ	वे	वे	ऊँ
5.	ऊँ[5]	ओ, ए	अ	अ	अइ, अ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ	ओ
6.	अत्[6]	अन्, ए[8]	एन्[8]	अंति[9]	ऐ"	एँ	ऐ"	ऐ	अणा	ए	अनि

In the pres. imper.: 1) अ quiesc.; 2) इ or उ; 3) ऊँ; 4) ओ or उ; 5) आ; 6) ओत् or उत्; 7) उ (or B. उक); 8) उन्; 9) अंतु or उंत; 10) ओस्.

pres. ind. (Kl. 221, 224). — In the various Gd. grammars this tense is called by a great variety of names; thus *second potential* or *optative* by Ed. 54, *potential* by Tr. 284, *indefinite future* of the pot. mood by Ld. 53, *contingent future* by Kl. 158. 163, *prospective conditional* by Eth. 73; but *pres. subjunctive* by S. Ch. 136. Sn. 32.

1) With trans. verbs the karmani prayoga must be used (see § 487), because this part. is properly pass.; but with intrans. verbs the kartari prayoga; in the latter case, M. adds in the 2. pers. the suff. स sg. and त pl., but the first and third pers. are alike. Thus M. तूं तुटावास् *thou*

497. *Derivation.* 1) The Gḍ. pres. conj. and pres. imp. are the same as the Skr. pres. indic. and pres. imp. respectively. But in the same measure as the Skr. pres. indic. assumed a conj. sense in Gḍ., it also became capable of doing duty for the pres. imp. and was, consequently, confounded with it; but so, that, as a rule, the pres. conj. superseded the pres. imper., while in the 2. pers. the imp. took the place of the conj. It will be observed that M., in which the pres. indic. has fully preserved its original indic. sense, possesses both tenses (pres. ind. and pres. imp.) in a complete form, and in B. and O., where its indic. sense is predominant, the greater part of the two senses is preserved; while in W. Gḍ. and E. H., where its sense is almost exclusively conj., the amalgamation of the two tenses is more or less complete. This amalgamation had already begun in Pr. [1]). Thus in the Ap. Pr. the suff. of the 1. sg. उं, 2. sg. हि and, possibly, 2. pl. हु of the imper. are optionally, though commonly, substituted for the suff. मि of the 1. sg., सि 2. sg. and ह 2. pl. pres. indic. (H. C. 4, 383. 384. 385; e. g., Ap. कट्टउं or कट्टमि *I cut* = Skr. कर्तयामि, E. H. काटों or करों; Ap. हणहि or हणसि *thou weapest* = ved. Skr. हदसि; Ap. इच्छहु or इच्छह *you wish* = Skr. इच्छथ). On the other hand, even in the Mh. Pr. the suff. मो and ह of the 1st and 2nd pl. pres. ind. are also used for the imper. and conj. (H. C. 3, 176; e. g., M. हसह *you laugh* or *you may laugh* = Skr. हसथ or हसत or हसेत; Mh. हसामो *we laugh* or *we may laugh* = Skr. हसामः or हसाम or हसेम). — 2) *Pres. conj.* (= old pres. ind.): a) The termin. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. आमि, Pr. आमि or अमि (H. C. 3, 141. 154. Vr. 7, 3. 30), Ap. Pr. अमि or अउं (H. C. 4, 385).

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mayest get loose, but त्वं घोडा सोडावा *thou mayest loose the horse* (lit. *by thee the horse may be loosed*); again मी or तो सुटावा *I or he may get loose*.

1) Analogous is the occasional use in Pr. of the pres. ind. as a (pret.) conj., of which Wb. Spt. 62. 82 gives a few examples; thus Spt. 326 जइ पा होंति *if they were not* (= Skr. यदि न भवंति). The Gḍs. do not use the old pres. ind. in this manner, but express the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. (see §§ 506. 507); thus E. H. जो न होतें.

The former is preserved in the O. अहँ, M. एँ, B. इ; e. g., Skr. पठामि *I read*, Pr. पढामि or पढमि, O. पढउँ, M. पढे", B. and O. पढि. The latter becomes in O. H. अउँ, Br. ओं", E. H. ओं", H. H. उँ, Mw. उँ or उँ, G. उँ, N. उ; thus Ap. Pr. पढउ *I read*, O. H. पढउँ, Br. पढो", E. H. पढो", H. H. and Mw. पढूँ, G. पढुं, N. पढु. The S. and P. ओं, as पढाँ, must be a modification either of अउँ = ओं" or अहँ = एँ. The Psh. and Pers. have अमु. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. असि, Pr. असि (H. C. 3, 140. Vr. 7, 2), Ap. Pr. असि or अहि (H. C. 4, 384). The former is preserved in the O. H. असि or (by transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, see § 148, note) ऐस, M. अस् or ऐस्, B. and N. (by shortening of ए) इस्; thus Skr. पठसि *thou readest*, Pr. पढसि, O. H. पढसि or पढेस्, M. पढस् or पढेस्, B. and N. पढिस्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहि (still used in Br., see Kl. 202, 380) or अइ, W. H. ऐ, H. H. and G. ए; also P. एँ and S. एँ or ईं", but with an anomalous anunásika; thus Ap. Pr. पढहि, O. H. पढहि or पढइ, W. H. पढै, H. H. and G. पढे, P. पढें", S. पढें" or पढो". The Psh. has ए and Pers. ई. As to the E. H. and O. उ, O. H. उ or सु (Kl. 218, e. f), see Nro. 3, h. — c) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अति, Pr. अइ (H. C. 3, 139. Vr. 7, 1), which is preserved in the O. H. अइ (also अहि with anomalous ह), O. अइ, but generally contracted to ऐ in E. H. and W. H. or ए in the rest; thus Skr. पठति *he reads*, Pr. पढइ, O. H. पढइ, O. पढइ or पढै, E. H. and W. H. पढै, B., M., N., H. H., G., P., S. पढे. The Psh. has ई and the Pers. अद. — d) The term. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आमः, in Pr. आमो or आमु or आम or अमो or अमु or अम (H. C. 3, 144. 155. Vr. 7, 4. 31) or इमो or इमु or इम (H. C. 3, 155. Vr. 7, 31), Ap. Pr. इमु etc. or अहुं (H. C. 4, 386). The form अहुं, probably, contains an euph. ह for अउ for Pr. अमु (see § 127, note), perhaps to distinguish it from the 1. sg. अउं (for Pr. 1. sg. imper. अमु, see Nro. 3, g) and to assimilate it to the 1. pl. अहिं[1]). It becomes in N. ओं", M. and

1) Compare also the O. H. 3. sg. अहि beside अइ (Nro. 2, c). — Cw. XXIX and Ls. 335 give optional 1. pl. termin. अम्हो, अम्ह (e. g., हसम्हो, हसम्ह *we laugh*). These, if correct, would account for the उ in the Ap. अहुं; but I know no authority for them; H. C. 3, 147. Vr. 7, 7 give only म्हो,

S. ऊँ, O. ईं or उ; thus Skr. पठामः *we read*, Pr. पहामो or पहामु or पहमु, Ap. Pr. पहहुं, N. पऊँ, M. and S. पऊं, O. पउं or पउ. The Pr. form इमु or इम contracts in E. H. to ईं (see § 127), B. and O. (shortened) इ; thus Pr. पठिमु or पठिम, E. H. पहों. The intermediate form would be *इधें, which may either contract to ईं (like M. पाणीं *water*, for Pr. पाणिअं, § 83, exc.) or drop final ध (like E. H. करि *having done*, for Pr. करिअ, § 491); hence E. H. पढ़ीं, O. पढ़ि. But apparently at an early period, it also became transposed to धइँ and modified to धहिं, in assimilation, probably, to the 3. pl. धहिं. Both धइँ and धहिं occur in O. H. and are contracted to ऐं in Br. and ईं in H. H.; thus O. H. पढ़इँ or पढ़हिं, Br. पढ़ें, H. H. पढ़ें. In the strange G. and S. form ये, there seems to be a reminiscence of the original intermediate form *इधें; thus G. and S. पढ़ये, perhaps for *पठिधें or *पठिधइँ. The Mw. धौं is a modification of the N. धौं or the Br. ऐं, similarly as in the case of the P. and S. 1. sg. धौं (see Nro. 3, a). The Psh. has ऊ, the Pers. ईम. — e) The term. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. ध्व, in Pr. धह (H. C. 3, 143. Vr. 7, 4) or धहं (with euph. anusvára, see H. C. 1, 27. Ls. 336), in Ap. Pr. धह or धहु (H. C. 4, 384). The former is only preserved in E. H. धहु or ध, B. and O. ध, and M. धौं (for धहं); thus Skr. पठ्व *you read*, Pr. पढ़ह or पढ़हं, E. H. पढ़हु, B. and O. पढ़, M. पढ़ौं. The latter, I am inclined to explain as identical with the Skr. ध्वः of the 2. dual; it would regularly become in Pr. *धहो or धहु [1]). In O. H. it becomes धहु or धउ, in Br. and N. धौ, in the rest धो; thus Ap. Pr. पढ़हु, O. H. पढ़हु or पढ़उ, Br. and N. पढ़ौ, E. H., H. H., Mw., P., G., S. पढ़ो. The Psh. has धई, the Pers. ईदू; the latter is represented by the Pr. इत्थ (H. C. 3, 143 as हसित्थ *you laugh*) which, however, has left no trace in Gd. — f) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. न्ति, in Pr. ंति (H. C. 3, 142. Vr. 7, 4), in Ap. Pr. ंति or ंहिं (H. C.

म्ह for the Skr. स्मः *we are*, where म्ह is perfectly regular for स्म् by H. C. 2, 74. Vr. 3, 32.

1) Just as 1. pl. Pr. धामो or धामु for Skr. धामः; see also Nro. 3, 1; Ls. 468 identifies it with the Skr. ध्वम् of the átman. 2. pl. imper., but this would have changed to Pr. ह, as felt by himself, p. 336.

4, 382). The former is only preserved in O. अंति and M. अत् (see § 146, note); thus Skr. पठन्ति *they read*, Pr. पढंति, O. पढंति, M. पढत्. The latter becomes in O. H. अहिँ or अइँ, E. H. and Br. ए̃, H. H. ऍं, also Mw. ए and G. ए with loss of anunâsika; thus Ap. Pr. पढहिं, O. H. पढहिँ or पढइँ, E. H. and Br. पढै̃, H. H. पढें, Mw. पढै, G. पढे. The origin of the Ap. form अहिं is disclosed by the O. H. termin. अन्हि or ए̃न्हि (for *इअन्हि) of the pret. tense (see § 503). It appears that अंति was changed to अंहि, then to अन्हि and finally to अन्हि (see § 161). The O. H. अन्हि is preserved in the S. अनि, B. ए̃न् (with transfer of इ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), P. अण, N. अन्. Thus S. पढनि, B. पढेन्, P. पढण, N. पढन्. The Psh. has ए̃ and the Pers. अन्द् (softened for अन्त्). — 3) *Pres. imper.*: g) The term. of the 1. sg. is in Skr. आनि, which, however, is a peculiar suff. and does not exist in Pr. The latter has the regular suff. आमु or अमु (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18); in the Ap. Pr. it becomes अउं (see § 127)[1]) and becomes a suff. of the pres. conj. (or indic., H. C. 4, 385, see § 497, 2, a). In M. it contracts to ऊं, but remains a suff. of the 1. sg. imper.; while in E. H. it contracts to ओं and passes to the pres. conj., and so in all W. Gds. and in N. Gd. On the other hand, B. and O. have lost it, and use the suff. इ of the pres. conj. instead. Thus (Skr. पठानि), Pr. पढामु or पढमु *let me read*, Ap. Pr. पढउं *I may read* or *I read*, M. पढूं *let me read*, E. H. पढों *I may read* or *I read*, etc. — b) The term. of the 2. sg. is in Skr. अहि (suff. हि) or अ; Pr. has preserved the regular termin. असु besides अहि and अ (H. C. 3, 173. 174. 175. Vr. 7, 18), and the Ap. Pr. has, besides अहि, also ए or इ or उ (H. C. 4, 387. K. I. 62 in Ls. 453). The term. असु must have existed in the Ap. Pr.; for it is still found occasionally in O. H., both in the sense of the imper. and the pres. conj. (see Kl. 218, f. 220, 1). Similarly the term. अहि is used also for the pres. indic. in the Ap. Pr. (H. C. 4, 383) and for the pres. conj. in W. Gd. (see

1) I prefer this explanation of the origin of the Ap. term. अउं to that previously given in § 122, note.

§ 497, 2, b), but in the O. H. is still occurs both for the imper. and the pres. conj. (Kl. 204). The Ap. termin. ए is a contraction of अइ (of the Xth class or causal imper.) and represents the Skr. and Pr. term. अ, while the Ap. term. इ is a curtailment of ए, and the term. उ perhaps a corruption of the अ. This is clearly shown by the S., which has preserved both इ and उ, and uses the former for trans. verbs (which correspond to the old caus. and Xth class verbs, see §§ 472. 473), while it adds the latter to intrans. verbs (Tr. 251). The term. उ is preserved also in O. H. (see Kl. 218, e. 220, 1), E. H. and O., but has assumed also the sense of the pres. conj.; while throughout Gḍ. (exc. S. and optionally O. H. and E. H.) it becomes *quiescent* (i. e. अ qu.) when used in its proper sense of the imper. Thus Pr. पढसु *read thou*, but O. H. पढसु *read thou* or *thou mayest read*; or Pr. पढहि *read thou*, Ap. Pr. पढहि *read thou* or *thou readest*, O. H. पढहि *read thou* or *thou mayest read* or *thou readest*; or Skr. पढ *read thou*, Pr. पढ, Ap. पढु, O. H. and E. H. पढु *read thou* and *thou mayest read*, O. पढु *thou mayest read*, E. H. पढ् *read thou* or *thou mayest read*, all other Gḍs. (exc. S.) पढ् *read thou*. Again Pr. पढ (cf. H. C. 3, 158) *read thou*, Ap. पढ or पढि, S. पढि. — i) The term. of the 3. sg. is in Skr. अतु, in Pr. अउ (H. C. 3, 173. Vr. 7, 18) and becomes in M. ओ or उ, O. उ, B. उ-क्, N. ओ-स् (or after vowels अ-स्). The additions, क् in B. and स् in N., are pleon. suff. of obscure meaning and origin; perhaps they are enclitic pronouns, viz. indef. के or 3. pers. सें (see § 503). Thus पढतु *let him read*, Pr. पढउ, M. पढो or पढू, O. पढु, B. पढुक्, N. पढोस् (or जाअस् *let him go*). — k) The termin. of the 1. pl. is in Skr. आम; but Pr. substitutes the termin. आमो or अमो (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) or अमु and Ap. Pr. अहुं (K. I. 64, in Ls. 453) of the pres. indic. The same is also done in all Gḍs.; thus (Skr. पढाम), Pr. पढमो or पढमु *let us read*, Ap. पढहुं, N. पढौं, M. पढूं, etc., see § 497, 2, d. — l) The termin. of the 2. pl. is in Skr. अत; but Pr. substitutes the termin. अह (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20) of the pres. indic. The Ap. Pr. has अउ (K. I. 63, in Ls. 453) which is

the same as थङ् of the pres. indic. (see § 497, 2, e), but has dropped ङ्[1]. It occurs also in all W. Gds., and after vowels in N.; while the Pr. ह is preserved in the E. Gds. and M., and also, after consonants, in N. Thus (Skr. पठत), Pr. पढह *read you*, E. H. पढह or पढ (*parha*), B., O. and N. पढ, M. पढा (for *पढथ = पढह); but Ap. पढउ, Br. पढो, Mw., G., P., S. पढो, in fact identical with the 2. pl. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2, e). — m) The term. of the 3. pl. is in Skr. अन्ति, Pr. अंति (H. C. 3, 176. Vr. 7, 20), it is preserved in the O. अंइ or उन् (by transfer of उ into the preceding syllable, § 148, note), M. ओत् or ऊन्, B. and N. उन्. Thus Skr. पठन्तु *let them read*, Pr. पढंतु, O. पढंइ or पढुन, M. पढोत् or पढूत, B. and N. पढुन्. The change of उन् to उन् is analogous to that of अत् to अन् (see § 497, 2, f). The other Gds. substitute the 3. pl. of the pres. conj. — 4) As regards the contracted E. H. terminations, they will be understood from the following examples: Skr. खादति *he eats*, Pr. खाअइ or खाइ (H. C. 4, 228), E. H. खाए; Skr. खादामि *I eat*, Pr. खाअमि or खामि, Ap. Pr. खाउं, E. H. खावूं, etc.

Note: It may be observed, that B. uses the termin. of the 3. pl. for the 2. pl. in respectful address: thus pres. B. पढेन् *you read* (lit. *they read*), pret. पढिलेन् *you read* or पढिगाइन् *you have read*, पढिगाहिलेन् *you had read*, fut. पढिबेन् *you will read*, etc. In M. this is always done in the 2. pl. of the pres. conj. (see § 509, 3), the termin. of which आवे m., आवात् f., आवोत् n. really belong to the 3. pl. See also § 501, footnote on p. 342.

498. The pres. imper. may optionally add the following suff. in the 2. person.; viz., sing. इहे and plur. इह; e. g., पढिहे *read thou*, पढिह *read you*. This is a respectful form of the imper., implying request or prayer rather than command, and may be called a *precative*. Sometimes it is used in the sense of a simple future.

499. *Affinities and Derivation.* These suff. are identical with the corresponding suff. of the old Skr. and Pr. future. The use of the fut. to express the imper. is easily intelligible.

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1) Ls. reads ऊ, which is probably a false reading for उ or ङ्.

The corresponding Skr. termin. are: sg. इष्यति, pl. इष्यथ, in the Ap. Pr. sg. इहहि and pl. इहह or इल्लु, in E. H. sg. इहै (for *इहइ = इअह), pl. इह (for *इहह); in O. S., and occasionally M. S., pl. इहो (for *इहउ); e. g., कलिहो *seize ye* (Tr. 266). — The corresponding suff. in W. H. are: sg. इअ and pl. इओ; that is, the medial ह is elided, and the hiatus filled up by the connecting semivowel य्. P. has sg. ईं, pl. ईअ (Ld. 44); B. has pl. इओ (S. Ch. 147); and S. has sg. इजि or एजि or इजा or इजाइ, pl. इजो or एजो or इजाउ or इजाह (Tr. 266. 267); G. sg. अजे, pl. अजो; Mw. sg. अजै or ईजै or अज्जे, pl. अजो or ईजो or अज्जो (Kl. 211. 212); Br. sg. ईअै or *इअै or ईजै or ईजे or ईज्जे, pl. ईओ or इओ or ईओ or इजो or ईजो (Kl. 204). I am inclined to think, that the W. Gd. forms are really passive, but used actively. Thus (Skr. पठ्यसे), Ap. Pr. पढीअहि or पढिज्जहि or पढेज्जहि (H. C. 3, 175), Br. पढीयै or पढियै, P. पढो, or Mw. पढीजे, S. पढिजे or पढेजे, G. पढजे; plur. (Skr. पठ्यध्वे), A. Pr. पढीअहु or पढिज्जहु, Br. पढीयो, P. पढीओ, Mw. पढीजो, S. पढिजो or पढेजो. The increment इज्ज or इज्जा or एज्ज or एज्जा is found also in Pr. All verbs in Pr. may use it in the 2. pers. of the imper. (H. C. 3, 175), while the verb होअ (Skr. भू) *to be* and others ending in a vowel (H. C. 3, 178. K. I. 315, in Ls. 357) may adopt it in any tense. This shows, I think, that these forms cannot well be identified with the single Skr. precative (or benedictive) tense (as Ls. 357)[1], but constitute a regularly conjugated passive verb which, however, has assumed an active sense (see § 348). Thus *pres. tense*. Pr. होइ or होज्जइ *he is* (H. C. 3, 178) = Skr. भवति or (pass.) भूयते. There is also a longer form होज्जाइ, where the tendency of the pass. suff. य to revert to its original radical state या (which is fully developped in the Gd. pass., see § 481) already shows itself; for Pr. होज्जाइ is, as it were, a compound of भू + याति lit. *he is going to be*; compare the real H. H. compound हो जाए *he becomes*, E. H. होए जाय. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. होउ or होज्जउ *let him be* = Skr. भवतु or

1) It is probable, however, that the Skr. pass. and prec. are formed on the same principle, by compounding the auxil. verb या *to go* with the root; e. g., 3. sg. भूयात् *may he be* = R. भू and 2nd aorist यात्.

(pass.) भूयतें (lit. *भूयतु, for the Pr. prefers the parasm. suff., see Ls. 383); also Pr. होस्साइ (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + स्यतु. Again in the *fut.*, Pr. होहिसि or होस्सहिसि *thou will be* = Skr. भविष्यसि or (pass.) भविष्यसे (lit. *भूयस्यसे, for Pr. incorporates the pass. suff. य, see § 346); also Pr. होस्साहिसि (H. C. 3, 178) = *भू + स्यस्यसि. Again in the *imper.*, Pr. हससु or हसेस्सु *laugh thou* (H. C. 3, 175) = Skr. हस or (pass.) हस्यस्व; also Pr. हसेस्सहि or contr. हसेस्से (H. C. 3, 175), whence S. हसेसि or हसिसि. S. has also a longer form हसेसाइ or हसिसाइ lit. = *हस् + स्याहि. Similarly S. pl. हसेहो or हसिहो *laugh ye* presuppose a Ap. Pr. (not mentioned by H. C.) हसेस्सहु. In Pr. all the personal suff. may be dropped, and that, in all tenses alike; thus leaving the mere increment इज्ज or एज्ज as a universal termination; and this curtailed form may be used with all roots, whether ending in a vowel or consonant; thus Pr. होज्ज or होज्जा may mean: *he is* or *he may be* or *let him be* or *he was* or *he has been* or *he will be*, etc.; similarly पढेज्ज or पढेज्जा may mean: *he reads, he will read*, or *let him read*, etc. (H. C. 3, 177). Of this usage, however, I believe, there is no trace in Gd.

500. *Present indicative.* This tense is made by adding the following suff. to the root of the verb according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. ऍल्लो॑ (or ऍल्ल्यो॑)	ऍल्लूँ	ऍल्ला	ऍल्ला
2. ऍल्ले or ऍल्लेसु	ऍल्लो or ऍल्लिस	ऍल्ल or ऍल्लह (or ऍल्ल्यह)	ऍल्लू
3. ऍल्ला	ऍल्ले	ऍल्लॅ॑ or ऍल्लेन्	ऍल्लो॑ or ऍल्लिन्

Optionally the initial ऍ may be changed to अ (§ 26); thus masc. अल्लो॑, fem. अल्लूँ, etc.; but 1. pl. only ऍल्ला. After roots in आ or ए and the R. हो, the initial ऍ or अ (but not ऍ) is dropped. Thus 1. sg. masc. लो॑, fem. लूँ, etc.; but 1. pl. always ऍल्ला.

501. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) It has been stated in §§ 496. 497 that the old pres. indic. has been changed into the pres. conj. in E. H., N. and the W. Gds. Accordingly these languages (exc. P. see Nro. 2, p. 343) form a new pres. indic. by adding to the old tense some auxil. verb, viz. in Bh. लो॑, Mth.

हौं, N. हुं, Br. हौं or हूं (Kl. 206, a), Mw. हूं or हुं (Kl. 212, 402), G. हुं (Ed. 54), S. थो (Tr. 293). The Mth., N., Br., Mw. and G. forms हौं, हुं or हूं, हूं or हौं are those of the pres. tense of the auxil. verb *to be* (see § 514, 4. 5); but while Br., Mw. and G. simply add them to the unchanged termin. of the pres. conj., Mth. and N. first reduce the latter to the uniform type ऐ and थ respectively. Thus Br. करौं हौं or करूं हूं, Mw. करूं हूं or करूं हुं, G. करूं हुं, but Mth. करै हौं, N. गर हुं or गर हूं *I do*; Br. करै है, Mw. करै ऐ or करै है, G. करे ह, Mth. करै हैं, N. गर हस *thou doest*, etc. The S. form थो is the past part. of the auxil. verb थिअणु *to be* (contr. for थिओ, Tr. 305, see § 514, 6), and is simply added to the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., but agrees in gender and number with the subj.; thus S. masc. करिंदो थो *I do*, fem. करिंदी थी, pl. masc. करिंदा था *we do*, fem. करिंदी थिउं, etc. The E. H. form लो is the 2nd pret. of the auxil. verb धाव् *to come*, curtailed from ऐलो (see § 509, 4). It is conjugated regularly (see § 504), with the exception of the 3. sg. and 1. pl., where it has ला for *ल् and *लो (i. e., 3. sg. ऐल् or धागल्, 1. pl. ऐलो); and the pers. termin. of the pres. conj., to which it is added, are not the ordinary ones but a uniform type in ऐ (as in Mth.) or in थ (as in N.), with the exception of the 1. pl. which preserves its regular term. ऍ[1]). It may be observed, that in Gw. the forms, sg. लो, pl. ला, are used as an auxil. verb, in the sense of *he is, they are*, etc., by the side of the ordinary W. H. है, हैं, ह, etc. (Kl. 198, 200); e. g., Gw. कोई लो or कोई ह or कोई है or कोइ हैं

1) The uniform ऐ-type can easily be explained. In Br. the 2. and 3. sg. pres. conj. ends in ऐ, the 1. pl. in ऐं. In O., the 1. sg. ends in थइं which would easily contract to ऐं. Lastly in Br. the 3. pl. ऐन् is also used in the 2. pl. (see S. Ch. 142 and § 497, note; e. g., कोन् *they do* and *you do*); this is sometimes also done in Bs. (e. g., थहे or थहेन् *they are* or *you are*; but the proper 2. pl. थहए or थए or थहो is also used); similarly the E. H. 3. pl. ऐ would intrude into the 2. pl. Final anunásika is dropped. According to these analogies every person of the E. H. pres. conj. might end in ऐं. The थ-type of the N. is but a shorter form of the ऐ-type (see § 26).

is there any one? In E. H. the forms of the pres. indic. are sometimes used in the sense of a future indic.; e. g., E. H. माई घरेले तब् आईला i. e. *when mother comes, then we shall eat.* Now it will be shown in § 509, 4, that the fut. indic. is made precisely in the same way (by adding the auxil. part. ल *come* to the pres. conj.) in Mw., M. and N.; and it may be observed, that in the Br. and P. their fut. indic., which is made in an analogous way by adding the auxil. part. ग *gone* to the pres. conj. (§ 509, 5), is also used as a pres. indic. in the case of the substant. verb *to be*; thus compare Br. and P. है or हैगा (हैगो) masc. *he is*, fem. है or हैगी with Br. होगो, H. H. होगा, P. होवगा masc., °गी fem. *he or she will be*; again Br. हैं or हैंगे masc. *we are*, fem. हैं or हैंगीं, P. masc. हाँ or हाँगे, fem. हाँ or हाँगीयाँ with Br. होएंगे, H. H. होंगे, P. होवांगे masc. *we shall be*, fem. Br. °गीं, H. H. °गीं, P. °गीयाँ, etc. Again the presence of a long vowel in the antepenultimate, as E. H. सूतेलों *I sleep* (of R. सूत्), proves the composite character of the forms of the pres. indic. (viz. सूते + लों); for otherwise, if they were single words, such a vowel would be shortened by the rule of § 25. Lastly these composite forms naturally yield the sense of a pres. indic. Thus सूतेलों which means lit. *I have come (that) I may sleep* or *I have come to sleep*, may easily pass into *I am sleeping* or *I sleep*. Literally these forms express, that the action is the *present result* of preceding events; e. g., „I have come to be happy" is equal to „I am happy" now. — 2) The H. H. and P. and, optionally, the Bs., Br. are peculiar in adding the auxil. verb हूँ, हों, छहेउं, हों resp., not to the old pres. tense, but to the pres. part. in त, ता, ते, तु resp. Thus sing. Bs. करतु छहेउं masc., °तो छ° fem. (Kl. 241), Br. करतु हूँ or °तो हों m., °ति or °तों हूँ or हों f. (Kl. 202, a. 204, 283), P. करदा हाँ m., °दी हाँ f. (Ld. 29. 37. 46), H. H. करता हूँ m., °ती हूँ f. *I do*; plur. Bs. करतु छहो m., °ति छहो f., Br. करतु है or °ते हैं m., °ति or °ती हे f., P. करदे हाँ m., °दीयाँ हाँ f., H. H. करते हैं m., °ती हैं f. *we do*, etc. Sometimes the auxil. verb is omitted; but in that case, the forms are properly those of

the pret. conj. — 3) In M. the old pres. indic. has assumed the sense of a *habitual past* (§ 496). Hence it forms a new pres. indic. by suffixing the ordinary personal termin. to the pres. part. in अत् (Man. 69. 72), in the same way as in the E. H. pret. conj. (§ 506). Thus M. करितों m., करित्ये f., करितें n. *I do*; करितोस् m., करितीस f., करितेंस् n. *thou doest*, etc. — 4) In B., O. and optionally in G., the old pres. indic. having retained its original indic. sense (§ 496), is still used as such (S. Ch. 142. Sn. 27. Ed. 54). Thus B. करि, O. करई, G. करूं *I do*; B. करिस्, O. करह, G. करे *thou doest*, etc. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	अई	ऐं लों	ऐ ही	ओ हों	उं हूं, उं हूं	उं, उं हुं
2.	ईस्	उ	ऐं लेस्	ऐ हे	ऐ हे	ऐ हे, ऐ हे	ए, ए हे
3.	ए	अइ	ऐं ला	ऐ ग्रहि	ऐ है	ऐ है, ऐ है	ए, ए हे
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अहुं, अहुं	अँ यो	अतों	अत् अहेउं	अतु हुं [1])	अता हूं	अहा हूं
2.	अ इस्	ए यो	अतोस्	अत् अहेस्	अतु हे	अता हे	अहा हे
3.	अ इ	ए यो	अतो	अत् अहे	अतु है	अता है	अहा है

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	Mth.	Br.	Mw.	G.
1.	इ	उं	ऐं ला	ऐ ही	ऐं हैं	यों हों, यों हों	ये, ये हुंये
2.	अ	अ	ऐं लह	ऐ ही	ओ ही	ओ हो, ओ हो	ओ, ओ हो
3.	एन्	अंति	ऐं लेन्	ऐ ग्रंगि	ऐं हैं	ऐ है, ऐ है	ए, ए हे
	N.	S.	M.	Bs.	Br.	H. H.	P.
1.	अ हुं [2])	उं था	अतों	अत् अहो	अत् हैं	अते हैं	अहे हों
2.	अ हो	ओ था	अतों	अत् अहह [3])	अत् हो	अते हो	अहे हो
3.	अ इन्	अनि था	अतात्	अत् अहेन [3])	अत् हैं	अते हैं	अहे हुंन्

In the fem., S. changes यो and था to यो and थिउं, Br. अतु to अति, H. H. अता and अते to अती, P. अहा and अहे to अही and अहीअां; M. *sg.* 1. अत्ये or अते, 2. अत्येस् or अतेस् or अतोस्, 3. अती

1) Or, masc. अतो हों, fem. अती हों, etc.

2) Or, अ हुं.

3) Or, 2. अत् अहो, 3. अत् अहे.

or थले or थले; pl. fem. like masc. — *In the neut.*, M. has sg. 1. थलें, 2. थलेंस, 3. थलें; pl. neut. like masc.

2. PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

502. *First preterite indicative.* A past tense indic., which I shall call the *first preterite* to distinguish it from the other form of the past indic. (§ 504), is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in इअ or इ (see § 302) in the following manner according to the number and person (but not the gender) of the subj.

Sing. 1. यों, 2. इस्, 3. इस्. Plur. 1. या, 2. यौं, 3. इन्.

There is no difference in meaning between the first and second preterites; they only differ in usage; the first pret. is said to be confined to the language of towns (*nágari bhásha*).

Exception. As to some verbs which use an irregular past part. see § 304. E. g., करब् *to do* uses the forms किअ (for किइअ) in the 1. sg. and 1. 2. pl., and किहि in the 2. 3. sg. and 3. pl.; thus sing. 1. कियों, 2. किहिस्, 3. किहिस्; plur. 1. किआ, 2. कियौं, 3. किहिन्. Like करब् are conjugated धरब् *to place*, देब् *to give*, लेब् *to take*.

503. *Affinities and Derivation.* This tense exists in all Gds., exc. M.; but it is formed in a variety of ways. — 1) In O. H., E. H. and N. it is made by adding the suff. of the pres. conj. to the weak past participial form in इअ or इ (§ 302). These suff. (after subtracting the initial अ of the terminations, see § 497) are: 1. sg. उँ or ईं (as in O. H. करउँ, O. करईं *I do*); 2. sg. सि or हि or उ (as in O. H. करसि or करहि or E. H. कर *thou doest*); 3. sg. इ or (with anomalous इ) हि (as in O. H. करइ or करहि *he does*); 1. pl. उँ (as in N. करौं *we do* for *करउँ or N. जाउँ *we go*); 2. pl. हु (as in O. H. करहु *you do*); 3. pl. न्हि or नि (as in S. करनि or करीनि *they do*, Tr. 287). The part. termin. इअ is generally contracted to ए and, sometimes, to अ in O. H. — a) The 1. sg. suff. उँ occurs in O. H. and E. H.; thus पढिअ + उँ = O. H. and Bs. पढेउँ or पढउँ, Bh. पढ़ीं *I read*; the 1. sg. ईं in N.; e. g., पढिअ + ईं = N. पढें *I read* or छिअ + ईं = N. थें or छियें *I was*. —

Again b) the 2. sg. हि or उ occur in O. H.; thus पढिष + हि = O. H. पढेहि or पढिष + उ = O. H. पढेउ or पढउ *thou readst*; the 2. sg. सि in O. H. and Bs., thus पढिष + सि = O. H. पढेसि, Bs. पढिसि; in E. H., N. and, optionally, in Bs. it is shortened to स्, Bs. पढेस्, Bh. and N. पढिस्, or थिष + सि = N. थेस् or थियेस् *thou wast*. — Again c) the 3. sg. suff. हि occurs in O. H.; thus पढिष + हि = O. H. पढेहि *he read*. The 3. sg. इ does not exist in this tense. The E. H. adds the aff. स्, which in the longer form सि, occurs also in O. H. and Bs.; thus पढिष + aff. सि = O. H. पढेसि, Bs. पढिसि or पढेस्, Bh. पढिस् *he read*. Though these 3. sg. forms outwardly resemble those of the 2. pers., they can scarcely have the same origin[1]). The same 3. sg. aff. स् exists also in P.; e. g., पढिशेस् *he read*, कीतोस् *he did* (Ld. 69); and also in N., though not in the pret. but the imper. (see § 497, 3. i, p. 338); e. g., पढोस् *let him read*. It is possibly a shortened form of the 3. pers. pron. स, enclitically attached in a manner similar to the more general S. practice of affixing curtailed pron. forms to the verb (see Tr. 345 ff.); thus S. पढित-सि *he read*, फिरित-सि *he turned round* (Tr. 368). The N. adds in the 3. sg. no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak part. form; thus N. masc. पढ्यो or पढियो *he read*, fem. पढी *she read*, or masc. थ्यो or थियो *he was*, fem. थिई *she was*. — Again d) the 1. pl. उँ occurs in N.; thus पढिष + उँ = N. पढ्यूँ or पढ्युँ *we read*, or थिष + उँ = N. थिउँ or थ्यूँ or थ्युँ *we were*. The O. H. and Bs. use (just as in the pres. conj.) the suff. of the 3. pl. न्हि or नि, thus पढिष + न्हि (for नि) = O. H. पढेन्हि, Bs. पढिनि or पढेन्. The E. H. (Bh.) 1. pl. termin. या is, perhaps, a modification for *यौं, containing the same 1. pl. termin. यौं as the 1. pl. of the Mw. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. d, p. 336); thus E. H. पढा *we read* for *पढ्यौं = पढिष + यौं. — Again e) the 2. pl. उ occurs in O. H., E. H. and N.; thus पढिष + उ =

1) O. H. has, in the 3. sg., forms in थउ or ऐउ resembling those of the 2. pers., e. g., पढेउ or पढउ *he read*, but here उ is, probably, not a conjugational, but a pleon. suff. = Ap. Pr. पढिषउ, Pr. पढिअओ, Skr. पठितकः, corresponding to the S. 3. sg. पढिओ, N. पढ्यो.

O. H. पढेहु, N. पढिउ or पढ्यो, Bh. पढ्यो, Bs. पढिउ *you read*, or N. थिय + हु = थियउ or थ्यो *you were*. — Again f) the 3. pl. न्हि occurs in O. H., as पढेन्हि *they read*, and नि in Bs. पढिनि and न् in E. H. and N. पढेन्, Bh. पढिन्. The N., however, has more usually a suff. ए, which is perhaps a modification of *ने or *ऐ, containing the same 3. pl. suff. ए or ऍ as the 3. pl. of the G. and H. H. pres. conj. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337); e. g., N. पढे *they read* for *पढ्ये or *पढ्यें = पढिय + ऍ, or N. थे or थे *they were*. Sometimes N. omits the suff. altogether, and uses only the strong form of the past part.; thus N. पढ्या *they read*, थिया or था *they were*. — It will be observed, that this mode of forming the pret. indic. practically amounts to treating the past part. as a denominative verbal root. The treatment, generally, of past part. as denominative roots is not uncommon in E. H. (see § 352), and existed even in Pr. (see Wb. Bh. 429). In this particular case, no doubt, the practice originated from the similarity, in Pr., of participles, used denominatively, to participles accompanied by the auxil. verb अस् *to be*. Thus compare the denom. form, 1. sg. Pr. पढियमि, Ap. Pr. पढियउं (= Skr. *पठितामि) *I read* with the common compound form, Pr. पढिय म्हि (H. C. 3, 147) = Skr. पठितोऽस्मि. — 2) In B. and O. this tense is made by adding the pres. tense of the auxil. verb आहि or अहि *I am* to the past part. in इअ or इ resp.; thus 1. sg. B. पढिआहि *I read* for पढिअ or पढि + आहि, O. पढिअहि = पढि + अहि; 2. sg. B. पढिआइ, O. पढिअहु *thou readst*, etc. — 3) S. combines these two methods in the formation of this tense; viz., in the 1. sg. and pl. it adds (like the B. and O.) the auxil. verb सि *I am* and सों *we are* (for हि and हों, § 11); e. g., 1. sg. S. हलिउ-सि masc., हलिअ-सि fem., or (in poëtry) हलिओ-सि m., हलिआ-सि f. *I went* (= O. चलिअहि), pl. masc. हलिआ-सों, fem. हलिऊं-सों *we went* (हलिउ being the masc. and हलिअ the fem. nom. sing. of the weak and हलिओ, हलिआ of the strong form of the past part.). In the 2. sg. and pl. it adds (like the E. H.) the person. term. of the pres. conj., sg. ऍ and pl. उ; thus 2. sg. हलिऍ masc. (i. e., base हलिअ + suff. हि), हलिऍं or हलिअऍं

fem. *thou wentest*; pl. masc. हल्याउ (= E. H. चल्यौ), fem. हलिउँ *you went*. In the 3. sg. and pl. it adds (like the N.) no suff. at all, but uses the strong instead of the weak participial form; thus 3. sg. हलियो masc., हली fem. *he* or *she went* (= N. चलियो, चली); pl. masc. हलिया, fem. हलिउँ *they went* (= N. चल्या, चली). These remarks, however, apply only to intrans. verbs. In the case of trans. verbs, S. never adds any suff. or auxil. verbs, but uses only the strong past part. form; that is, in effect, trans. verbs have in S. only a 3. pers. sg. and pl. (but no 1st and 2nd persons)[1]). It is a circumstance in which all W. Gds. agree with S., and which explains the peculiarity, that for the 1. and 2. pers. they can only employ the *Bhávi prayoga* or impers. pass. construction (see § 487); e. g., *the disciple left me* is in Br. चेला ने मो कौं छोड्यौ, S. चेले मूं खे इडियो lit. *by the disciple in regard to me it was left*, „me" being either masc. or fem.; but not the *Karmani prayoga* or personal pass. contr. चेला ने हौं छोड्यो masc. or हौं छोड़ी fem., S. चेले थांउं इडियो masc. or थांउं इडी fem., lit. *by the disciple I was left*. On the other hand, for the 3. pers., both the Bhávi and Karmani prayoga may be used; thus *the disciple left that book* may be in Br. चेला ने थोह पोथी कौं छोड्यौ, S. चेले हुन् पोथी खे इडियो lit. *by the disciple, in regard to the book, it was left (Bhávi)* or Br. चेला ने उ पोथी छोड़ी, S. चेले हू पोथी इडी lit. *by the disciple that book was left (Karmani)*. — 4) With regard to intrans. verbs, the W. H., P. and G. use (like S.) the past part. in the Kartari prayoga, but (unlike S.) they do not add any suff. or auxil. verb; thus *I walked* is in W. H. हौं चल्यो m., हौं चली f., G. हुँ चल्यो m. or चली f., but S. थांउं हलिउसि m. or हलिअसी f. — 5) I add a comparative table of the terminations:

1) It should be recollected that, in W. Gḍ., trans. verbs admit only of the pass. constr., which converts what, with us, is subj. into the obj. Thus our 1. pers. sing. „I left him" becomes, in W. Gḍ., 3. pers. sg. „by me he was left". Accordingly, in W. Gḍ., there could be a first person only we should have the accus. of the 1. pers. pron. as obj.; e. g., our 3. pers. „he left me" ought to become, in W. Gḍ., 1. pers. „by him I was left". But even here W. Gḍ. has no first pers., but employs the impersonal constr. „by him in regard to me it was left".

Singular.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाहि [1])	इयहि	ऐउँ	यौं	एँ	इउसि [2])	
2.	इयाहे	इयहु	ऐसि	इसु	इसु	इएँ	
3.	इयाहे	इयहइ	ऐ-सि	इ-सु	यो	इयो	इया

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इया		यौं		यौं		या	
2.	इया		यौं		यौं		या	
3.	इया	इया	यौं	यो	यौं	यौं	या	या

Plural.

	B.	O.	O. H.	E. H.	N.	S.	
	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr. & tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	इयाहि	इयहुँ	ऐन्हि	या	एँ	इयासो	
2.	इयाह	इयह	ऐहु	यौं	यौं	यउ	
3.	इयाहेन्	इयहंति	ऐन्हि	इन्	या [3])	इया	इया

	P.		G.		W. H.		H. H.	
	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.	intr.	tr.
1.	ए		या		ए		ए	
2.	ए		या		ए		ए	
3.	ए	ए	या	या	ए	ए	ए	ए

1) These B. term. are, ordinarily, pronounced एहि, एहे, etc.; thus करियाहि is pronounced करेहि *karechhi*, not *kariyáchhi*. In fact, the old way of spelling has been retained, though the pronunciation has changed; just as in English we still write „night", but pronounce „nite". The old past part. करिअ is contracted to करे (just as in E. H. the conj. past करिअ becomes करे, see § 491); and अहि curtailed into हि. The older forms इयाहि, etc. may occasionally be heard in solemn addresses (sermons, etc.). The cons. ह *chh* is always pronounced *ts*, or even *s* (as in M. and Mw., see § 11); e. g., करियाहि (or rather करेहि) is pronounced *karetsi* or even *karesi*. — Similarly the B. term. of the conj. part. इया is ordinarily contracted into ए; e. g., करिया *having done* is pronounced करे.

2) Or इयोसि m., इयासि f.

3) Or ऐन् or ए com. gen.

In the fem. sg., N. ओ, S. इओ, P. इआ, G. ओ, W. H. ओ and H. H. आ are changed to ई; and S. has 1. इअमि, 2. इई or इअसि; fem. pl., N. आ, P. ए, G. आ, W. H. and H. H. ए are changed to ई, and S. has 1. इईसो, 2. and 3. इई.

Note: The plusperf. is a periphrastic tense in E. H. (see § 510, 7), exc. in Mth. which, like the B. and O., forms it by adding the past tense of the auxil. verb, Mth. हलो, B. थाह्लाम्, O. थेलि *I was*, etc. (see § 514, 6) to the past part. in इअ or इ. The part. termin. इअ is contracted in Mth. to ऐ. Thus 1. sg. Mth. पऽइलो, B. पढ़िथाह्लाम्, O. पढ़िथेलि *I had read*, etc. The resp. termin. are: 2. sg. Mth. ऐइले, B. थाह्लि, O. इथेलु; 3. sg. Mth. ऐइल्, B. थाह्लि, O. इथेल; 1. pl. Mth. ऐइलो, B. थाह्लाम्, O. इथेलुं; 2. pl. Mth. ऐइलो, B. थाह्ले, O. इथेल; 3. pl. Mth. ऐइलाहू, B. थाह्लेन्, O. इथेले.

504. *Second preterite indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the past part. in अल् or इल् (§ 302) in the following manner according to the gender, number and person of the subj.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	अलो (or अल्यो)	अल्यूँ
2.	अलेस् (intr.) or अले	अलिस् or अली
3.	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)	अल् (intr.) or अलेस् (tr.)
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	अली	अली
2.	अलहू or अल (or अल्यहू)	अल्यू
3.	अलेन् or अलै	अलिन् or अली

In the 3. sg., trans. verbs take the suff. अलेस्, while the intrans. take अल्. Again in the 2. sg. masc. the suff. अलेस् is confined to intrans. verbs. The other suff. are common to both.

Note: In the eastern parts of the E. H. area the termin. are pronounced with इ, as इलो, इल्यूँ, etc. — The forms enclosed in brackets are less usual.

505. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists only in E. and S. Gd. It is made, like the first pret. indic., by

adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (see § 503) to the weak form of the past part. in ঘল্ or ইল্, except in M., which adds them to the strong form in অলা. It should be remarked, however, that B. and O. omit the suff. in the 3. sg. of all verbs, and E. H. in the 3. sg. of intrans. verbs. Again M. omits the suff. in the 3. sg. and pl. of intrans. verbs and in all persons, sg. and pl., of trans. verbs[1]). E. g., *he read the book* is in E. H. ও পাথী পঢ়লেন্, B. ঐ পোথা পঢ়িল, O. সে পোথী পঢ়িলা, M. त्या ने पोथी वाचिली (Man. 65, 2, or exceptionally ते पोथी पढला Man. 81, 133). On the whole the pers. suff. are added quite regularly. Thus a) 1. sg. উঁ in E. H. and M.; e. g., wk. form, masc. পঢ়ল + উঁ = E. H. পঢ়লো *I read*, fem. পঢ়লি + উঁ = E. H. পঢ়লোঁ; here the final উঁ is anomalous; it is possibly founded on the strong form পঢ়লো = পঢ়লিঅ + উঁ. Again strong form, masc. পঢ়লা + উঁ = M. পঢ়লো; but in the fem. M. adds the 1. sg. suff. ইঁ; this may be clearly seen in the pres. indic.; e. g., পঢ়ঈ = পঢ়নিঅ (Skr. पठन्तिका) + ইঁ = M. पढवे or पढते *I read*; similarly পঢ়লী = পঢ়লিঅ + ইঁ = পঢ়লে *I read*. In the neut., M. uses either উঁ or ইঁ; thus পঢ়লো or পঢ়লে. O. shows the same 1. sg. termin. ই (a shortened form of ঈই), as in its pres. indic.; thus পঢ়িলি *I read*, just as অছই or অছি *I am*. The B. has the 1. sg. termin. আম্, which appears to have preserved the original pres. indic. termin. আমি (see § 497, 2); thus পঢ়িলাম্ (= Mg. *পঢ়িলামি denom.). — Again b) the 2. sg. suff. সি or, shortened, স্ occurs in E. H. and M.; thus wk. f. masc. রহল + সি = E. H. রহলেস্ with transfer of ই into the preceding syllable; fem. রহলি + স্ = E. H. রহলিস্ *thou remainedst*; or st. f. masc. পঢ়লা + স্ = M. পঢ়লাস্, fem. পঢ়লো + স্ = M. পঢ়লোস্, neut. পঢ়লে + স্ = M. পঢ়লেস্ with an anomalous anunásika; for the suff. স্ is anomalously added to the nom. sg. neut. পঢ়লে instead of to the neut. base পঢ়লে

1) M. which constructs transitive verbs passively, like the W. Gds. (see § 487), not actively, like the E. Gds., follows the usage of the former languages (see § 503, 3, p. 348) in adding no suff. to the past part. of such verbs.

(= *पढलय = Mg. पढिदय = Skr. पठितक). The 2. sg. हि is found in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + हि = E. H. पढले or (shortened) B. पढिलि; fem. पढलि + हि = E. H. पढली *thou readst.* The 2. sg. उ is peculiar to O.; thus पढिलु, just as in the O. pres. indic. पदु (see § 497, pp. 335. 336). — Again c) the 3. sg. सि occurs in the E. H. पढलेस्. But there is no suff. in M., B., O. or in intraus. verbs of E. H.; thus M. पढला m., पढली f., पढले n. *he read,* गेला m., गेली f., गेले n. *he went,* O. पढिला, गला c. g., B. पढिल्, गेल् c. g., E. H. गयल् c. g., but पढलेस्. — Again d) the 1. pl. ऊं is found in M. and O.; thus M. पढलो c. g. or (shortened) O. पढलुं c. g. *we read.* The E. H. shows the same 1. pl. termin. ईं (but without anunásika) as in its pres. conj. (§ 497, 2, d, p. 336); thus E. H. पढली c. g. *we read* just as पढी *we read.* And the B. has preserved the original pres. indic. termin. थाम्; thus पढिलाम् (= Mg. *पढिदाम denom., or *पढिदाम्ह). — Again e) the 2. pl. हु is preserved in the E. H. fem., thus पढलि + हु or, perhaps, st. f. पढलिय + हु = E. H. पढलू *you read.* Otherwise the 2. pl. ह or हं is used; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + ह = E. H. पढलह् or (dropping ह्, § 32) पढल *parhala,* O. पढिल c. g.; the B. पढिले c. g. apparently contracts final यह *aha* to ए or stands for पढले, properly a 3. pl. form (see § 497, footnote and O. 3. pl. पढिले). Or st. f. पढला + हं = M. पढलाँ c. g. — Again f) the 3. pl. नि or, shortened, न् is preserved in E. H. and B.; thus wk. f. masc. पढल + नि = E. H. पढलेन्, B. पढिलेन् with transfer of final इ into the preceding syllable; fem. पढलि + न् = E. H. पढलिन्. The E. H. also shows the other 3. pl. termin. ऐ in the masc. पढलै *they read* and, slightly modified, in the fem. पढली, just as in the E. H. pres. conj. पढै *they read.* O. omits the anunásika, पढिले for *पढिलें. M. uses the strong form, but without any suff., पढले. — 2) As regards the E. H. optional forms, 1. sg. थल्यो and 2. pl. थल्यह, they contain probably the strong part. termin. थलय, with euph. य् for थलथ; thus Skr. denom. *पठितकामि (= पठितकोऽस्मि), Mg. *पढिदयमि or *पढिदयमि, Ap. *पढिदयउं, E. H. पढिल्यो or पढल्यो. — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इलाम्	इलि	धलो m., धल्यूँ f.	धलो m., धले f., धलो or धले n.
2.	इलि	इलु	धलेस् m., धलिस् f.	धलास् m., धलीस् f., धले स् n.
3.	इल्	इला	धलेस् c. g., धल् c. g.	धला m., धली f., धले n.

Plural.

1.	इलाम्	इलुँ	धली c. g.	धलो c. g.
2.	इल	इल	धलह् m., धल्यू f.	धलरा c. g.
3.	इलेन्	इले	धलेन् m., धलिन् f.	धले m., धल्या f., धलो n.

Note: The B. and O. forms are of common gender.

506. *Preterite conjunctive.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the pres. part. in धत् (§§ 298. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	धतो (or धत्यो)	धत्यूँ	धतो or इत्	धती or इत्
2.	धतेस् or धते	धतिस् or धती	धतह् or धत (or धत्यह्)	धत्यू
3.	धत् or धतै	धत् or धतै	धतेन् or धतै	धतिन् or धती

Note: The forms enclosed in brackets are more usual in Bs., than in Bh. — Occasionally this tense is used as a pres. indic.

507. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) This tense exists in all Gds., with the exception, apparently, of S. But while W. Gd. uses the strong form of the pres. part. without addition, to express the pret. conj., the E. and S. Gds. make it by joining to the same part. the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. These composite forms are made exactly on the same model as those of the second pret. indic., see § 505, where the matter has been fully explained. The E. Gds. use the weak, but M. the strong form of the part. Thus 1. sg. masc. O. H. पऋतेउँ or पऋतउँ, E. H. पऋयो or पऋतो *(if) I read*, B. पढिताम् (S. Ch. 147), O. पढंति (Sn. 32), M. पऋतो (Man. 60, 4. 73); but W. H. पऋतौ or पऋतो, H. H. पऋता (Kl. 167, a), P. पऋदा (Ld. 37. 46, etc.), G. पऋतो (Ed. 54); fem. O. H. पऋतिउँ or पऋतेउँ, E. H. पऋयूँ, B. and O. like masc.,

M. पऽते", but W. H., H. H., G. पऽती, P. पऽती; neut. M. पऽतो", but G. पऽतुं, etc.; see the table of termin. below. The optional E. H. termin. इत् of the 1. pl. is, evidently, an intrusion from the B., where the pres. part. ends in इत, instead of in अत (see § 300). — It will be observed, that the M. termin. of the pret. conj. are nearly identical with those of its pres. indic.; the only difference being in the 3. sg. and plur. (e. g., 3. sg. masc. conj. अता, but indic. अतो; 3. pl. masc. conj. अते, but indic. अतात्) and in the 2. sg. masc. (viz. conj. अतास्, but indic. अतोस्). The indic. has more nearly preserved the old Pr. forms; and moreover, probably, uses the weak form of the part. Thus the M. 2. sg. indic. पऽतोस् *thou readest* is the same as the Pr. पढंतो सि; while the M. 2. sg. conj. पऽतास् *(if) thou readst* is rather a denom. formation पऽता + सि = Pr. *पढंतअ-सि; see the remarks in § 503, 1, p. 347. — In the other Gds. the pret. conj. itself may be occasionally used as a sort of indefinite pres. indic.[1]). Examples of this usage, of expressing the pret. conj. by means of the part. pres. with or without the auxil. verb अस् *to be*, are already found in Pr. (see Wb. Spt. 62. 63). Thus Spt. 26 जइ जाणंतो ऽसि णा कुणंतो *if thou knewest, thou wouldst not do.* This would be in M. जइ जानतास् न करतास्, E. H. जो जानतेस् न करतेस्. Of the two Pr. methods, that which dispenses with the auxil. verb appears to have given rise to the W. Gd. form of the pret. conj., while the other which uses that verb apparently led to the S. and E. Gd. denom. forms of the same tense. The fact that the Gd. pret. conj., and the analogously-formed tenses of the 1st and 2nd pret. and fut. indic., have different forms for the several genders, is thus explained by the Pr. For the part. with or without the auxil. verb, must, of course, agree with the subj. in regard to gender. — 2) S., apparently possesses no special pret. conj., but uses instead of it the ordinary pres. indic. (see Tr. 501). — 3) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

1) Called *indefinite imperfect* by Kl. 167, 323, *frequentative* by S. Ch. 147, *first present subjunctive* by Ed. 54.

Singular.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	थंति	थतो॑ m., थतूँ f.	थतो॑ m., थते॑ f., थतो॑ n.
2.	इतिस्	थंतु	थतेस् m., थतिस् f.	थतास् m., थतोस् f., थते॑न् n.
3.	इत्	थंता	थत् c. g.	थता m., थती f., थते॑ n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	थतो m., थती f., थतुँ n.	थती m., थती f.	थता m., थती f.	थद्दा m., थद्दी f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

Plural.

	B.	O.	E. H.	M.
1.	इताम्	थंतु	थती or इत् c. g.	थती॑ c. g.
2.	इत	थंत	थतह् m., थत्व f.	थतॅा॑ c. g.
3.	इतेन्	थंते	थतेन् m., थतिन् f.	थते m., थत्या f., थती॑ n.

	G.	W. H.	H. H.	P.
1.	थता m., थती f., थतॅा॑ n.	थते m., थती॑ f.	थते m., थती f.	थद्दे॑ m., थद्दीॅा॑ f.
2.	dto	dto	dto	dto
3.	dto	dto	dto	dto

508. *Futurc indicative.* This tense is made by modifying the termination of the fut. part. in थव् or इव् (§§ 308. 486) in the following manner, according to the gender, number and person of the subject.

	Singular.		Plural.	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
1.	थ्वो॑	थ्वूँ	थ्वै or थ्व्	थ्वै or थ्व्
2.	थ्वेस् or थ्वे	थ्विस् or थ्वी	थ्वह् or थ्व	थ्व्यू or थ्यू
3.	ईं	ईं	ईऐं	ईऐं

With the part. termin. इव् precisely similar suff. are formed; thus इव्यो॑ m., इव्यूँ f., etc. As to the manner of adding them to the root, see § 308.

Note: Optionally the masc. termin. may be used with a fem. subj. — Occasionally this tense is used in the sense of the imperative.

509. *Affinities and Derivation.* The fut. is formed in six different ways in Gḍ., the distinguishing marks of which are the following consonants: 1) ह्, 2) स् or श्, 3) ब् or व् or म्, 4) ल् or न्, 5) ग्, 6) ड्. — 1) The first two types are derived from the old Skr. and Pr. fut. In Skr. the fut. is formed by the suff. इष्य (i. e., स्य with the connecting vowel इ), which changes in Pr. either to इस्स (Mg. इश्श) or to इहि or इह (Vr. 7, 12—15. H. C. 3, 166—169, see also Wb. Bh. 431. Ls. 349—353). The Pr. इहि or इह becomes in Gḍ. इहि or इह or अह, and the fut. of this ह-*type* is preserved in O. H., W. H., and the 3. sg. and pl. of the E. H. Thus 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. (a) पढिहिइ or (b) *पढिहइ, whence O. H. (b) पढिहइ or पढिहि (with euph. ह् §§ 69. 503, 1, p. 345), Br. पढिहै, Mw. (a) पढही, E. H. पढी (contracted for *पढिई for *पढिही); 3. pl. Skr. पठिष्यन्ति *they will read*, Pr. (a) पढिहिंति or (b) *पढिहंति, whence O. H. (b) पढिहहिं, Br. and E. H. पढिहैं, Mw. (a) पढहीं (for *पढहीं). The forms of the 2. sg. and pl. of this type also occur in E. H., but only in the sense of the precative (§ 498). — 2) The Pr. इस्स becomes in Gḍ. ईस् or अस् (or ईश् or अश्), and the fut. of this स-*type* is preserved in O. P. (see Tr. A. Gth. CXXVI), Mw. and G. Thus 1. sg. Skr. पठिष्यामि, Pr. (a) पढिस्सामि (H. C. 3, 167) or (b) पढिस्सं (H. C. 3, 169) *I shall read*, O. P. (a) पढसा, Mw. पढिसूँ (= Ap. Pr. *पढिस्सउं), G. (b) पढीश्; again 3. sg. Skr. पठिष्यति *he will read*, Pr. पढिस्सइ, O. P. पढसी, Mw. पढसी, G. पढशे. — The remaining four types of the fut. are purely Gḍ. formations; thus 3) the fut. of the ब-*type* is confined to the E. Gḍs. and is made by adding to the fut. part. the personal suff. of the old pres. ind. (§ 503), exactly on the same model as in the case of the second preterite (see § 505). In O. the ब् or व् may be changed to म् (see § 134, note). Thus 1. sg. masc. E. H. पढबो or *I shall read*, B. पढिब (S. Ch. 146), O. पढिवि or पढिमि (Sn. 28); fem. E. H. पढबूँ, B. and O. like masc. In B. and O. the 3. sg. and pl. also are of the ब्-type, while in E. H. they are of the ह-type (see Nro. 1); thus 3. pl. B. पढिबेन्, O. पढिबे or पढिमे, but E. H.

पडिहे". A tense of the ह्-type also exists in M. and G.; but it is used as a pres. conj., not as a fut. indic. Moreover it is constructed passively (see § 496, p. 333). Thus M. त्यां सोडावा (Mav. 73), G. माटे होडवो (Ed. 54) *I may loose* (lit. *by me he may be loosed*) = E. H. मैं होडवो" *I shall loose*. There is apparently in Pr. an instance of a fut. (or imper.) of this type, mentioned by Ls. 422, देवु *you will give* or *give ye*; the same in E. H. would be देव *deba*. — 4) The fut. of the ल्-*type* exists only in M., Mw. and N. (incl. Gw. and Km.) and 5) that of the ग्-*type* only in Br. (incl. Kn.), H. H. and P. Both types are formed on the same principle, viz. by respectively adding the past part. ऐल (wk. f.) or ऐलो (st. f.) *come* and गयो (or गया) *gone* to the old pres. indic. (= habit. past in M., and pres. conj. in the others, see § 496) and, for this purpose, curtailing ऐल् and ऐलो to इल् or ल् and लो respectively and contracting गयो to गो (or गया to गा). M. uses the weak form इल् or ल्, Mw. the strong form लो, and N. either of the two. Moreover, N. sometimes adds the personal suff. of the old pres. (§ 503) or the auxil. verb हुं *I am* (e. g., पढ़ेनेहुं *we shall read*); on the other hand M. omits the part. ल in the 1. pl. (e. g., पढ़ें *we shall read*). Lastly in both M. and N. the characteristic ल् is sometimes changed to न्. A tense of the ल्-type exists also in E. H., but it expresses the pres. indic. (see § 500). Similarly the auxil. verb हूँ *I am* forms in Br., Kn. and P. a tense of the ग्-type with the sense of the pres. indic. (Kl. 200. 197, 367). Thus 3. sg. masc. पढ़े-ल् or -लो = M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैलो, N. पढ़ला (with पढ़ for पढ़े, cf. § 501, 1, footnote, p. 342) *he will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैला *he reads*; fem. M. पढ़ेल्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़ली *she will read*, but E. H. पढ़ैले *she reads*; or 3. pl. masc. M. पढ़ति + इल् = पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ैला, N. पढ़लान् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् (wk. f.) or पढ़नन् (= पढ़ + न or ला + न्) *they will read*; fem. M. पढ़तील्, Mw. पढ़ैली, N. पढ़लीन् (st. f.) or पढ़लन् or पढ़नन् (wk. f.). Again 3. sg. masc. पढ़े + गो = Br. पढ़ेगो, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगा *he will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ेगी, H. H. and P. पढ़ेगी; or 3. pl. masc. Br. पढ़ेंगे, H. H. पढ़ेंगे, P. पढ़णगे *they will read*; fem. Br. पढ़ेंगी, H. H. पढ़ेंगी, P. पढ़णगीआं, etc. But 3. sg. Kn. हेगो, P.

हेगा *he is*, 3. pl. Kn. हैंगे, P. हनगे *they are*; fem. sg. Kn. and P. हैगी, pl. Kn. हैंगी, P. हनगीयाँ; P. has optionally है *he is*, हन् *they are*; H. H. has है, हैं, etc.; but fut. H. H. होगा m., होगी f. *he (she) will be*, pl. होंगे m., होंगी f. *they will be*, Kn. होएगा, होएँगे m., °गी f.; P. होवेगा, होवेंगे m., °गी, °गीयाँ f., etc. Literally, these futures mean: पढेगा *he is gone (that) he may read*, पढैलो or पढैलो *he is come (that) he may read*, etc., compare the English: *he is going* (or *coming*) *to read*. — 6) The fut. of the ट्-*type* is confined to S., and is formed by adding to the pres. part. in थंदु or ईंदु the same termin., as are used for the first pret. indic. (see § 503, 3. 5). Thus 1. sg. masc. हलंदु + सि = S. हलंदुसि, fem. हलंदिसि *I shall go*; 2. sg. masc. हलंदे, fem. हलंदिएँ or हलंदियाँ; 3. sg. masc. हलंदो, fem. हलंदी. This fut. lit. means: *I may be reading*, etc. — 7) I subjoin a comparative table of terminations:

Singular.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईणु	थसूँ or थहूँ	इहौं	थ्यो or इयो	इय	इवि
2.	थणे	थसो or थहो	इहै	थ्येसु or इयेसु	इयि	इवु
3.	थणे	थसो or थहो	इहै	ई	इये	इयु

	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	धौंगौ	ऊँगा	थाँगा	एन्	ऊँला or थनेहूँ	थंदुसि
2.	ऐगो	एगा	एँगा	थसील्	थलासु or थनसु	थंदे
3.	ऐगो	एगा	एगा	एल्	थ्रला or थनेइ	थंदो

Plural.

	G.	Mw.	Br.	E. H.	B.	O.
1.	ईथूँ	थसाँ or थहाँ	इहैं	थ्ये or इये	इय	इवा
2.	थणो	थसो or थहो	इहौ	थ्यहु or इयहु	इया	इव
3.	थणे	थसी or थही	इहैं	इहैं	इयेन्	इवे

	Br.	H. H.	P.	M.	N.	S.
1.	ऐंगे	एंगे	थाँगे	ऊँ	ऊँला or उनेहूँ	थंदासो
2.	थोंगे	थोंगे	थोंगे	थाल्	थ्रलउ or उनेहो	थंदउ
3.	ऐंगे	एंगे	थणगे	थलील्	थ्रलान or थनन्	थंदा

In the fem. sing., Br., H. H., P., N. final धौ or था changes to ई, as Br. धौंगौ, P. थाँगो, etc.; plur. Br., H. H., N. ए or था

changes to ई, and P. ए to ईयाँ, as Br. ऐंगी, N. ऊंली, P. थोगेयाँ, etc. For the E. H. fem. form see § 508. S. has fem. sg. 1. थंदिथि, 2. थंदिए or थंदियाँ, 3. थंदो; pl. 1. थंदिऊंसी, 2. and 3. थंदिउं. In the rest, the forms are com. gen.

3. PERIPHRASTIC TENSES.

510. Ten additional tenses are made in E. H., by adding the pres. indic. or conj., or the pret. indic. or conj., or the fut. indic. of an auxil. verb to the pres. part. in थ्रा (§ 298) or to the past part. in थ्रल् (§ 302). These tenses are the following:

1) The *definite* or *durative present indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the pres. part.; as पऋन् थ्राटे or पऋन् होवै *he is reading.*

2) The *future conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the pres. part.; as पऋन् होए् *(if) he be reading.*

3) The *definite preterite* or the *perfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pres. indic. to the past part.; as पऋले थ्राटे or पऋले होवै *he has read.*

4) The *future exact conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pres. conj. to the past part.; as पऋले होए *(if) he have read.*

5) The *durative* or *habitual preterite* or the *imperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the pres. part.; as पऋन् ऱ्हल् *he was reading.*

6) The *durative present conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the pres. part.; as पऋन् होते *(if) he were reading.*

7) The *pluperfect indicative*, made by adding the auxil. pret. indic. to the past part.; as पऋले ऱ्हल् *he had read.*

8) The *preterite conditional*, made by adding the auxil. pret. conj. to the past part.; as पऋले होते *(if) he had read.*

9) The *durative future indicative* or *present dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the pres. part.; as पऋन् होई *he will be reading.*

10) The *future exact indicative* or *preterite dubitative*, made by adding the auxil. fut. indic. to the past part.; as পঢ়লে হোঁই *he will have read.*

Note: For the purpose of expressing the *present conditional* the pret. conj. (§ 506) is used. Thus পঢ়লে *(if) he read.* This completes the series of tenses of the condit. mood, which is merely a special application of the conj.

511. If the verb is a trans. one, the termin. of the past part. assumes the form থলে, instead of থল্, in the formation of the additional tenses; but if the verb is intrans. the termin. is থল্, as usual; e. g., trans. পঢ়লে থাহো" *I have read*, but intr. হহল্ থাহো" *I have remained.* The termin. of the part. never suffers any change; but that of the auxil. verb changes in agreement with the number, person and (where possible) gender of the subj.; thus 1. sg. masc. পঢ়ল্ থাহো", fem. পঢ়ল্ থাপুঁ *I am reading*; 3. pl. masc. পঢ়লে হোবৈ", fem. পঢ়লে হঁই" *they have read.*

Note: The form in থলে is really the adv. part. (see § 488), i. e., the loc. or obl. form of the past part. Thus পঢ়লে থাহো" means lit., *on having read I am.* Similarly B. uses the adv. pres. part.; e. g., B. পঢ়িতে ছি lit. *on reading I am*, i. e., *I am reading*; B. পঢ়িতে ছিলাম্ lit. *on reading I was*, i. e., *I was reading.*

512. *Affinities.* Periphrastic tenses exist in all Gds. and are made in the same way as in E. H. But while B., O. and, in the case of the past part. of trans. verbs, E. H. add the auxil. verb to the adv. part. (S. Ch. 135. 194. Sn. 30. 31, see § 511, note), N. and, generally, E. H. add it to the weak, H. H., P., G., S. to the strong, and W. H. to either form of the adj. part. (see Ld. 37 etc. Ed. 54 etc. Tr. 316 etc. Kl. 167 etc.). Again M. adds it to the weak or strong form of the adj. part. or to one of the ordinary tenses (Man. 92—96), somewhat analogous to the formation of the pres. indic. in E. H. and the W. Gds. (see § 501, 1). They also vary as to the particular auxil. verb which they employ (see §§ 513. 514). Thus 3. sg. masc. pres. definite: O. ପଢୁ ଅଛି *he is reading*, B. পঢ়িতে ছে or প° থাছে; but E. H.

पडत आहे or होवे, N. पडत इ, Gw. पडत or पडतो इ, Br. पडतु or पडतो है, Mw. पडतो है, H. H. पडता है, P. पडता है, S. पडंदो आहे, G. पडतो होवइ; again M. पडत् आहे or पडतो आहे or पडत् असतो (Man. 93, 1. 2. 3); fem. O., B., E. H., N. like masc.; Gw. पडत or पडती इ, Br. पडति or पडती है, H. H. पडती है, P. पडती है, S. पडंदी आहे, G. पडती होवइ, M. पडत् आहे or पडती आहे or पडत् असती.

513. The auxil. verbs which are employed to form the periphrastic tenses are the following: 1) आहे or आहे *he is*, 2) रहल् *he was* and 3) होवे *he is*. The verb आहे is defective; there exists only the pres. indic. The verb रहल् is the ordinary second pret. indic. of the regular verb रहब् *to remain*; but it is used as the past tense of the defective आहे. The verb होवे is a regular verb with a complete conjugation, from which the remainder of the defective tenses of the verb आहे are supplied. Examples see in § 510.

Note 1: When the past tense रहल् is used as an auxil. verb, it expresses past action generally, „he was", precisely like था in H. H. But according to circumstances, it may retain its ordinary meaning „he remained", as the past tense of रहब् *to remain*, and express past action as enduring, precisely like रहा in H. H. Thus E. H. कहल् रहल् *he had said* = H. H. कहा था, or *he remained saying, he kept saying* = H. H. कहा रहा.

Note 2: The past tense भइल् or भयल् of the verb होब् *to be* is never used as a mere auxil. verb, but always has its full meaning „he became", and expresses the commencement and continuation of an action (§ 538, g). Thus E. H. कहल् भयल् *he began saying*, but कहल् रहल् *he was saying*. The corresponding Gd. forms are: W. H. भयो (auxil. यो), M. काला (aux. होना or बसे), G. हुवो (aux. हतो).

514. *Affinities and Derivation.* The various verbs which are used as auxiliaries in Gd. are the following: 1) The verb आहे. It occurs as a defective auxil. in E. H. and B.; in both only in the pres. indic.; but in M. and S. it is a *principal* verb with a complete conjugation, and is used to form compound verbs; viz.,

M. वाटणे" *to appear* (Man. 92; in W. H. in the denom. form वताणे"), S. वताणु *to continue* (Tr. 344). It is derived from the Skr. R. वृत्, Pr. वट् or वट्. The B. pres. indic. (sg. 1. वटि, 2. वटिस्, 3. वटे; pl. 1. वटि, 2. वट, 3. वटेन्) is, as usual, identical with the old Pr. pres. indic. (see § 501, 4). Thus 3. sg. Skr. वर्तते, Pr. वट्टइ, B. वटे. From the other Pr. form वत्तइ comes the E. H. वाए् (for वाइ) or वा by the elision of त (§ 153). As regards the other E. H. forms वाटे, वाटा", etc. which are different for the two genders, it is more probable that they are denominatives, made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1, p. 345) to the part. Skr. वृत्त, P. वट्ट (H. C. 2, 29) *existing* (of R. वृत्). Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. वृत्तोऽस्मि, Pr. वट्टो म्हि, Ap. Pr. *वट्टउं, E. H. वाटो" *I am*; fem. Skr. (st. f.) वृत्तिकास्मि, Pr. वट्टिआम्हि, Ap. Pr. *वट्टिअम्हि or *वट्टिअउं, E. H. वाटूं, etc. — 2) The verb रहब् is used only in E. H. as an auxil., and only in the 2nd pret. indic. Otherwise it is in E. H. as well as in all other Gds. a regular principal verb, „to remain". It is commonly (in E. H., W. H., P., S.) used to make a kind of (continuative) compound verb (see § 538, b). — 3) The verb होइब् *to be* occurs in E. H. as well as in all other Gds., both as an auxiliary and as a principal, with a complete conjugation. It is derived from the Skr. R. भू; thus 3. sg. pres. conj. E. H. होए्, Pr. होइ or हवइ (H. C. 4, 60), Skr. भवति. As an auxil., however, it has in E. H. a special pres. indic., which is made by adding the personal suff. of the old pres. indic. (§ 503, 1) to the part. Skr. भूत, Pr. हविअ (§ 307, 7) *being* or *been*. Thus 1. sg. masc. Skr. भूतोऽस्मि, Pr. हविअम्हि, Ap. Pr. *हविअउं, E. H. हउओ" or हौओ" or होवो" (§§ 122. 69. 28); fem. Skr. भूतास्मि, Pr. हविआम्हि, Ap. Pr. *हविअउं, E. H. हउं or हवूं (§ 123) *I am*, etc. On the other hand, as a principal verb, it has a regular pres. indic. होलो" *I am*, etc. (see § 500). There is in E. H. a peculiar pleonastic form of this verb, which may be used optionally for its simple form, both when it is an auxil. and when it is a principal. It is made by adding the increment ख to the root हो; and the pleon. R. होख, thus made, is conjugated regularly.

Thus infin. होअब् *to be*; pres. indic. 2. sg. masc. होअेलेन् or °ल, fem. होअेलिन् or °लीं; 2. pl. masc. होअेलह् or °ल, fem. °ल्यू, etc. (see § 517). There is also a peculiar negative form of this verb, which exists, however, only in the pres. tense and is the same for all three moods. It also shows the peculiar increment ल; thus 3. sg. masc. नैलै *he is not*, fem. नैलि or नैलो *she is not*, etc. (see § 518)[1]). The origin of these forms is obscure. Perhaps they are derived from the Skr. R. भू by means of the inchoative suff. ल or स्क. Just as the R. अस् *to be* forms in Pr. an inchoative अच्छ (= अत्त = अस्क), so the R. भू or Pr. हुव or हव or हो (cf. H. G. 4, 60) might form in Pr. an inchoative *हुवस्क or *हवस्क or *होस्क (= भुल or भुस्क), in E. H. होल. The negative form नैल appears to have arisen by incorporating the negative particle न *not*. There are similar negative verbal forms in M., see Nro. 4. — 4) The verb अहै or आहे or है *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd., N. Gd. and W. Gd. (exc. G.), but not in the E. Gd. (exc. Bs.); and it exists only in the pres. indic. (see Man. 88. Tr. 300. Kl. 201. Ld. 25), as shown in the following table:

Singular.

	O. H.	Bs.	M.	S.	Br.	Mw.	P.	N.	H. H.
1.	अहउँ or हौं	अहेउँ or हौं	आहे	आहियाँ	हौं	हूँ	हौं	हुँ	हूँ
2.	अहसि or अहहि or है	अहेस् or अहे	आहेस्	आहे or आही	है	है	है	हस्?	है
3.	अहइ or अहै or आहि	अहै	आहे	आहे	है	है	है	ह?	है

Plural.

1.	अहहिं or हहिं	अहो	आहीं	आहियूं	हैं	हों	हों	हुं?	हैं
2.	अहहु or हहु	अहहु or अहो or अहें	आहौं	आहियो	हो	हो	हो	हो	हो
3.	अहहिं or हहिं or आहैं	अहेन् or अहैं	आहेन्	आहिनि or आहीनि	हैं	है	हन् or हैन्	हुन्	हैं

1) Beames in J. R. A. S. III, 495 mentions a negative form नावे *he is not* and an affirmative ये *he is*, and Kl. 199, 373 follows him. But my authorities deny the existence of either form.

The origin of this auxil. verb is uncertain. It is commonly identified with the Skr. R. अस् *to be* (e. g., Tr. 300. 304). This view must assume a change of स् to ह्, and also a change of class; for the Skr. R. अस् is of the II. cl., while the Gd. verb is of the VI. cl.; e. g., 1. sg. O. H. अहउँ represents a Skr. form *असामि, Pr. *अहमि, Ap. *अहउं (see H. C. 4, 385); or Gd. अहै = Skr. *असति, Pr. *अहइ. None of the Pr. gramm., however, as far as I am aware, notice any such change in the R. अस्. There would be also a difficulty in accounting for the initial आ in M. and S. On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to identify this Gd. auxil. verb with the pres. indic. of the R. भू *to be*. This root may become in Pr. हव (H. C. 4, 60) and in Gd. हु; thus 3. sg. Skr. भवति, Pr. हवइ, Mw. है (Kl. 232). The form है would easily become ऐ. On the other hand, instead of suppressing व, it (or rather ह्, see § 132) may be transposed; thus the Pr. R. हव might become in Gd. अह and thence आह, with आ as compensation for the elided व्; e. g., 3. sg. Pr. हवइ = *अहइ = Bs. अहै or M. आहे, etc. It may be observed, that the Skr. 3. pl. भवंति is even in Ap. Pr. contracted to भंति or हंति (H. C. 4, 406. 416), which would regularly become हैं in W. H. (see § 497, 2. f, p. 337). The M. possesses a negative form of this verb. It is defective, occuring only in the pres. ind.; viz., sing. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहींस्, 3. नाही; plur. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत्. There is an other defective negative verb in M., which occurs only in the pres. and pret. indic.; viz., *pres.* sing. 1. नव्हे, 2. नव्हेस् or नव्हस्, 3. नव्हे; plur. 1. नव्हों or नव्हे, 2. नव्हां or नव्हेत्, 3. नव्हेत् or नव्हत्; *pret.* sing. masc. 1. नव्हतो, 2. नव्हतास्, 3. नव्हता; plur. 1. नव्हतों, 2. नव्हतां, 3. नव्हते. See Man. 88. 89. This negative form, however, really belongs to the verb होइब् (M. होणें), see Nro. 3. Besides M. has a complete negative form of the verb असणें (see Nro. 5), which is made by changing the initial अ to न; e. g., inf. नसणें; 1. sg. pres. ind. नसतों *I am not*, from असतों *I am*, etc. See Man. 89. — 5) The verb अहइ or अहे or ए *he is*. It occurs in the S. Gd. and N. Gd., in all W. Gds. (exc. Br.), and in all E. Gds. (exc. Bh.

and Bs.). In M. it has a complete conjugation (Man. 84—86), even in a negative form, see Nro. 4; in B., Mth., Mw., P., Km. it exists in the pres. and pret. tenses; and the rest have it only in the pres. tense. In S. even the pres. is fragmentary. In M., P. and S., ह् is changed to न् (see § 11). In B., though ह् is written, न् is commonly pronounced, see footnote on p. 349. The following comparative table shows the various forms of this auxil. verb:

Present. Singular.

	O.	B.	Mth.	N.	Km.	Mw.	G.	P.	S.	M.
1.	अहि or अहि	आहि or ह्वि	ह्वि	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	ह्वि	सां	सि	अहे*
2.	अहु ह्व	आहिस् ह्विस्	ह्वसि	ह्वस्	ह	ह	ह	सीं	—	अहस्
3.	अहइ ह्वइ	आहे ह्वे	अहि	ह	ह	ह	ह	ति	—	अहे

Plural.

1.	अहु ह्व	आहि ह्वि	ह्वि	[illegible]	हो	हा	ह्विं	सां	सी* or सूं*	अहूं*
2.	अह ह्व	आह ह्व	ह्वि	ह्वी	हा	हा	हो	सो?	—	अहां
3.	अहंति ह्वंति	आहिन् ह्विन्	हुंति	ह्विन्	ह्विन्	ह्वा	हो	तणु	—	अहत्

Preterite. Singular.

1.	अहिलाम्	ह्विलाम्	हलों*	ह्विलो*	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	मा	deest	अहलों* m., °ले* f., °लो* n.
2.	अहिले	ह्विले	हले*	ह्विलो*	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	मा	deest	अहलास् m., °लीस् f., °ले* n.
3.	अहिल्	ह्विल्	हल्	ह्विल्	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	ह्विलो	मा	deest	अहला m., °ली f., °ले* n.

Plural.

1.	अहिलाम्	ह्विलाम्	हलो*	ह्विलो*	ह्विला	ह्विला	ह्विला	मं	deest	अहलों* c. g.
2.	अहिलेत्	ह्विलेत्	हलो*	ह्विलो*	ह्विला	ह्विला	ह्विला	मं	deest	अहलां c. g.
3.	अहिलेन्	ह्विलेन्	हलाह्	ह्विल्	ह्विला	ह्विला	ह्विला	मं	deest	अहले m., °ल्या f., °ली n.

The forms of the pres. have assumed in M. and P. the sense of the (habit.) past (see § 496); thus M. असे°, P. हौं *I was* (Man. 84. Ld. 25). The forms of the pret. sg. Km. छिया, Mw. हो, P. सां are masc. and change in the fem. to ही and सी; they are really past part.; those of B. and Mth. are of com. gen. and made according to the 2nd pret. ind. (see § 505). In M. the pres. ind. (also used as pres. conj.) is असतो°, etc. (conjug. regularly, see § 501, 3. 5); the pres. conj. असावा, etc. (see § 496); the impers. असूं, etc. (see § 496); the fut. असेन्, etc. (see § 509, 4. 7). I have observed in N. the 2. sg. fut. ह्वेनस् = M. असशील् (see § 509, 4. 7). The infin. is in M. असूं or असणें° (see § 313. 314); the pres. part. असत् (see § 486); the adv. part. असतां, which I have also found in N. as ह्वंदा *on being* (see § 489). — This verb also exists in Pr. (H. C. 4, 215. Ls. 346); e. g., 3. sg. अछइ *he is*, etc. The R. अछ (= अच्छ or अस्क) is probably an inchoative form of the R. अस् *to be* or (according to some MSS. of H. C.) आस् *to dwell, exist*. — The only remnant of the original R. अस् which has survived in Gd. is the S. 3. sg. and pl. अथ = Pr. अत्थि, Skr. अस्ति. It is, however, used only in conjunction with pronom. suff. (Tr. 349), as अथमि *it is* or *they are to me*. Even in Pr., अत्थि is used for both numbers and all three persons (H. C. 3, 148); e. g., अत्थि अहं *I am*, अत्थि अम्हे *we are*, etc. — 6) The verb आछ् or छिए *he is*. It occurs only in the W. Gd. and O. In G. and S. it has a complete conj. (see Ed. 72—81. Tr. 305—312). In the others it exists only in the pret. indic. tense (or past part., see Sn. 26. Ld. 25. Kl. 200), as shown in the following comparative table:

Preterite. Singular.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Kn.
1.	थेलि c. g.	थिये° or थे° c. g.	छिउसे m., छिअसे f.	थो m., थी f.
2.	थेलु c. g.	थियेस् or थिस् c. g.	छिएँ m., छिअसि f.	थो m., थी f.
3.	थेला c. g.	थियो or थ्यो m., थिई f.	छिथो m., थी f.	थो m., थी f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयी f., थयुं n.
2.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयी f., थयुं n.
3.	था m., थी f.	था m., थी f.	थयो m., थयी f., थयुं n.

Preterite. Plural.

	O.	Naip.	S.	Ku.
1.	थेलुं c. g.	थिउँ or थूं c. g.	थिथासो m., थिउँसो f.	थे m., थी f.
2.	थेल c. g.	थियो or थ्यो c. g.	थिथड m., थिउँ f.	थे m., थ्वे f.
3.	थेले c. g.	थिये or थे c. g.	थिथा m., थिउँ f.	थे m., थी f.

	H. H.	P.	G.
1.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थोथ्रों f.	थया m., थयो f., थयों n.
2.	थे m., थी f.	थे m., थोथ्रों f.	थया m., थयो f., थयों n.
3.	थे m., थो f.	थे m., थोथ्रों f.	थया m., थयी f., थयों n.

The pres. conj. is: 1. sg. G. थाउँ, S. थिथाँ; 2. sg. G. थाए, S. थिएँ or थी; 3. sg. G. थाए, S. थिए; 1. pl. G. थाये or थेये, S. थिउँ; 2. pl. G. थाओ, S. थिओ; 3. pl. G. थाय, S. थिथन् or थीन्. The pres. indic. is in G. थाउँ हुँ, etc., S. थिथाँ थो, etc. (see § 501, 1. 5); the fut. indic. in G. थेशूं, etc., S. थोंहुसे, etc. (see § 509, 2. 6. 7); the imper. G. था or थाहे, etc., S. थोउ or थोहे, etc. (see §§ 497. 499); the infin. in G. थवुँ, S. थिथणु; the part. pres. in G. थतो, S. थींदो; the adv. part. in G. थते or थतां, S. थींदे. — The original of this verb appears to be the Skr. R. स्था *stand, exist*, which in Pr. becomes ठा or था (H. C. 4, 16); e. g., 3. sg. Pr. ठाइ (H. C. 4, 436) or थाइ, G. थाए; 3. pl. Pr. थंति (H. C. 4, 395) or *थाहिं (cf. H. C. 4, 382), G. थाय. The S. थिथणु *to be* is derived from the R. स्था, just as S. पिथणु *to drink*, from R. पा, S. दिथणु *to give*, from R. दा; i. e., it is founded on a reduplicated radical form *स्थित (for the ordinary Skr. तिष्ठ), analogous to पित, दत.

THIRTH CHAPTER. CONJUGATION.

1. THE DEFECTIVE AUXILIATY VERB.

515. There is only a pres. tense; the pret. is supplied from the verb रहेवुं *to remain* and the rest from the complete auxil. verb होवुं *to be* (see §§ 513. 516).

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. बाहो[1])	बाहूँ	बाही	बाही
2. बाहेस् or बाहे	बाहिस् or बाही	बाहह् or बाह	बाहू
3. बाहे or बाए् or बा	बाहे or बाए् or बा	बाहे	बाही

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. रह्लो	रह्लूँ	रह्लो	रह्ली
2. रह्लेस् or रह्ले	रह्लिस् or रह्ली	रह्लह् or रह्ल	रह्लू
3. रह्ल	रह्ल	रह्लेन् or रह्ले	रह्लिन् or रह्ली

2. THE WEAK COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

516. This verb is complete with the exception of the pret., which is supplied from the verb रह्ब् *to remain, to dwell*; see § 513, note 2.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होब्बों[2])	ह्वूँ	ह्ई	ह्ई
2. होबे	होबी	होबह् or होब	ह्यू
3. होबे or हो	होबे or हो	होबे	ह्ई

b) Preterite tense: *I was*, etc.

This is the same as the pret. of the def. auxil. verb; see § 515, b.

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. होब्बो or होइब्बो	होबे or होइबे or होब् or होइब्
2. होबेस् or होइबेस् or होबे or होइबे[3])	होब्रह् or होइब्रह् or होब or होइब
3. होई	होइहे

1) Throughout, the initial consonant may optionally be व् *v* or ब् *b*, and in the low forms of E. H. the medial cons. may be ज् or ग् (§ 145).

2) The masc. form may throughout be used also as fem.

3) Fem. also: होब्बिस् or होब्बो or होइब्बिस् or होइब्बी.

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	होंउँ	होंऊँ
2.	हो	होह् or हो
3.	होय	होंए्

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	होतों or होत्यों	होतूँ	होउत्	होउत्
2.	होतेस् or होते	होतिस् or होतो	होतह् or होत	होत्यू
3.	होत् or होते	होत् or होते	होतेन् or हेते	होतिन् or होतो

Imperative mood.

f) Present tense: *let me be*, etc.; the same as pres. conj.

3. THE STRONG COMPLETE AUXILIARY VERB.

517. This verb is conjugated regularly throughout; see § 514, 3.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I am*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	होवेलों	होवेल्यूँ	होवोला	होवोला
2.	होवेलेस् or °ले	होवेलिस् or °लो	होवेलह् or °ल	होवेल्यू
3.	होवेला	होवेले	होवेले	होवेलो

b) First preterite: *I was*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	होव्यों	होवा
2.	होविस्	होव्यू
3.	होविस्	होविन्

Or: Second preterite.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	होवलों	होवल्यूँ	होवलो	होवलो
2.	होवलेस् or °ले	होवलिस् or °लो	होवलह् or °ल	होवल्यू
3.	होवल्	होवल्	होवले	होवलो

c) Future tense: *I shall be*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखबो॑[1])	होखबूँ	होखब् or °बै	होखब् or °बै
2. होखबेस् or °बे	होखबिस् or °बी	होखबह् or °ब	होखब्
3. होखी	होखी	होखिहें॑	होखिहें॑

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present tense: *I be*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Mast. and Fem.
1. होखों॑	होखीं॑
2. होखु	होखह् or होख
3. होखे	होखैं॑

e) Preterite tense: *I were*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. होखतों॑ or °त्यों॑	होखतूँ	होखतीं or °खित्	होखतीं or °खित्
2. होखतेस् or °ते	होखतिस् or °ती	होखतह् or °त	होखतु
3. होखबे or °त्	होखते or °त्	होखतैं॑	होखतीं॑

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me be*, etc. Like the pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sg. होखिहे, 2. pl. होखिह् or होखी.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are formed like those of the regular active verb पढ़ब *to read*, see § 521; e. g., मैं॑ होखत् बाटों॑ *I am being*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival: pres. होखत् *being*, past होखल् *been*.

Conjunctive: होखे के *having been*.

Adverbial: pres. होखते or होखतै *on being*, past होखले *on having been*.

Infinitives.

Nom. होखब् *to be*, acc. होखे के or होखबे के, etc.

4. THE DEFECTIVE NEGATIVE AUXILIARY VERB.

518. This verb exists only in the present tense of the three moods; see § 514, 3.

1) Or: होखिबों॑, होखिबेस्, etc.

a) Present indicative: *I am not*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. नेखो॰ or नेखूँ	नेख्यूँ [1])	नेखो	नेखो
2. नेखेस् or नेखे	नेखिस् or नेखो	नेखह् or नेख	नेख्यू [1])
3. नेखे	नेखो [1])	नेखे॰	नेखो॰ [1])

b) Pres. conj. and imp. like the pres. indic.

5. THE REGULAR ACTIVE VERB.

519. There is only one conjugation. With the exception of a very few irregular verbs (see §§ 525—527), all verbs, whether ending in a consonant or a vowel, are conjugated precisely alike. One example, therefore, of an active verb, fully conjugated, is sufficient. For the sake of convenience, however, a list of the first persons sing. and plur. of a few typical verbs will be added; the remainder to be supplied by the student. It may be noted, as a practical rule, that an euphonic semicons. may be added to any verb which ends with a vowel; viz. य् to verbs in ई, and व् to verbs in ऊ or ओ. Thus every verb may be made to have a consonantal termination; and after the required verbal form has been made, the euph. cons. may be again omitted; and the resultant form will be that of the verb as ending in a vowel.

520. The elements.

पढ्य् *to read*; root पढ्; bases पढ्त्, पढ्ल्.

The radical and participial tenses.

Indicative mood.

a) Present tense: *I read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1. पढेलो॰ or °ल्यो॰	पढेल्यूँ	पढेला	पढेला
2. पढेलेस् or °ले	पढेलिस् or °लो	पढेलह् or °ल or °ल्यह्	पढेल्यू
3. पढेला [2])	पढेले	पढेलेन् or पढेले॰	पढेलिन् or °लो॰

1) Or like masc.

2) Or पढलो॰, पढलेस्, पढला, and so on throughout.

b) First preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पढ्यो॑	पढ्या
2.	पढ्यि॑	पढ्यौ
3.	पढ्यि॑	पढ्यि॑

Or second preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्लो॑ or °ल्यो॑	पढ्ल्यूँ	पढ्ली	पढ्ली
2.	पढ्ले	पढ्लिस् or °ली	पढ्लह् or °ल or °ल्याह्	पढ्ल्यू
3.	पढ्लेस्	पढ्लेस्	पढ्लेन् or °लै॑	पढ्लिन् or °ली॑

c) Future: *I shall read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.[1]	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्यो॑[2]	पढ्यूँ	पढ्यु॑ or °ब्यै॑	पढ्यु॑ or °ब्यै॑
2.	पढ्येस् or °ब्ये	पढ्यिस् or °ब्यो	पढ्यह् or °ब्य	पढ्यू or °ब्यू
3.	पढ्यो	पढ्यो	पढ्यिँ॑	पढ्यिँ॑

Conjunctive mood.

d) Present: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पढ्यो॑	पढ्यो॑
2.	पढ्यु or पढ्य	पढ्यह् or पढ्य
3.	पढ्यै॑	पढ्यै॑

e) Preterite: *I read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Fem.	Plur. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढ्तो॑ or °त्यो॑	पढ्त्यूँ	पढ्तो or पढ्यि॑	पढ्तो or पढ्यि॑
2.	पढ्तेस् or °ते	पढ्तिस् or °तो	पढ्तह् or °त or °त्याह्	पढ्त्यू
3.	पढ्त् or °तै॑	पढ्त् or °तै॑	पढ्तेन् or °तै॑	पढ्तिन् or °तो॑

Imperative mood.

f) Present: *let me read*, etc. Like pres. conj.

Precative forms: 2. sing. पढ्यिह्, 2. plur. पढ्यिह्.

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1) Throughout the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or पढ्यिो॑, पढ्यिेस्, and so on throughout.

521. The periphrastic tenses.

Indicative mood.

g) Durative or definitive present: *I am reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.[1]
1. पऱ्‌ आहो" or प° होवो"	पऱ्‌ आवूं or प° हूं
2. पऱ्‌ आहेस्‌ or आहे or होवे	पऱ्‌ आहिस्‌ or आही or होवी
3. पऱ्‌ आहे or आय्‌ or आ or होवे or हो	पऱ्‌ आहे or होवे etc.
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पऱ्‌ आहो or प° हई	पऱ्‌ आहो or प° हई
2. पऱ्‌ आहा or आहे or होवह्‌ or होव	पऱ्‌ आयू or हयू
3. पऱ्‌ आहे" or होवे"	पऱ्‌ आहो" or हई"

h) Durative pret. or imperfect: *I was reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पऱ्‌ रहलो"	पऱ्‌ रहल्यूं
2. पऱ्‌ रहलेस्‌ or °ले	पऱ्‌ रहलिस्‌ or °ली
3. पऱ्‌ रहल्‌	पऱ्‌ रहल्‌
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पऱ्‌ रहलो	पऱ्‌ रहली
2. पऱ्‌ रहलह्‌ or °ल	पऱ्‌ रहल्यू
3. पऱ्‌ रहलेन्‌ or °ले"	पऱ्‌ रहलिन्‌ or °ली"

i) Durative future: *I shall be reading*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पऱ्‌ होयो" or प° होवयो"[2]	पऱ्‌ होयूं or प° होवयूं
2. पऱ्‌ होयेस्‌ or प° होवयेस्‌	पऱ्‌ होयह्‌ or प° होवयह्‌
3. पऱ्‌ होई" or प° होली	पऱ्‌ होइहे" or प° होलिहे"

k) Definite pret. or perfect: *I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.[1]
1. पऱ्‌ले आहो" or प° होवो"	पऱ्‌ले आवूं or हूं
2. पऱ्‌ले आहेस्‌ or आहे or होवे	पऱ्‌ले आहिस्‌ or आही or होवी
3. पऱ्‌ले आहे or आय्‌ or आ or होवे or हो	पऱ्‌ले आहे or होवे etc.

1) Optionally the masc. forms may be used for the fem.

2) Or प° होइयो" or प° होलियो", etc.; in fact any of the forms given in §§ 516, c. 517, c may be used.

	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱले बाटो or प° हई	पऱले बाटो or प° हई
2.	पऱले बाटह् or बाट or होबह् or होब	पऱले बाप् or हयू
3.	पऱले बाटे" or होबे"	पऱले बाटी" or हई"

l) Pluperfect: *I had read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऱले रहलो"	पऱले रहल्यू
2.	पऱले रहलेस् or °ले	पऱले रहलिस् or °ली
3.	पऱले रहल्	पऱले रहल्
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱले रहली	पऱले रहली
2.	पऱले रहलह् or °ल	पऱले रहल्यू
3.	पऱले रहलेन् or °लै"	पऱले रहलिन् or °ली"

m) Future exact: *I shall have read*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऱले होब्यो" or प° होब्यो"	पऱले होबै or प° होब्बै
2.	पऱले होबेस् or प° होब्बेस्	पऱले होब्ह् or प° होब्बह्
3.	पऱले होई or प° होबी	पऱले होइहै" or प° होब्बिहै"

Conjunctive mood.

n) Future conditional: *(if) I be reading*, etc.

	Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1.	पऱत् होंहुँ or प° होबुँ	पऱत् होंई" or प° होबो"
2.	पऱत् हो or प° होबु	पऱत् होह् or हो or प° होब्ह् or होब
3.	पऱत् होय् or प° होबै	पऱत् होंवै or प° होबै"

o) Durative pres. condit.: *(if) I were reading*, etc.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऱत् होतो"	पऱत् होत्यूँ
2.	पऱत् होतेस् or प° होते	पऱत् होतिस् or प° होती
3.	पऱत् होत् or प° होतै	पऱत् होत् or प° होतै
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱत् होइत्	पऱत् होइत्
2.	पऱत् होतह् or प° होत	पऱत् होत्यू
3.	पऱत् होतेन् or प° होतै"	पऱत् होतिन् or प° होती"

p) Fut. exact condit.: *(if) I have read*, etc.

Sing. Masc. and Fem.	Plur. Masc. and Fem.
1. पढ़ले होंडुं or प° होवो"	पढ़ले होंडे" or प° होवो"
2. पढ़ले हो or प° होवु	पढ़ले होडु or प° होवडु etc.
3. पढ़ले होए or प° होवे	पढ़ले होवे or प° होवे"

q) Preterite condit.: *(if) I had read*, etc.

Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1. पढ़ले होतो"	पढ़ले होतुं
2. पढ़ले होतेस or प° होते	पढ़ले होतिस or होती
3. पढ़ले होत or प° होते	पढ़ले होत or होते
Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1. पढ़ले होडत	पढ़ले होडत
2. पढ़ले होतड or प° होत	पढ़ले होय
3. पढ़ले होतेत or प° होते"	पढ़ले होतिन or प° होती"

522. Participles.

a) Adjectival: pres. पढ़न्त *reading*, past पढ़ल *having read* or *read*.

b) Conjunctive: पढ़ के or पढ़े के *having read*.

c) Adverbial: pres. पढ़ते or पढ़तें *on reading*, past पढ़ले *on having read*.

Infinitives.

Nom. पढ़व *to read*, acc. पढ़वे के or पढ़े के *for to read* or *for reading*, instr. पढ़वे सें or पढ़े सें, etc.

Noun of agency.

Masc. or fem. पढ़निहार *reader*, or fem. पढ़निहारी.

6. LIST OF TYPICAL REGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

523. Elements.

a) रहव *dwell*, root रह, bases रहत, रहल
b) पीयव *drink*, „ पी or पीय, „ पीयत, पीयल
c) चूयव *drip*, „ चू, „ चूयत, चूयल
or चूवव, „ (चूव), „ चूवत, चूवल
d) रोयव *weep*, „ रो, „ रोयत, रोयल
or रोवव, „ (रोव) „ रोवत, रोवल.

a) Present indicative.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहैला	रहैले	plur.	रहैलेन्	रहैलिन्
	b)	पोयैला	पोयैले		पोयैलेन्	पोयैलिन्
	c)	चूऐला	चूऐले		चूऐलेन्	चूऐलिन्
	d)	रोऐला	रोऐले		रोऐलेन्	रोऐलिन्

b) First preterite.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहिस्	plur.	रहिन्
	b)	पोयिस्		पोयिन्
	c)	चूइस्		चूइन्
	d)	रोइस्		रोइन्

Second preterite.

		Masc.	Fem.		Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहल्	रहल्	plur.	रहलेन्	रहलिन्
	b)	पियलेस्	पियलेस्		पोयलेन्	पोयलिन्
	c)	चूयल्	चूयल्		चूयलेन्	चूयलिन्
	d)	रोयल्	रोयल्		रोयलेन्	रोयलिन्

c) Future indicative [1]).

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रही	plur.	रहिहैं
	b)	पो or पोई		पोहैं
	c)	चूई		चूइहैं
	d)	रोई		रोइहैं

d) Pres. conj. or f) Pres. imper.

		Masc. and Fem.		Masc. and Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहै	plur.	रहैं
	b)	पोयै		पोयैं
	c)	चूऐं		चूऐं
	d)	रोऐ		रोऐं

1) 1. pers. sing. masc. रहब्रो" or रहिब्रो"; पियब्रो" or पोब्रो"; चुयब्रो" or चुइब्रो"; रोयब्रो" or रोइब्रो".

e) Preterite conjunctive.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहत् or रहते	plur. रहतेन्	रहतिन्
	b)	पोयत् or पोयते	पोयतेन्	पोयतिन्
	c)	चूयत् or चूयते	चूयतेन्	चूयतिन्
	d)	रोयत् or रोयते	रोयतेन्	रोयतिन्

f) Precative forms.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc. and Fem.
2. pers. sing.	a)	रहिह्	plur. रहिह्
	b)	पोहे	पोह
	c)	चूइह्	चूइह्
	d)	रोइह्	रोइह्

g) Durative or definite present.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहत् आहे or र° होवै	plur. रहत् आहे° or होवै°	र° आहो° or हई°
	b)	पोयत् आहे or प° होवै	पोयत् आहे° or होवै°	पो° आहो° or हई°
	c)	चूयत् आहे or चू° होवै	चूयत् आहे° or होवै°	चू° आहो° or हई°
	d)	रोयत् आहे or रो° होवै	रोयत् आहे° or होवै°	रो° आहो° or हई°

l) Pluperfect indicative.

		Masc. and Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
3. pers. sing.	a)	रहल् रहल्	plur. रहल् रहलेन्	रहल् रहलिन्
	b)	पोयले रहल्	पोयले रहलेन्	पोयले रहलिन्
	c)	चूयल् रहल्	चूयल् रहलेन्	चूयल् रहलिन्
	d)	रोयल् रहल्	रोयल् रहलेन्	रोयल् रहलिन्

The remaining periphrastic tenses are made after the analogy of Nro. g and l.

524. Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	रहत् रहल्	रह के[1])	रहते रहले
b)	पोयत् पोयल्	पो के	पोयते पोयले
c)	चूयत् चूयल्	चू के	चूयते चूयले
d)	रोयत् रोयल्	रो के	रोयते रोयले

1) Or: रहे के, पोए के, etc.

Infinitives.

a) रहब्	Acc.	रहे के or रहबे के
b) पोयब्	"	पोये के or पोयबे के
c) चूबब्	"	चूए के or चूबबे के
d) रोयब्	"	रोए के or रोयबे के

Noun of agency.

a) रहनिहार्, b) पोयनिहार्, c) चूबनिहार्, d) रोयनिहार्; fem. °री.

7. IRREGULAR ACTIVE VERBS.

525. There are three kinds of irregularities. *Firstly*; some verbs add the suffixes ल्, न् and ब् instead of ऐल् or थल् (of the pres. indic.), थत् (of the pres. part.) and थब् or इब् (of the future). This is done by all verbal roots in था and ए and by the root ले *be*. But the roots in था and the R. हो may optionally take इब्.

Secondly; some verbs have a special form of the past participle (and of all tenses derived from it), of the conjunctive part., and of the first preterite tense. These are the verbal roots: कर् *do*, धर् *put*, थाव् *come*, पाव् *find*, ज्ञा *go*, दे *give*, ले *take*, हो *be*.

Thirdly; the two verbal roots दे *give* and ले *take* add no suffix in the 2. and 3. pers. sing. pres. conj. and imper.

Note also, that थाव or थब, थाय or थय, थाइ or थइ are often contracted into थौ or थै respectively (see § 34).

The following verbs will serve as types: खाब् *to eat*, ज्ञाब् *to go*, देब् *to give*, होब् *to be*, करब् *to do*, थावब् *to come*. All other verbs in था are conjugated like खाब्; लेब् *to take* is conjugated like देब्, धरब् *to put* like करब्, पावब् *to find* like थावब्.

526. a) Present indicative.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	ज्ञालों	ज्ञाला	ज्ञाईला	ज्ञालेन्
b)	देलों	देला	देईला	देलेन्
c)	होलों	होला	होईला	होलेन्

b) First preterite.

	1. sing.	3. sing.	1. plur.	3. plur.
a)	गयो॑	गयिस्	गया	गयिन्
b)	दियो॑	दिहिस्	दिया	दिहिन्
c)	भयो॑	भयिस्	भया	भयिन्
d)	कियो॑	किहिस्	किया	किहिन्
e)	धायो॑	धाइस्	धाया	धाइन्
f)	खायो॑	खाइस्	खाया	खाइन्

Second preterite.

a)	गइलो॑ [1])	गयल् [1])	गइली [1])	गइलेन् [1])
b)	दिहलो॑	दिहलेस्	दिहली	दिहलेन् [1])
c)	भइलो॑ [1])	भयल् [1])	भइली [1])	भइलेन् [1])
d)	कइलो॑ [1])	कइलेस् [1])	कइली [1])	कइलेन् [1])
e)	धइलो॑ [1])	धायल् [1])	धइली [1])	धइलेन् [1])
f)	खइलो॑ [1])	खइलेस् [1])	खइली [1])	खइलेन् [1])

c) Future.

a)	ज्ञाबो॑ [2])	ज्ञाई	ज्ञाब् or ज्ञाबै [2])	ज्ञइहै॑ [2])
b)	देबो॑	देई	देब् or देबै	देइहै॑
c)	होबो॑ [3])	होई	होब् or होबै	होइहै॑

d) Pres. conj. and f) Pres. imper.

	1. sg.	2. sg. [4])	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl. [5])	3. pl.
a)	ज्ञौं॑	ज्ञा	ज्ञाय	ज्ञौं॑ई॑	ज्ञाह्	ज्ञौं॑
b)	यौ॑	दे	दे	देई॑	देह्	दे॑
c)	हो॑ [6])	हो	होय्	हो॑ई॑	होह्	हो॑

1) Or: गैलो॑, गइल्, गैली, गैलेन्, ऐलो॑, धाइल्, etc.

2) Or: ज्ञइबो॑ or ज्ञैबो॑, ज्ञाइब् or ज्ञइबै or ज्ञैबै, ज्ञैहै॑.

3) Or: होइबो॑ or होखबो॑ or होखिबो॑, etc. The verb धाब् *come* formes regularly धइबो॑ or ऐबो॑ or धउबो॑ or धोबो॑, धाई, धाइब् or धावब् or धाउब्, धइहै॑ or ऐहै॑, etc.

4) Or: ज्ञो; but not देउ.

5) Or: ज्ञा; यह् or य; हो.

6) Or: होउँ or होबो॑, as in §§ 516, d. 517, d.

e) Preterite conjunctive.

	1. sg.	3. sg. masc.	1. pl.	3. pl. masc.
a)	ज्ञातों	ज्ञात् [1])	ज्ञाइत् [2])	ज्ञातेन् [3])
b)	देतों	देत्	देइत्	देतेन्
c)	होतों	होत्	होइत्	होतेन्

f) Precative forms.

	2. sing.	2. plur.
a)	ज्ञइहे or ज्ञैहे	ज्ञइह or ज्ञैह
b)	देइहे	देइह
c)	होइहे	होइह

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part. and the auxiliary verb; provided only, that trans. verbs use the past part. in ले, and intrans. verbs, that in ल्. Thus, 3. sg. pluperf. गयल् रहल् *he had gone*, but दिहले रहल् *he had given*.

527. Participles.

	Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
a)	ज्ञात्, गयल् [4])	ज्ञाय् के [5])	ज्ञातै, गैले [4])
b)	देत्, दिहल्	दे के	देतै, दिहले
c)	होत्, भयल् [4])	होतै के	होतै, भैले [4])
d)	करत्, कयल् [4])	कय् के	करतै, कैले [4])
e)	धावत्, धायल् [4])	धाय् के	धावतै, ध्ले [4])
f)	खात्, खायल् [4])	खाय् के	खातै, खैले [4])

	Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.
a)	ज्ञाब् [6]), ज्ञाबे के or ज्ञाबे के	ज्ञानिहार्, fem. °री
b)	देब्, देबे के or देबे के	देनिहार्, „ °री
c)	होब्, होबे के or होब् के	होनिहार्, „ °री

1) Or: ज्ञातै, देतै, होतै.

2) Or: ज्ञाती, देती, होती.

3) Or: ज्ञातैं, देतैं, होतैं.

4) Or: गइल्, गइले; भइल्, भइले, etc.

5) Or contr. ज्ञै के, दै के, कै के, etc.

6) Or: ज्ञाइब्, ज्ञइबे or ज्ञैबे के; होइब्, होइबे के; धाइब्, धइबे or धैबे के, etc.

8. THE REGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERB.

528. The forms of the pass. verb are composed of the past part. in अल् of the principal (i. e. active) verb and the tenses of the verb जाव् *to go* (§ 479). The formation of the past part. is explained in §§ 302—307; and the conjugation of the verb जाव् is given in §§ 525—527. The form of the past part. never changes, but the forms of the verb जाव् vary, as usual, according to the person, number and gender of the subject.

Present indicative.

	Sing. Masc.	Sing. Fem.
1.	पऱल् जालो	पऱल् जाल्यूं
2.	पऱल् जालेस् or प° जाले	पऱल् जालिस् or प° जालो
3.	पऱल् जाला	पऱल् जाले
	Plur. Masc.	Plur. Fem.
1.	पऱल् जाईला	पऱल् जाईला
2.	पऱल् जालह् or प° जाल	पऱल् जाल्यु
3.	पऱल् जालेन् or प° जाले	पऱल् जालिन् or प° जालो

The rest of the tenses may be formed after the above manner.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पऱल् जात्, प° गयल्	पऱल् जाय् के	पऱल् जातें प° गेले
Infinitives.		Nouns of agency.
पऱल् जाव्, प° जाये के or प° जावे के		पऱल् जानिहार्; fem. °री

9. IRREGULAR COMPOUND PASSIVE VERBS.

529. There are only two irregular verbs; viz. जाव् *to go* and होव् *to be* (§ 479, exc.). The former uses the participial form जायल्, instead of गयल् in the formation of the compound pass., the latter the part. form होयल् or, optionally, भयल्. All other active verbs, which form an irregular past part. (see §§ 527. 304), use the same also in the compound pass. Thus, कयल् जाला *it is done*; दिहल् जाला *it is given*; but जायल् जाला *it can go* (lit. *it is gone*); होयल् जाला *it can be*, see § 530.

530. The pass. voice of intrans. verbs is only used in an impersonal and potential sense. Thus, मो से बइठल् नाहीं" आला lit. *by me it cannot be sat*, i. e., *I cannot sit*; or मो से खरा नाहीं" होथल् (or भयल्) आत् बाटे *I cannot stand up*.

Note: The compound pass. verbs should be carefully distinguished from the compound intensitive verbs; see § 538, a.

10. THE POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERB.

531. The potent. pass. verb, as to the formation of which see § 482, is conjugated precisely like any other (active) verb in आ, e. g., like खाव् *to eat*, the conjugation of which is given in §§ 525—527.

a) Present: *I can be read*, etc.

	Sg. Masc.	Fem.	Pl. Masc.	Fem.
1.	पढालो"	पढाल्यू	पढाईला	पढाईला
2.	पढालेस्[1])	पढालिस्[1])	पढालह्[1])	पढाल्यू
3.	पढाला	पढाले	पढालेन्[1])	पढालिन्[1])

b) Preterite: *I could be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइलो" or पढैलो"; 3. sg. पढायेल् or पढाइल्, etc. There is no first preterite form of the potent. pass.

c) Future: *I shall be able to be read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढइबो" or पढैबो" or पढाबो", 3. sg. पढाई; pl. पढइहै" or पढैहै", etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may be able to be read*, etc.

Sing. 1. पढाँवँ् 2. पढा or पढो 3. पढाय्
Plur. 1. पढाँई" 2. पढाह् or पढा 3. पढाँयँ्

e) Pret. conj.: *I would be able to be read*, etc.

1. sing. masc. पढालो"; plur. पढाली or पढाइत्, etc.

Periphrastic tenses.

g) Dur. pres. 1. sg. masc. पढात् बाटो" or प° होवो", etc.
h) Dur. pret. „ „ पढात् रहलो", etc.
i) Dur. fut. „ „ पढात् होबो" or प° होखबो", etc.

1) Or: 2. sg. m. पढाले, f. पढालो; pl. m. पढाल; 3. pl. m. पढालैं", f. पढालीं".

k) Perfect 1. sg. masc. पढावल् आहो॑ or प॰ होवो॑ or पढाइल् ब॰ or प॰ ह॰, etc.
l) Pluperfect „ „ पढावल् रहलो॑ or पढाइल् र॰, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढात्, पढावल् or पढाइल्	पढाए् के	पढाते, पढइले or पढैले

Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.
पढाब् or पढाइब्, पढावे के or पढैबे कै	पढानिहार्, fem. °री

11. IRREGULAR POTENTIAL PASSIVE VERBS.

532. There is only one anomalous case; viz. the verb खाब् *to eat*. It forms its potent. pass. root irregularly, viz. खिया; but the root, thus formed, is conjugated quite regularly. Observe also, that the verbs देब् *to give* and लेब् *to take* make their potent. pass. roots दिया and लिया (§ 482). The verbs आवब् *to come*, जाब् *to go* and होब् *to be* possess no potent. passive.

12. THE SIMPLE CAUSAL VERB.

533. The simple causal verb, as to the formation of which see § 474, is conjugated regularly like any other (active) verb in ब्; provided that °आवी° becomes आई (§ 33) and antepenultimate °आव°, °आय° become अउ or औ, अइ or ऐ (§ 34).

a) Present: *I cause to read* or *I teach*, etc.
1. sg. masc. पढावेलो॑ or पढावलो॑; pl. पढाईला, etc.

b) First pret.: *I caused to read* or *I taught*, etc.
Sg. 1. पढाओ॑, 2. and 3. पढाइस्; pl. 1. पढावा, 2. पढावो, 3. पढाइन्.

Second preterite.
1. sg. पढउलो॑ or पढौलो॑; pl. पढउली or पढौली, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to read* or *I shall teach*, etc.
Sg. 1. पढइबो॑ or पढैबो॑ or पढउबो॑ or पढौबो॑, 3. पढाई, etc.
Pl. 1. पढाइब् or पढाउब्, 3. पढइहैं or पढैहैं, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to read*, etc.
Sg. 1. पढावो॑, 2. पढाव् or पढावु or पढाउ, 3. पढावै.
Pl. 1. पढाईं, 2. पढावह् or पढाव, 3. पढावै॑.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to read*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढ़उतों or पढ़ौतों, 3. पढ़ावत् or पढ़ौते; pl. 1. पढ़ाइत्, etc.

g) Periphrastic tenses.

These are made regularly by means of the pres. and past part.; provided only, that causal verbs, being trans., use the past part. in ले. Thus 3. sg. masc. imperf. पढ़ावत् रहल् *he was causing to read* or *he was teaching*; again 3. sg. masc. perf. पढ़ौले बाटे *he has caused to read* or *he has taught*, etc.

Participles.

Adjectival.	Conjunctive.	Adverbial.
पढ़ाबत् पढ़ावल्	पढ़ाव् के	पढ़ौते पढ़ौले

Infinitives.	Nouns of agency.
पढ़ाइब् or पढ़ाववब्, पढ़ावे के or पढ़ैबे के	पढ़ौनिहार्; fem. °री

13. THE DOUBLE CAUSAL VERB.

534. The double caus. verb, as to the formation of which see § 477, is conjugated precisely like the simple causal verb (§ 533).

a) Present: *I cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढ़वावेलों or पढ़वावलों; pl. पढ़वाईला, etc.

b) First. pret.: *I caused to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढ़वायों, 2. and 3. पढ़वाइस्; pl. 1. पढ़वाया, 3. पढ़वाइन्, etc.

Second preterite.

1. sg. masc. पढ़वउलों or पढ़वौलों, 3. पढ़वउलेस् or पढ़वौलेस्, etc.

c) Future: *I shall cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. masc. पढ़वइबों or पढ़वैबों or पढ़वउबों or पढ़वौबों, 3. पढ़वाई, etc.

d) Pres. conj. or imper.: *I may cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. पढ़वावों, 2. पढ़वाव् or पढ़वाबु or पढ़वाउ; 1. pl. पढ़वाईं, etc.

e) Pret. conj.: *I would cause to teach*, etc.

1. sg. m. पढ़वउतों or पढ़वौतों, 3. पढ़वावत् or पढ़वौते; 1. pl. पढ़वाइत्, etc.

Participles.	Infinitive.
पढ़वावत् पढ़वावल्	पढ़वाइब् or पढ़वाववब्

14. THE PASSIVE OF THE SIMPLE AND DOUBLE CAUSAL VERBS.

535. Causal verbs cannot form the potent., but only the compound passive. The latter is formed and conjugated precisely like that of any other (active) verb. Thus, simple caus. pass. infinit. पढ़ावल् ज़ाब् *to be caused to read* or *to be taught*; and double caus. pass. inf. पढ़वावल् ज़ाब् *to be caused to teach*, and so forth.

15. IRREGULAR CAUSAL VERBS.

536. 1) The verb खाब् *to eat* forms its simple causal खियाबब् *to cause to eat* or *to feed*, and its double causal खियवाबब् *to cause to feed*. Similarly the verbs लेब् *to take* and देब् *to give* form लियाबब्, लियवाबब् and दियाबब्, दियवाबब् respectively (§ 474, exc.).

2) The verbs आबब् *to come* and ज़ाब् *to go* possess no causals. Instead of them, the intensive compound verbs लेआबब् *to bring* (= *to cause to come*) and लेज़ाबब् *to remove* (= *to cause to go*) are used (see § 538, a). These two compound verbs are conjugated precisely like the two simple verbs आबब् and ज़ाब्. Thus their infin. pass. are लेआयल् ज़ाब् *to be brought* and लेज़ायल् ज़ाब् *to be removed*.

3) Of the verb होब् *to be* there is no causal in use, whether simple or double, active or passive.

FOURTH CHAPTER. COMPOUND VERBS.

537. Compound verbs are made by adding to the principal verb, which takes the form of the conj. part. (§ 490) or the oblique infin. (§ 485) or the adj. part. (§ 486), certain auxiliary verbs. In conjugating, the latter only are inflected, while the former remains unchanged.

538. The verbs most commonly used as auxiliaries to form such comp. verbs are:

a) For making *intensitives*; देब् *to give* (implying intensity), डालब् *to throw* (violence); धाइब् *to come* and जाइब् *to go* (completion); परब् (or W. H. पड़°) *to fall* (chance); उठब् *to rise* (suddenness); लेब् *to take* (reflexiveness). In such intensitive comp. verbs the auxil. verb has no significance of its own, but merely serves to modify the meaning of the principal verb. The latter takes the form of the conj. part. Thus, फेँकब् *to throw*, but फेँक् देब् *to throw away*; तोड़् डालब् *to break into pieces*, from तोड़ब् *to break*; बन् धाइब् or बन् जाइब् *to be made up, completed*, from बनब् *to be made*; खाए् जाइब् *to eat up*, from खाइब् *to eat*; धाए् परब् *to come accidentally, to turn up*, from धाइब् *to come*; बोल् उठब् *to speak suddenly*, from बोलब् *to speak*; काट् लेब् *to cut for oneself*, from काटब् *to cut*; रख् लेब् *to place for oneself, to lay by*, from रखब् *to place*.

b) For making *continuatives*; रहब् *to remain* and जाइब् *to go*. In composition with रहब्, the principal verb may take the form either of the conj. or the adj. pres. part.; in conjunction with जाइब्, it may have only the form of the latter participle. Thus, बइठ् रहब् or बइठत् रहब् *to continue sitting*; again पढ़त् जाइब् *to continue reading*.

c) For making *frequentatives*; करब् *to do*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ै करब् or पढ़बे क° *to read often*; धावै करब् or धइबे क° or ऐबे क° *to be in the habit of coming*.

d) For making *potentials*; सकब् *to be able*, जानब् *to know*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. or, less usually, of the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ सकब् or पढ़ै स° or पढ़बे स° *to be able to read*; खइबे जानब् or खैबे ज° *to be able to eat*.

e) For making *completives*; चुकब् *to finish*. The principal verb takes the form of the conj. part. Thus पढ़ चुकब् *to finish reading*, खाए् चुकब् *to finish eating*.

f) For making *desideratives*; चाहब् (or चाहब्) *to wish*. The principal verb takes the form of the adj. past part. or the obl. infin. Thus, पढ़ल् चाहब् or पढ़ै इ° or पढ़बे इ° *to wish to read*.

Very often these derivatives are idiomatically used to express merely *immediate futurity*, as घडो वतल् झाहल् वाटे *the clock is about to strike*; वेरू बिसवे झाहेला *the time is about to pass*.

g) For making *inchoatives*; लागव् *to be applied* and होइव् *to become*. The latter occurs only in the past tense भयल् *he became*, and, in composition with it, the principal verb takes the form of the adj. pres. part., as पडून् भयल् *he began to read*. With लागव् it takes the form of the obl. inf., as पढे लागव् or पढ्वे ल° *to begin to read*.

h) For making *permissives*; देव् *to give*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढे देव् or पढ्वे देव् *to allow to read*; यावे देव् or यइवे द° or ऐवे द° *to allow to come*.

i) For making *acquisitives*; पाइव् *to obtain*. The principal verb takes the form of the obl. inf. Thus, पढे पाइव् or पढ्वे प° *to be allowed to read*.

539. *Affinities and Derivation.* 1) The form of the principal verb in intens., contin., potent. and complet. compound verbs is not, as sometimes said (see Kl. 188—191. Eth. 102. 103. Ld. 70), the root of the verb, but the conj. part. This can be clearly seen in E. H., especially in the case of verbs with vocal roots, where the root and the conj. part. have different forms; e. g., *to eat up* is खाउ (conj. part.) झाइव्, not खा (root) झाइव्; but also in others; e. g., फेंके देव् or फेंक् द° *to throw away*. In fact, these compounds literally mean *to come after having eaten*; *to give after having thrown*. Thus, लेवावे lit. means *to come after having taken*, i. e., *to bring*; पढे चुकव् or पढ् च° *to give up after having read*, i. e., *to have done with reading*. The H. H., too, has preserved the full conj. part. form in its causals, where it optionally adds व् to roots in खा (see Kl. 188. 192); e. g., खवाव् देना or खवा द° *to show*. Again O. H. always uses the conj. part. in its original form in इ; as पढि चुकन् *to have done reading*. Finally M. uses in these compounds the conj. part. in ऊन्; e. g., टाकून् देणे° *to cast away*, घेऊन् येणे° *to bring*, lit. *having taken* (from घेणे° *to take*) *to come* (see Man. 92); and likewise B. uses the conj.

part. in इया, G. in ई, S. in ई or इ, O. in इ; e. g., B. खाइया चूकन् *to have done eating* (S. C. 193); G. नाखी देवुं *to throw away* (Ed. 113); S. वही वञणु *to take off*, करे चुकणु *to have done doing* (Tr. 339. 342), O. करि थाउँ *I am in the habit of doing* (Sn. 42). In the ordinary P., as in H. H., the form of the conj. part. does not differ from that of the root; e. g., वाच् सकणा *to be able to read*, खा हटणा *to finish eating* (Ld. 70, d). — 2) As regards those compounds in which the principal verb takes the form of the obl. infin., the latter is the acc. case of the infin. governed by the auxil. verb. Thus पढ़ै करब् *to read often* is lit. *to do reading*, मरबै हाल्ब् *to be about to die* is lit. *to desire dying*. This is clearly seen from the O., which actually adds the acc. affix कु to the obl. inf. मरिबा कु चाहि *I desire to die*, करिबा कु लगि *I begin to do* (Sn. 41. 12). The termination of the obl. inf. is वा in G., इबा in P., ण in S.; e. g., G. जोवा लाग्यो *he began to see* (Ed. 51), P. पढ़िबा करदा *he is in the habit of reading* (Ld. 70, e), S. रुअण लगणु *to begin to cry* (Tr. 344, 4). The B. alone forms an exception, in using the obl. form of the pres. part. in इते (or the adverbial part.) in the place of the obl. inf.; e. g., B. मरिते चाहि *I desire to die*, करिते पारि *I am able to do* (S. Ch. 192, 4. 5). Kellogg's conjecture (p. 192), that the H. H. form in या (as पढ़ा करना *to be in the habit of reading*) is not the masc. sing. of the past part. but a „gerund" (i. e., obl. infin.) and identical with the B. obl. inf. in या (S. C. 149), is quite true. — 3) In those compounds, where the principal verb is in the form of an adj. part., the latter really stands in the position of a *predicate* to the subject or object of the (auxil.) verb. Thus ऊ पढ़न् जात् बाटे *he continues reading* is lit. *he is going as a reader*, or ऊ मर‍ल् चाहत् बाटे *he wishes to die* is lit. *he wishes (himself) as dead*. It appears, therefore, that, strictly speaking, none of these so-called compound verbs are really compounds, but in every case the part. or infin. of the principal verb is in ordinary grammatical construction of some sort with the (so-called) auxil. verb. — 4) These various comp. verbs occur in all Gd. languages, and are generally

formed in the same way, though sometimes a different auxil. verb is used. Thus B. and O. use पाउ *cross* for सक् in potent. (S. Ch. 192, 4. Sn. 41, 2), B. थाक्, O. था *stand* for रह् in contin. and for कर् in frequent. (S. Ch. 191, 1. 192, 3. Sn. 42); P. has हर् *with draw*, S. वर् *take*, beside चुक्, in complet. (Tr. 342, c. Ld. 70, d); S. वञ् *go* for हा in intens. (Tr. 339, a). One exception has been already mentioned in Nro. 2. — 5) Traces of these comp. verbs already occur in Prâkrit. Thus there are desideratives in the *Bhagavati*, made by constructing the R. इच्छ *wish* with the past part. pass. in इय; e. g., इच्छामि सयम् एव मुंडाविय सयम् एव सिक्खाविय सयम् एव धम्मम् आइक्खिय, i. e., *I wish myself to shave, myself to instruct, myself to teach the law*, E. H. इछो आपछो मूँडल् आपछो सिखावल् आपछो धाम् कै आयसु दिहल्: See Wb. Bh. 275. 433[1]).

FIFTH SECTION. INDECLINABLES.

540. There are four kinds of indeclinables or words incapable of inflexion: 1) adverbs, 2) postpositions, 3) conjunctions, 4) interjections.

1. ADVERBS.

541. Adverbs may be either nominal, pronominal, numeral, verbal or original, according as they are derived from nouns, pronouns, numbers, verbs or from none of these. Again each of these classes may be divided into adv. of time, place and manner. Most adv. are native Hindí, but there are a very few of foreign

1) आइक्खिय may be derived from R. आ-दिस् (or आ-दिख्, for Skr. आ-दिश्, cf. Pr. देक्ख = दृक्ष्, for Skr. दृश्) „to instruct, to initiate". — The E. H. root झाह् or चाह् may be better derived from the noun इच्छा, by the loss of initial इ and the transfer of the aspiration of इ (§. 132). Thus Skr. *इच्छायति, Pr. इच्छाअइ, Gd. झाऐ or चाहै or झाहै. Accordingly § 173 should be corrected.

origin, whose native equivalents are obsolete. Again most adv. consist of only *one* word; but there are some that consist of a phrase or of a repetition of the original word. The following list of adv. lays no claim to completeness. The Sanskrit or foreign source of each is added in brackets.

542. *Nominal adverbs of time.* 1) तरसौं *four days ago or four days hence* (for चरसौं? Skr. चतुर्-श्वस्); तरसौं *three days ago or three days hence* (Skr. त्रि-श्वस्); परसौं *the day before yesterday or the day after to-morrow* (Skr. पर-श्वस्); काल् or कालह or कालिह *yesterday or to-morrow* (Skr. कल्य); बिहान् *to-morrow, at daybreak* (Skr. विभात); आजु or अजहा *to-day* (Skr. अद्य); अजौं *hitherto* (Skr. अद्यापि); परयाउ *the past year* (Skr. पर-काल or पर-वार, cf. §§ 69. 30); तरके or भिनुसार *at daybreak, at down* (W. H. तड़के, Skr. तटक, भिन्-वासर); नित्र *always* (Skr. नित्य); आगू or आगे *before* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पाछू or पाछे or पाछैं *afterwards* (§§ 77, exc. 78, exc.); पुन् or फुन् or फिन् (§§ 61. 131) or बहुरि *again* (Skr. पुनर्, बहु); निदान् *lastly* (Skr. dto). — 2) Adverbial phrases; भो दिन् or पर् के दिन् *yesterday* (lit. *that day or day of before*); लोहिया लागत् (lit. *becoming red*) or भिंसुधारे (lit. *on clearing off of darkness*) *at down, early*; दिन् चढ़ू के (lit. *the day having risen*) *late in the morning*; सब् दिन् *always* (lit. *every day*); बहुत् बेर् *frequently*; एक् बेर् *once* (etc., see § 409); आज् काल् or इन्हन् दिन् *now-a-days*. — 3) Repetitions; दिन् दिन् *every day*; कबहों कबहों or कब्बो कब्बो *sometimes*; बार् बार् *frequently*. — 4) Foreign; आखिर् *lastly* (arabic آخر).

543. *Nominal adverbs of place.* 1) अगारी or अगार् *before* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); पछारी or पछार् or पछवारे or पिछ° *behind* (§§ 210. 77, exc. 78, exc.); उपरिया *above* (Skr. उपरि); नीचू or निचइया *below* (Skr. नीच, of नि-अंच्); संमुहू or सामुहू *in front* (Skr. सम्मुख); बहिरि or बहिर् *without* (see § 217, p. 110); बीचे or बीचू *amidst* (Skr. वृत्त, of वृ *surround*, cf. § 374, p. 223, or from वि-अंच् *surround*); नगीच् or नगीचे (see § 545) or नियरे or नेरे or नियर् *near* (Skr. निकट, cf. § 104); कौहू or लागे *far* (see §§ 172. 144); सबत्रर् *every where* (Ap. Pr. सबत्र, Skr. सर्वत्र). — 2) Phrases; काले कोस् *far* (lit. *some*

miles = W. H. किते क्रोस्, Skr. कियत्-क्रोश, Pr. काला, H. C. 3, 65, cf. §§ 438, 4. 464).

544. *Nominal adverbs of manner.* 1) अचानक् (Skr. अचेतनक?) or संजोग (Skr. संयोग) *accidentally, suddenly*; अलग् *separately* (Skr. अलग्न); बहुत् *much* (Skr. बहुत्र); हालो or हलदे or तुरंत् *quickly* (see § 545); तावड़तोड़् *very quickly*; साँच *truly* (Skr. सत्य); अकारण् (§ 545) or बिथो (Skr. वृथा) *in vain*; नीमन् (Skr. निगमन?) or नीके (persian نیک) *well*; निर्फुल् or केवल् *merely* (Skr. dto); बड़् *very* (§ 145, exc. 2); सभिहैं or सम्मैं *altogether* (Skr. सर्व). — 2) Phrases; कर्म् से *accidentally* (lit. *by fate*); आपुस् से *mutually*; similarly, by adding रीति से or भाँति से or तरह् (arab. طرح) *in ... manner*, adverbs may be formed from any adj., as भले रीति से *in a good manner, well*. — 3) Repetitions; अलग् अलग् *severally*; रसे रसे or गवैं गवैं or धीरे धीरे or कले कले *slowly, by and by*; साची साचा *truly*; लग् भग् *almost*; फूँठ मूँठ *falsely*; सचे मुच् *surely*. — 4) Foreign; ज़रूर् *necessarily* (arab. ضرور); जलदी *quickly* (pers. خلدی); कम् *a little* (pers. کم); खालो *only* (pers. خالی); अदब् दे के *especially* (lit. *giving respect*; arab. ادب); आस्ते आस्ते or अस्ते अस्ते *slowly* (pers. آهسته).

545. *Derivation.* Adverbs in ए or ऐ or ई are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in अहिं, as explained in §§ 77, exc. 378. — Adverbs in उ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. sing. in अहुं, see §§ 78, exc. 376. 378. — Adv. in इ are modifications of the Ap. Pr. loc. sing. in ए or इ, see §§ 45. 378; e. g., Skr. कल्ये, Pr. कल्ले, Ap. कल्ले or कल्लि, E. H. काल्लि or काल्हि. — Adv. in *a* quiescent are modif. of the Ap. Pr. acc. sg. or loc. sg.; see §§ 41. 45; e. g., Skr. कल्यं, Pr. कल्लं, E. H. काल्; the latter, however, might have arisen by the quiescence of the final इ in the Ap. Pr. कल्लि or E. H. काल्लि. — The element °सो (in पासो, etc.) appears to be the contraction of an Ap. Pr. abl. or loc. सहुं (see § 376), of सो (Skr. वृः), formed irregularly after the analogy of nouns (e. g., abl. दिवसहुं, of दिवसो *day*). — E. H. थवा is derived with the pleon. suff. वा from थात्, and थतवा is contr. to थात्, see § 199. — E. H. निसार् contains an anomalous meta-

thesis of था, if it is correctly derived from Skr. भिन्नवासर् „broken day", „day-break"; whence Pr. *भिण्णवासार or *भिण्णोसार, E. H. भिनुसार्. — In फिर् and फुर् the फ् and र् are, perhaps, assimilations to पिर् (§ 547); S. has regularly पिण्ण or पुण्ण or पुणु (Tr. 410). — E. H. बहुरि is formed by the addition of the pleon. suff. र् to Skr. बहु, just as in E. H. आहिरि, see §§ 543. 217. — E. H. धमार्, पहार्, etc. contain the pleon. suff. अड्ड (i. e., क + ड + क), as explained in §§ 210. 217. — E. H. उपरिया and निचइया contain the pleon. suff. इया, see § 199. — E. H. नगीच् is, probably, a corruption of the persian نزدیک, which may be heard in Hindi as नज़ीक् (see § 21, 2), and whence by transposition (see § 133) would arise नगीज़्; the क् being now medial, is regularly softened to ग्, see § 102. — E. H. हालो and हलदे are really W. Gd. adverbs; the former is the conj. part., the latter the obl. form of the pres. part. of the verbal root हाल् (M.), हल् (P.), हल् (S.), हिल् or हल् (H.) *move, go.* Thus conj. part. S. हलीं (Tr. 313), pres. part. हलन्दे (Tr. 313), P. हल्दे. — E. H. तुरंत् is the pres. part. of the verbal root त्वर् or तुर् *be quick.* — E. H. धकारथ् is regularly derived from the Skr. धकृतार्थ *having one's object not done, unsuccessful,* Pr. धकअत्थ or Ap. Pr. धकअत्थ, whence contr. E. H. धकार्थ् or धकारथ् (see §§ 137. 138).

546. The *pronominal* and *numeral adverbs* have been already enumerated in §§ 467—469 and in §§ 402. 417. 419 respectively.

547. *Verbal adverbs.* Many conjunctive participles may be used as adverbs; e. g., फिर् or फिर् के *again* (Skr. परि-इ *go round*), मिलि or मिल् के *together*, ज्ञान् के *knowingly*, हालो *quickly* (§ 545), etc. By the addition of the conj. part. कर् के or कै के *having done* to nouns, adjectives and numerals adverbial phrases may be formed; e. g., खुसी कर् के *gladly* (lit. *having made joy*); एक् एक् कै के *singly* (lit. *having made one by one*), etc.

548. *Particles of affirmation and negation.* The former are तौ or तौ तौ or जो or हौं or हाँ *yes*, काह् or काहे lit. *why not.* The latter are न or नाँह् or नाँहि or नाँही or नाहिन् *no, not.*

The prohibitive particle is तिन् *do not*, used with the imper. only. Thus ऐसन् तिन् करहु *do not act thus*, but ऍ॰ न or नाँही॰ क॰ *you do not act thus*.

549. *Affinities and Derivation.* तौ is a contr. of the Pr. ताव (Vr. 4, 6), Skr. तावत्. — E. H. तो, S. तोड (Tr. 419) is the Skr. तोव, used (like Skr. भाग, E. H. थाप्) as a term. of respect and, hence, of assent; cf. the English „sir". — The other affirm. and negat. particles were originally various forms of the auxiliary verb „to be". Thus E. H. हौं and हौं॰, S. हउ or हौं (Tr. 418), B. हौं or हुँ (S. Ch. 218) are the 1. sing. pres.; see § 514, 4. The 3. sing. pres. occurs in S. थाँहि (Tr. 418) and M. होए (Man. 101). B. also uses the 3. sing. pres. थाके of the other auxil. verb, see § 514, 1. The particles नाँह or नाँहि are compounds of the negative particle न and the 3. sing. pres. थाहि *he is* (§ 514, 4); similarly नाँहो॰ and नाहिन् are compounds of न and the 3. plur. pres. थाहो॰ and थहिन्; नाहिं occurs in Pr. (H. C. 4, 419). As to the anunásika preceding ह, see § 67. All these particles, however, are now used without respect to the person and number originally expressed by their form. — Instead of the E. H. तिन्, W. H. uses मत् or मति, S. म (Tr. 415), G. मा (Ed. 115); in Pr. मा or मं or म (H. C. 4, 418). Skr. मा.

550. *Particles of emphasis.* These are ई or ही *only, very* and उ or हुँ *also*. They are always used enclitically and often coalesce with the final अ of the principal word to ए or ओ. E. g., क बाबू एहू पारी खाली रावैं बनबैब की गूरौ। i. e., *what, father! shall you, this time, make only syrup or also molasses*; here रावैं = राव ई, and गूरौ (or गूडौ) = गूर उ.

551. *Affinities and Derivation.* ई is, perhaps, connected with the Skr. एव, Pr. येव or विव (Vr. 9, 3); but as the true Pr. form is चेव, चिव (H. C. 2, 184), the derivation is doubtful. O. has इ or हिं or हे॰ (Su. 48), M. ही (Man. 101), H. H. ही. — E. H. उ, B. ओ (S. Ch. 237) are modifications of the Pr. वि, Skr. अपि (or उपि); Pr. has also पि (H. C. 2, 218); S. preserves both वि and पि (Tr. 410), and even aspirates भि or भी (Tr. 410); so also H. H. भी.

552. *Particles of interrogation.* क *what*; e. g., क बाबू ! का कौल । i. e., *what, father! what are you doing?*

553. *Affinities and Derivation.* S. uses कि or की (Tr. 418), B. कि (S. Ch. 218), W. H. कि, क्यूँ. They are all connected with the interrogative pronom. base, see §§ 437, 5. 467, d.

2. POSTPOSITIONS AND AFFIXES.

554. Postpositions supply in E. H. (and Gd. generally) the place of what, in other languages, are prepositions. They are placed after the noun or pronoun which they govern; and the noun or pronoun takes the oblique form with or without the genitive affix कै or के. Postpositions constructed without a gen. aff. are *affixes* (§ 374, p. 222).

555. The following postpositions are commonly constructed without a gen. aff.; तरे *beneath* (Skr. तल *bottom*); पाही (§§ 77, exc. 116. 375) or कने (§ 375) *at, near*; माँ or माँही or माँफ़् *in, within* (§ 378); ले (conj. part. of R. लग़् *take*) or तक़् (dto of R. तक़् *see*) *till*; संगे or संग़् *with* (Skr. सङ्ग); काहों *towards* (§§ 375. 116).

556. The following postpositions are commonly constructed with a gen. aff.; लगि *near, at* (§ 374); साथे *with* (Skr. संख्य); सनती (often spelled सन्ती, cf. § 6, note) or पलटे *instead of* (§ 557); बाटे or बाहे or बरे or बदे *for, by reason of* (§ 374); थोर् (Skr. थवर्) or मुहें (Skr. मुख) *towards*; नाँई *like* (§ 557); besides many of the adverbs, enumerated in §§ 541—544. Also खातिर् *for, by reason of* (arab. خاطر).

557. *Affinities and Derivation.* Most of these have mentioned in §§ 374 ff. — The origin of बाटे is obscure; it is probably derived from the Skr. वर्त्त *being*; cf. the Pashtu *vatah*; or perhaps it may be a corruption of the Urdú वास्ते (arab. واسطى), see § 143; it is peculiar to E. H.; the W. H. has लिये. — E. H. बदे is sometimes used like the arabic بدل *in exchance for*. — E. H. सनती lit. *sacrifice, substitute*, see § 18, p. 23. — E. H. पलटे is Skr. पर्यस्ते *in return for*, see § 143. — नाईं is probably connected with the root ज्ञा *know*; the Pr. has नाइ् or नावइ् (H. C. 4, 444).

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

558. *Copulative conjunctions*; अउर् or ओर् or अर् (§§ 5, b. 26) or ओ *and*; पुन् or पुनि or फुनि or फिन् *moreover*; का — का *as well — as.*

559. *Affinities and Derivation.* E. H. ओर्, अर्, Bs. ओर् or ओर् is the Pr. अवर् or Ap. अवरु, Skr. अपर्; B. has आर् (S. Ch. 237), Br. अरु, H. H. और्, P. अर् (Ld. 71), N. र्. The latter rejects the initial अ (of अर्) and is used enclitically; e. g., उन् ले ताने — र् भन्या *he knew and said*, or उठ — र् माँक या उभि *get up and stand in the middle!* — E. H. अउ or ओ, B. ओ, also compounded आरओ or आरो (S. Ch. 237), O. आउ or ओ (Sn. 46), M. व (Man. 103), Br. ओ, S. अउं (Tr. 410), are, probably, the Pr. अवि (H. C. 1, 41), Skr. अपि or अपिच. — S. has also अइं or एं (Tr. 410), P. अति or ति, O. H. (Chand) ति = Pr. अइ or ति, Skr. अति. — M. has also आणि or आणखी (Man. 103), G. अने or ने (Ed. 117); they are probably the Pr. अण° or अन्°, Skr. अन्यत् or अन्याच lit. *another*. — E. H. पुनि, etc. (§§ 61. 131), O. पुणि (Sn. 46), S. पुणि or पिणि or पुणु (Tr. 410), are the Pr. पुणो or पुणु (Spt. 276. H. C. 4, 426), Skr. पुनर्. — W. H. has क्या — क्या *as well — as*, S. तिअं — तिअं (Tr. 410).

560. *Adversative conjunctions*; अरकि or आकि or अरुक् (§ 561), लेकिन् (arab. لیکن), पर् पै, अरन् *but.*

561. *Affinities and Derivation.* अरकि etc. are corruptions of the Persian بلکه, see § 143; W. H. अलकि, आकि, अलुक् (Kl. 276), P. वरक् (Ld. 71). — E. H. पर् is the Skr. परम्, Pr. परं; also W. H., P., S. पर्; on E. H., W. H. पै see § 124; P. has also अपर् or ऐपर् (Ld. 71) = Skr. अपरम्. — E. H. अरन्, W. H. अरण, P. अरं is Skr. अरम् or आरणम्. — W. H. has also मगर्, P. मगर्रं or मगो (Ld. 71), S. मगरि (Tr. 412) = Pers. مگر. — O. has पुणि (Sn. 46), M. पण (Man. 103), G. पण (Ed. 117), S. पण (Tr. 412) = Pr. पुणु, Skr. पुनर्. — N. has तर्, also M. तर (Man. II, 26), probably a corruption of Skr. तर्हि (or of तरम् *beyond, across*). — S. has also त्रिमिरि (Tr. 412), a corruption of the arab. بغیر; also हयरं or हयो (Tr. 413), apparently connected with Skr. हस्त. — H. H., H. B., etc. use the Skr. परन्तु, किन्तु, etc.

562. *Disjunctive conjunctions*; यो or की *or, either-or*; e. g., क! ई लेब्रइ की उ *will you take this or that*; बहेरा यो बहेरी *a colt or a filly*; न — न or न तौ — न *neither-nor*; e. g., न तौ ई लेब्यो न उ *I shall take neither this nor that*; चाहे — चाहे or की — की *whether-or*; e. g., चाहे ई ले चाहे उ *take either this or that* (2. sg. imp.) or *whether he take this or that* (3. sg. pres. conj.).

563. *Affinities and Derivation.* E. H. यो is the Pr. व or वा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. वा; H. H., H. B., H. O., etc. have वां, also थवा; the latter is preserved in O. थवा, contr. form Pr. थहवा (H. C. 1, 67), Skr. थवा. — E. H. की, B. कि (S. Ch. 240), O. कि or किं थवा (Sn. 46), M. कीं (Man. 103), W. H. कि, P. के or थके (Ld. 71), S. कि or की (Tr. 412), N. कि are probably the Pr. किं, Skr. किम् *what*. — E. H. चाहे is the 3. sg. pres. conj. of the verb चाहब् *to desire*. — B. also uses हयु-नयु *either-or* (S. Ch. 240), S. तोॾे-न त or तोपो-न त or ताँ-ताँ (Tr. 412); B. ना-ना or नयु-नयु *neither-nor* (S. Ch. 240), P. ना-ना (Ld. 81). — S. has ताँ *or* (Tr. 412). — W. H. and P. also use या, arabic ﻳﺎ (Kl. 275. Ld. 71).

564. *Conditional and concessive conjunctions*; तौ or ते *if*, तौ *then*; तौ *although*, तब्यो *yet, nevertheless*.

565. *Affinities.* 1) Condit.; B. ज़हि — तब्रे or तो (S. Ch. 238), O. ज़ेब्रे — तेब्रे (Sn. 46), M. जर् — तर् (Man. II, 17), W. H. ज़ौ or ज़ो — तौ or तो, P. ज़े or ज़े करु — तां (Ld. 71), G. ज़े or ज़ो — तो (Ed. 117), S. ज़े or ज़े कर् — त or तां (Tr. 417), N. भन्या — ता. — 2) Concess.; B. ज़हियो — तब्रेश्रो or तबुश्रो or तरु (S. Ch. 240), O. ज़ेब्रे — तेब्रे or तेब्रेहे" (Sn. 46), M. जरी" or जरो — तरी" or तरी (Man. II, 17), W. H. (Br.) ज़ौ हूँ — तौ हूँ (Kl. 275), P. भावें" — तां भी (Ld. 71), S. तोउ or तोपो or ते or ते तोउ or ते तोपो — त or तां or त वि or तउहीं" वि (Tr. 411), N. ता — तर्.

566. *Derivation.* 1) Condit.; a) Skr. यदि (or यद्रा), Pr. जइ (Vr. 1, 11), E. H. ज़े, P., S. ज़े. — b) Skr. यर्हि (Pr. जहि?), M. जर्; similarly Skr. तर्हि (Pr. तहि?), M. and N. तर्. — c) Skr. यावत्, Pr. जाव (H. C. 1, 11) or जाम्ब (H. C. 4, 395) or ज़ेम्ब (H. C. 4, 401), E. H. and W. H. ज़ौ, G. ज़ो or S. ज़ां (see § 563) or O. ज़ेब्रे (§ 468, c); similarly Skr. तावत्, Pr. ताव or ताम्ब or तेम्ब, E. H., W. H. तौ, B., W. H., G. तो or P. तां, S. तां or (shortened) त,

N. ता or O. तेब्बे, B. (shortening ए) तब्बे. — d) The N. भन्या is the conj. part. of the verb भन्नु *to say* (Skr. भणित्वा), and is always placed at the end of the conditional sentence; thus, यहाँ कल्याण् छो पुत्र ह भन्या, ता तिमिहरू को कल्याण् उस् माथि रहला है; न भन्या, ता फर् कि थाउला, i. e., *if* (lit. *having said that*) *a son of peace be there, then your peace will remain upon him; if not, then it will again come.* — 2) The concessive conj. are made by adding to the condit. conj. some emphatic particle (see § 550); thus a) यो or उ in B. तहियो, Ap. Pr. तहिवि, Skr. यद्यपि; B. तब्बेयो = Pr. तेव्वइ वि, Skr. तावत्यपि (loc. sg.); B. तबु, E. H. तब्बो for तब्ब + उ. — b) हूँ in W. H. तौ हूँ, तौ हूँ. — c) ई or हो in M. तरी or तरी for तरि-ई, तरी or तरी for तरि-ई. — d) वि or भी in S. त वि, P. तां भी, H. H. तौ भी. — e) The emph. particle is reduplicated in O. तेब्बेहे for ते-ब्बे-हे, S. तउहो-वि for तउ-हो-वि. — f) The P. भावें is the Skr. भावेन *indeed, truly*; similarly N. uses ता, E. H., W. H. etc. तो or तो; e. g., N. म ता परमेश्वर् देखि डराउँदि न, तर् म दिउँला, i. e., *I indeed am not afraid of god, yet I shall give.*

567. *Causal and final conjunctions*; a) तो or तेह् ले *since, therefore.* — b) तेह् ले or तेह् ले *therefore.* — c) काहे की *because, for.* — d) तेह् ले *in order that, so that.* — e) का ज्ञाने *lest.* — f) नाही तो *else*, otherwise (lit., *if not, then*).

568. *Affinities and Derivation.* a) B. ज्ञाइ — ताइ or ताइ ते (S. Ch. 239), O. ज्ञणु — तेणु (Sn. 46), W. H. ज्ञिस् ते — तो, P. ज्ञां — तां, S. ज्ञो — सो or ज्ञेलां — तेलां, etc. (see Tr. 414. 415); not uncommonly paraphrased, e. g., B. and O. ज्ञे हेतु — ते हेतु, M. ज्ञापल्लो — त्यापल्लो, N. ज्ञस् कारण् — तस् कारण्, etc. — b) B. एमन् से or एमन् से, O. एणु, एनिमन्ते, M. त्यास् or ह्यणून्, W. H. ज्ञिस् ते or तिस् ते, P. तां, S. सो (Tr. 415); or paraphrased, e. g., B. ए ज्ञन्ये, ए निमित्ते (S. Ch. 239), O. ज्ञे हेतु (Sn. 46), N. यस् कारण्, etc. — c) B. केनना, M. कांकी, W. H. क्यों कि or क्यों कि, H. H. क्यूंकि, N. किन्; or paraphrased, e. g., B. कारण् कि, M. कारण् की, etc. — d) B. एमन् से, एमन् से (S. Ch. 238), W. H. ज्ञिस् ते, P. तां. — e) B. कि ज्ञानि, O. कि ज्ञाणि, H. H. क्या ज्ञाने, lit. *what do I* or *does he know*; or B. पाछे, lit. *afterwards* (S. Ch. 240); H. H. न हो कि, S. म इणो or म इणु, lit. *may*

it not be that (Tr. 415). — f) B. नए तो or न तु वा or नहि ले or ने ले (S. Ch. 240), O. न तु, न तु वा, नोहि ला (Sn. 46. 125), M. नाहीं तर (Man. 103), W. H. नाहो तो, S. म तर्‍ (Tr. 415). — Most of these conj. have a pronom. origin which has been explained in §§ 437. 469.

4. INTERJECTIONS.

569. The following are some of the most usual interjections; हे or हो or ओ or अरे or रे in addressing; राम् राम् in greeting; छी छी *fie! for shame*, in remonstrance; थुरी थुरी (or थुजे थ°) or थू थू *fit to be spitted on*, धिक्कार् *fit to be cursed* or *abused*, in disgust or abhorrence; हा हा or अहह or आपरे *ah! alas!*, in surprise or grief; वाह् वाह् in admiration; हाँए हाँए in sorrow; भला or अहा *well!* in consent; दुर् or दूर् हो *be off!*; ले *lo!*

570. *Affinities and Derivation.* These interj. are common to all Gds. — Some occur in Pr.; e. g., छि छि and धिग् धिक् (H. C. 2, 174); थू थू (H. C. 2, 200), which, by adding the pleon. suff. री or जे, becomes थुरी थुरी; हा हा, अहह (H. C. 2, 217); अरे, रे (H. C. 2, 201); हे, हो (H. C. 2, 217?); हाँए हाँए is probably the Pr. and Skr. हा (H. C. 2, 192). — आपरे is probably आप् रे *oh father!*

SIXTH SECTION. SPECIMENS OF EAST HINDÍ.

1. VOCABLES AND PHRASES.

571. The following nouns, current in E. H., are, I believe, not mentioned in any Hindí dictionary.

अदृदहा *weak*	इन्हन्[1]) *fuel* (*of grass*, etc.)	उजर्[1]) *white*
अहिवाती *wife*		ओघट् *wet*
इनारा *a well*	उजड्[1]) or उजबक् *rude*	ओट् *soft*

1) Bate in his Hindí dictionary gives: इन्धन्, उज्जल, उकड.

कचलोह् *unripe*
कड्वात् *sweepings*
कड्या *black*
कुनह् [1]) *enemy*
कोँहडो *sweet pumpkin*
खनहन् *good*
खब्बाड् or खब्बू *glutton*
खरखुट्ट *sweepings*
खरपात् *dried leaves*
गउटा or गब्बटा *fool*
गउडो *cavity*
गड्हाखसंत् [2]) *fool*
गर् *heavy*
गाँबँई *village*
गोईँठा *fuel of cowdung*
गोहार् *calling*
घटिहा *worthless*
घमोच् *fool*
चउखा [1]) *quadruped*
चिपरा or °रो *fuel of cowdung*
चिरई *bird*
चोमर् *hard*
चोक् *excellent*
झाईपोई *family, race*
तावत् *all*
तावत् तगत् *every body*
तूजास् or तूजो *coldness*
ते ँवाए *husband*
कूर् *dry*
ठउर् [1]) *place*
ठंठई *coldness*
उरपोँक [3]) *cowardly*
उहर् or उँडो *footpath*
धूमोस् *dirty*
निउरा or नेथोरा *finished*
निचाए *solitary*
नेबर् *bad*
पगडंडी [1]) *footpath*
पताई *dried leaves*
परसिवा *neighbouring*
पाकर् *clever*
पराए की बात् [4]) *nonsense*
पालो *tree (branch?)*
पीयल् *yellow*
पुरा *village*
पेटास् *glutton*
पोँका *wet*
पोँच् *bad*
फोर् *hard*
बतोलिया *buffoon*
बरधा *ox, bullock*
बाबू or बापू *father*
बिगत् *individual*
बिपत् महा [5]) *miserable*
बिरई or बीरो *small plant*
भइया् *sister*
भकुवा *simpleton*
भयो *younger brother's wife*
भतने *sister's son or husband's sister's son*
भीख् *alms*
भीखार् *beggar*
भुखर् *hungry*
भुलकर् *negligent*
मंउवी *company*
मटमइल् *dirty*
मनई *man*
मनसेरू *man*
मिरकुटहा *weak*
रचिक् *little*
लउर् *long, heavy stick*
ललतहा *weak*
लेतुर् or °रो *cord, string*
संघत् *friendship*
संघती *friend*
सधुअई *honesty*
सुकाख् *sight*
सुबीता or °भीता *convenient*
सूखल् *dry*
सेवर् *unripe*
हरीयर् [1]) *green*

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1) Bate in his H. dict.: कुन्ह, चौवा, ठौर, पगडंडी, हरियर्.
2) Lit., *sitting on an ass.*
3) Lit., *wet with fear.*
4) Lit., *word of irrelevancy.*
5) Lit., *stricken with misfortune.*

2. DIALOGUES[1]).

a) Between two friends.

1. Q. कह भाई! कहाँ से आवत बाट? A. परसिया गाँवें से आईला. — 2. Q. उँहाँ से कब चलल? A. भिनुसारे के चलल् हई. — 3. Q. काहे बदे उहाँ गयल् रहल? A. उहाँ एक हमार खेत् बाय्, ओके देखे के. — 4. Q. धोंगे का बोवले बाट? A. बालो[1] रहर बोवल् बाय्. — 5. Q. कह, भैया, येह पारी के खेतो के हुब्! A. येह पारी के खेतो के हुब् का पूछत बाट? दैब् के आसले[2] बिना अउर हरज़[3] भयल्. — 6. Q. आज् काल् तोहरे भाई नाही देखैले[4] है[4]. A. हमरे भाई आज् काल् किला[5] मे नोकरू[6] बाटै; एहू बहुत कम्[7] आवैले. — 7. Q. तोहरे अउको गैया के का खबर[8] बाय्? A. अउको गैया आज् काल् गाभिन् बाय्; कोयू न मिलले[2] से हूर गइल् बाय्. — 8. Q. गाभिन् भैले[2] के महीना[9] भयल्? A. भयल् तो बाहू महीना, बाकि पेटू कुछ उभरल् नाही देख परत्. — 9. Q. कोदावत बाय् की नाही? A. हाँ कुछ कुछ ज्ञान परैला. — 10. Q. ई कौवा बियान् ही धौ केतना दूध् देले? A. ई अठवाँ बियान् होई; दूध् एकबेर दुइ अढाई सेरू देले. — 11. Q. हम् के एक बकरी खरीदै[11] के बाय्, से तोहरे गावें पर मिल् सकी? A. हमरे गाँवें पर तो बकरी बाटी[10], लेकिन्[10] दाम् बड़ तेज़[12] बाय्. — 12. Q. तोहार बकरिया कर्ं भइल्? A. हम् चौ के बदे ओके गाँवे पर छोउले रहीला. — 13. Q. कुछ दूध् देले? A. लउिकन् के पीये भर के मिल् जाला. — 14. Q. अबकी ऊख् बोवले बाट की नाही? A. ऊख् तो बोवले बाटी, बाकि धो मे कुछ फाइदा[13] नैखै. — 15. Q. तोहरे इहाँ से नाइ मोरू मँगनी मिल् सकी? A. काहे[14]? भराई होय् जाय्, तब ले ल[14]. — 16. Q. तोहरे इहाँ के पुरवट चलैला? A. तीन् पुरवट नधले बाटी. — 17. Q. तोहरे धान् के बरिया मे कुछ फर होला की नाही? A. अबकी तो बदरी से पेउन् मे लाही लग् गइल्; नाही तो बहुत होत् रहल्. — 18. Q. तोहू धान् हमहूँ के बँचाइ नावे के देत? A. जब् तोहार मन् होय्, तब् बाय् के तोउबाय्[15] ल्य. — 19. Q. तोहार लउिकवा कुछ पढ़ैला की नाही? A. हाँ, गुरू किहें[16] ला; अच्छार[17] तो चीन्ह गयल् बाय्; आज् काल् पहाडा पढ़त् बाय्. — 20. Q. पाठसाले मे नाही बैठाय् देत? A. कुछ पढ़

1) The following specimens of village-conversations were given to me by Pandit Gopâl Bhatta of Benares. The spelling is his, excepting the *virâmas* and interpunctuations which I have added.

ले, तब् बठैाए दे[18]ई. — 21. Q. हमहूँ अपने बेटौवा[19] के पाठसाले मे बैठाबब् चाहीला. A. बच्छा! हमरे लड़िका के संगे थोड़ू के बैठाए दीख.

Notes: 1) pers. خاڭ. 2) adverb. past part. 3) arab. خرج. 4) 3. pl. pres. ind. of the potent. pass. 5) arab. قاعده. 6) pers. نوکر. 7) pers. کم. 8) arab. خبر. 9) pers. صبحینا. 10) arab. لیکن. 11) pers. خرید, treated as a denom. root. 12) pers. تمیز. 13) arab. فایده. 14) 2. pl. imperative; or le lah or le lyah. 15) conj. part. of the double caus. 16) contr. for के इहाँ. 17) anomalous plur. of बच्छर, apparently made after Urdu (arabic) analogy, as हुकाम *orders*, pl. of हुकम. 18) 1. pl. pres. conj., used as future. 19) redundant form of बेटा.

b) Between master and servant.

1. Q. काल् लोहिया लागत् खेत् पर् जाये के होई. A. काहे के बदे? का, खेत् निरावे के? — 2. Q. हाँ, खेतौ निरावे के बउर बउके खेतवा मे हरौ चलावे के. A. कै मजूरा[1] कै काम् आए? — 3. Q. हैंठ से सपरै, तैंठे लगाए दीहे. A. धान् कै खेतवा भरहू के न होई. — 4. Q. कै दिन् मे भरल् जाई? A. दुइ दिन् कै काम् आए. — 5. Q. लवहू के दिन् तो आए गयल्. A. बच्छा, तब् ले चारु पाँच् मेहराहन् के ठहराए रक्खीला. — 6. Q. गैयन् के कोयरु दिहले, की नाहीं? A. घास् तो नाए दिहले रहली. — 7. Q. भूसौ लेआए के सानी चलाए दे; साँझ् भरल्. A. बेरु चिसवले, हम् बदे[2] रोटी खाये जाब्. — 8. Q. बच्छा, तब आए के ऐहे, तब गोहन् के गोसारी मे बाँधि दीहे. A. तोहरे बदे ई बेरा का खाये के होई? — 9. Q. माई से कहे[3] दीहे की रोटी पोए रखिहैं. A. खाली[4] रोटियै बैब? — 10. Q. बउर का? दूध् के संगे खाए लेब्. A. दाल् न होखी? — 11. Q. राति के हम् के दाल् नाही पचत्. A. जलही खाये जैह! नाही तो रोटी बुताए[4] जाई. — 12. Q. ना लेता, तैं तो जलही[5] खाए धाब्; बिना तोरे ऐले हम् न जाबैं. A. हम् तो जाते बाटीं; खाए के हालियै धाइब्. — 13. Q. भला, छोया के बदे कोठिला मे कुछ तब् आए की नाही? A. न होई, तो छोरे भइ के मोल् आए जाई. — 14. Q. केतना चाही छोवे के? A. एक् इ पसरी मे होए जाई. — 15. Q. काँकी न चाही छोवे के? A. काँक् तो चाहै तोहरे बखारु मे होए. — 16. Q. ई धरी देख् तो चारु बुन्दी कइ देलैं, तो बड़ बच्छा होत्. A. देख! मोसैयाँ कै मरजी[6] होई, तो बरस् दैहैं. — 17. Q. बदे! हाँ, काल् फारु के बदे थोरा लोहा खरीदे के आए. A. केतना लोहा चाही?

तोहरे घर से नैखे? — 18. Q. मतारी से पुछिहे तो. A. धान् तो पियरावल् आते से; साँफ् भइल् चाहेले. — 19. Q. हो! देख्! माई धावत् आए. A. एह् बेरा धावे के कौन् काम् रहल्? — 20. Q. ले! बेर् बिसवे चाहेला; तें ँ ढलही[5] हो! A. अच्छा, ले! तुहुँ आ! दिसा मैदान् से निपट् धाव.

Notes: 1) pers. مزدور. 2) old loc. 3) conj. part. 4) conj. part. of potent. pass. 5) pers. جلدی. 6) arab. مرضی.

c) Between two sisters.

1. Q. कह, बहिनी! एहबर् कहाँ गइल् रहल्ए? A. रहिला के साथ् खोंटे. — 2. Q. एह् पारी तोहरे खेतवा में जाली रहिले खोबल् आए? A. नाही, सदर् रहिला धउर् आरे. तीन् चीज़[1], खोबल् आए. — 3. Q. तोहार् दुलहा धात् काल् कहीं ँ बाहर् गयल् आहें ँ? A. नाही, घरही तो आहें ँ, लेकिन् खेत पर् बहुत् रहेलें ँ. — 4. Q. तूँ रसोइयाँ कब् करल्ए? A. दुपहर् के करीला; धब् हाथ् के, तब् करब्. — 5. Q. तोहार् बिरियवा तो नीके आए? A. हँ, आए धच्छीतरह्[2]. — 6. Q. तोहार् भैयवा[3] कुछ् दूध् देले की नाही? A. का कहीं ँ बहिनी? बहिले बियान् में तो कुछ् नाही दिहलेस्; धबकी बियान् में देखो ँ कुछ् देले की नाही. — 7. Q. केतना दिन् बियैले[4] भयल्? A. धबही ँ तो धात् पंचवाँ दिन् हो; धबही ँ थोकर् बहुत्रा धच्छी तरह्[2] चल् नाही सकत्. — 8. Q. खरी कराई पखेव धच्छी तरह्[2] पाई, तो दूध् देई. A. देवै के तो बिचार् आए. — 9. Q. थोहे घरवा में तुँहुँ ँ धकेल् रहल्ए[5] की थोरो केहू रहैला? A. नाही, हमहीं ँ धकेल् रहीला, लेकिन् चाहीला की थोरू केहू रहे धात्, तो मनसायन् होत्. — 10. Q. एको कोठरी हमरे रहै लाइक्[6] होए, तो हम् के,प. A. आए, लेकिन् होए आए, तोहार् निबाह् सो में न होई. — 11. Q. भला! कब्बहू तोहरे परोस में होई, तो हम् के बोलह्. A. काहे? जौने घरवा में तूँ रहेल्ए, तौने में कौनी दिकदारी[7] आए? — 12. Q. दिकदारी कबन् आए? भारा बहुत् लगेला. A. धच्छा! तो धाव, हमरे ही घर् में रह; कौनो तरह्[2] से निबाह् होए जाई. — 13. Q. भला बहिन्! बड़ किरपा कैल्ए; हम् बहुत् दिकदार्[7] रहलीं थोहे घर् से. A. धच्छा! तो कब् से रहे के धइब? — 14. Q. धब् तो खरवाँस् बितले बाद्[8] धच्छी साइत् देखवाए के धाइब. A. तहरू[9] धापे के बिचार् रखिह; हम् धपने मनसधू से कहे के घर् सफा[10] करवाए रखबए. — 15. Q. न जानीं, खरवाँस् केतने दिन् रही! A. रह! हमरे परोस् में एक् पंडित् रहेलें ँ; थोन्ह् से पूछ् के, तब् तोह से कहब.

Notes: 1) pers. چیز. 2) arab. طرح. 3) redundant form of

गई. 4) adverb. past part. of potent. pass. 5) shorter form of 2. pl. pres. ind. fem., for रहेलू. 6) arab. لايق. 7) arab. دق دارو. 8) arab. بعد. 9) arab. ضرور. 10) arab. صفا.

d) Between parents and son.

1. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! सबेर हो" उठ के उख के खेत देखे के चैह! A. धइ तो तोरहू के दिन् थायल्. — 2. Q. हाँ, लेकिन् कोल्हू के लाह टूट गइल बाय्; से बरीदे के होई. A. केतने दाम् पइ मिली? — 3. Q. थो कइ तैसन् लाह होय्, तैसन् दाम् लगै. A. कतरो बाय्, की उहो बरीदल् जाई? — 4. Q. कतरियो तो नाही बाय्, लेकिन् थो करे भइ के लाह बइ में होई; बरई बलबाय् के बनबाय् लिहल् जाई. A. क बाबू? येह पारी खाली राचे बनवैब की मुरी? — 5. Q. नाही, दूनो बनबाइब. A. धइ हम् खाब जात् बाही. — 6. Q. (Mother speaks): खाब, बेटा, तलदी खाये के! A. थात् का रसोई" कैले बारिस्? — 7. Q. थात रसोई" में दाल् रोटी अउर कोंहउरी भइल् बाय्. A. दूध बाय् की नाही? — 8. Q. गोइ एक् होई बाय्; पूत् बाँट के बाय् लीहा! A. बच्छा! गोइ धोवे के पानी भेजवाय् दे! — 9. Q. हे! इहाँ लोटा में पानी रक्खल् बाय्; गोइ धोव! A. अउको बरिया में हम् के परोसिहे! — 10. Q. अपने आपो के बलाय् लय! A. बच्छा! बलाय् लेआईला; थाव खाबू आवे! — 11. Q. (Father speaks): बेटा! तूं खाय् लय, तब् हम पीछे से खाब्. A. काँहे"? — 12. Q. अबही" बच्छो तरह से हम के भूख् नैखे. A. नाही"! माई बलावत् बाय्. — 13. Q. बच्छा ले! थावत् बाही. A. हे! गोइ धोवे के पानी धयल् बाय्. — 14. Q. बच्छा! परोसवाव! A. माई! रसोइयाँ थात् कौन् करत् हौ? — 15. Q. (Mother speaks): तोहार नेहर. A. थो के रोटी फुलावै नाही थावत्. — 16. Q. नाही" थावत्; तब्बो कबो नाही रहत्. A. पीढा धै दे! — 17. Q. तूं खाब, तो सहो! पीढा तो ईहँई" रक्खल् बाय्. A. ले! बाबुश्रो ऐलैं, हमहूँ ऐली; तलदी परोसे के कइ. — 18. Q. परोस् दे रे! A. दुइ बरिया, छोटी बड़ी परोस!

e) Between mother and boy.

1. Q. माई! खावे के दे! A. का कइबे? — 2. Q. का बाय् खावे के? A. रोटी बाय्; काहे से खइबे? — 3. Q. दूध बाय् की नाही? A. दूध तो रखा बाय्, लेकिन् नैनू बाय्; कहु, तो देई"; थोही से खाय् ले! — 4. Q. नैनू दूध के ही की दही के? A. नाही"! थात् सबेरे दही मह के निकलले

रहली. — 5. Q. लेआव. A. आली नैनुवे", की ओ मे कौनो मीठा मिलैवे? — 6. Q. कौन् मीठा आहै? A. राव् लेआई" की गुड़? — 7. Q. नाही! राबै लेआव! गुड़ हम् के नाही भावत्. A. अच्छा! ले! ते बैठु! हम् लेआईला. — 8. Q. जलदी लेआव; नाही तो ऊ लरिकवा आय् जाई. A. ते" गोड़ तो धोउ! हम् लेआईला. — 9. Q. दुइये रोटी ले ऐहे! A. ई काहे"? पेट भर आय् ले! रसोइयाँ के अबही" अबेर होई. — 10. Q. अच्छा! तोन् दे! A. ले! ओ!

f) Between two boys.

1. Q. का भाई! चलब खेले के? A. अबही" हम् खेली नाही"; आप् लेई", तब् चली". — 2. Q. कब् खेब? A. साँझे धावैले, तब् आईला[1]. — 3. Q. तोहार् साँई कहाँ गइल् आय्? A. गोहन् के कोयड़् देवे के. — 4. Q. तब् ले चल; खेल् आई". A. कौन् खेल् खेलब्? — 5. Q. लट्टू तोहरे पास् आय् की नाही? A. लट्टू तो आय्; लत्ती नैवे. — 6. Q. आव! लत्ती बनाई". A. कपडा कहाँ आय्? — 7. Q. कपडा बहुत् मिली. A. ल्या! साइयो आइल्; सब् आप् लेई"; तब् सुचित् से खेली". — 8. Q. तब् से हमहूँ घर से होए आईला[1]. A. तूँ काहे बदे घर जात् आह? — 9. Q. थोड़ एक् टूक धयल् आय्; से हमहूँ पी आई". A. तोहरे[2] टूक होला? — 10. Q. हाँ, आकेन्[3] गैया के टूक हौ. A. अच्छा! जा! जलदी ऐह! — 11. Q. हम् तो गेली की ऐली. A. जा जलदी!

Notes: 1) 1. pl. pres. ind., for fut. ind. 2) old loc.; elliptic, for तोहरे पास्. 3) pers. pron.

3. FOLKLORE.

a) The treasure in the field.

एक् बडा आदिमी[1] भुंगुड़[2] के आड़ो ओ खेत् ओवलेस्; ओके चारु बेटवा रहलै"; जब् ऊ मरै लगल्, तब् बेटवन् से कहलेस्; ए बेटा मोरे पास् जवन् धन् रहल्, तौने क मै भुंगुड़ के खेतवा मे गाड़ दिहले आहो"; से तूँलोग् जनब, तो पइबह्; जब ऊ आदिमी मरि गयल्, तब् ओकर् सब् बेटवा मिल् के खेत् के चारो ओड़ से खने लगलैं[3]; लेकिन् धन् कै ओड़ न मिलल्; ओको[4] खेत् अच्छी तरह् से खोदल् गयल्; ओ से भुंगुड़ कै पेड़ खूब[5] पनपलै"; ओड़ खूब भुंगुड़ कै फल् उपजलै"; तब् तो सब् बेटा मिल् के ओके बेचलैं", ओड़ बहुत् एक् धन् पैलै"; बडा खुस्[6] भइलै"; एसे हमलोगन् के ई बात् सीखे के चाही, की बडा लोग् जौन् बात् कहैं" तौने के जरूर् माने के चाही, टारे के न चाही; एही मे हमरे लोगन् कै कल्यान् होई; ई लरिकन् के सीखे के बदे कहनी हौवै.

Notes: 1) arab. آدمی. 2) pers. انکور. 3) shorter form for لगाके, 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind.; see § 26. 4) pers. بلکه. 5) pers. خوب. 6) pers. خوش.

b) The two wise Brâhmans.

कौनो एक ब्राम्हन् रहल: ओके दुइ बेटा रहलें"; उ ब्राम्हन् कौनो समय कर लगल्; ओ मे एक् नइरी के काम् परल्; तब् उ दूनो बेटौवन् से कहलेस्, को बेटा! तूं दूनो तन समुद् के तीर् पर ताए के एक् नइरी लेआवह्; तब् पिता के आज्ञा पाए् के दूनो समुद् के तीर् पर गैलेन्; ओर् उहाँ के मल्लाह् से कहलेन्, को हम् के एक् नइरी कै काम् आए्, से तै पकड़ दे; तब् मल्लाह् एक् नइरी अकाए् के दुनहुन् के आगे लेआए् के धै दिहलेस्; तब् ओन्ह मे से एक् दुसरे के कहलेस् को तै" काहे" नाहीं उठाए ले चलतेस्; तब् उ बोलल् को मै भोलनचतुर् आहों"; सो के ए कर् गंध् आवैले; तब् उ बोलल् को नैहँ' सयनचतुर् होओ"; ऐसे न उठैबो"; ऐसहीं' उन्ह् दुनहुन् मे कजा होवै लगल्; आखिर्[2] के दूनो लरत् लरत् राजा के पास् गैलें" ओर् राजा के आपन् समाचार् कहले"; तब् राजा कहलेस्, को तू दूनो तन हम् के परिक्षा दह्; तब् एस् तोहर् विद्या जानों; उ दूनो अजा[3] भइलें" परिक्षा देवै के; तब् पहिले राजा भोलनचतुर् कै परिक्षा लेवै खरे अच्छी रसोईयाँ बनवालें"; ओ मे अच्छी से अच्छी तरकारी, अच्छे से अच्छे चाउर् के भात्, अच्छा से अच्छा पकवान् रिंधवालेन्; ओर् भोलनचतुर् के बलवाए[4] के खाये के बैठालेन्; तब् उ तैसे हो" भात् के कवर् उठालेस्, तैसेहो" ओ के ओ मे मुरदा[5] के गंध् आवल्; से उ थरिया डोर् के उठ् गयल्; तब् राजा ओ के पुछलें", को तै" काहे नाहीं" खैले ओर् उठ् गैले? उ कहलेस् को भात् मे मुरदा के गंध् आवैले; तब् राजा किसान् के बलाए[4] के पुछलेस् को चाउर् कैसन् रहल् ओर् कहा से लेआए् के तै मो के दिहल? किसान् बोलल् को आपन् खेत् से; तब् राजा पुछलेस् को उ खेत् केकर् हो? तब् किसान् कहलेन् को जिमीदार्[6] से हम् मोल् लिहले रहलों; तब् राजा जिमीदार् के बलाए् के पुछलेस्, को ई भूई" कैसन् रहल्? तब् जिमीदार् बोलल्, को ई भूई" मुर्दघट्टा पहिले रहल्; तब् राजा भोलनचतुर् के कहलेस्, को तै" ठीक् भोलनचतुर् होवे; फेर् सयनचतुर् के बोलाए् के राजा एक् अच्छी बिछवनादार् खटिया बिछवाए् दिहलेस्, ओर् ओ के सूते के कहलेस्; उ सुतल्; लेकिन् ओ के राति भर नींद् नाहीं आइल्; एह् कर् वह् से ओह् कर् वह्, ओकर् वह् से एह् कर् वह् करत् रहल्; सबेरे राजा ओ के बलैलेस्[4], ओर् कहलेस् को तै" राति भर सुख से सुतले? उ बोलल् को महराज समस्त राति मोके नींद् नाहीं" परल; राजा पुछलें" काहे? उ बोलल् कि बिछवना के परत

मे एक बार बाटे से गोरे देँह[1] मे गइल् रहल्; तब् राजा अपने नोकर् से बिहावन् उठवाए् के देखलेस तो थो मे एक बार देखायल्[2]; तब् राजा खुसी[3] होएके थोके कहलेस् कि तै[4] ठीक् सवनचतुर होबे; ए करे बाद् राजा उन् दुनहुन् के बहुती तरह् से खातिरदारी कै के बिदा कैलै[5]॥

Notes: 1) हूँ and ही[4] are emphatic. 2) arab. آخر. 3) lit. *standing*, here *ready*. 4) shorter form for बोलबाए्; see § 26. 5) pers. مرده. 6) pers. زمیندار. 7) for देह्, see § 67. 8) 3. sg. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 9) pers. خوشی *joy*; here used adjectively, through confusion with adj., formed like सुखी; see § 253.

c) The unfortunate Bráhman.

कौनो एक् ब्राह्मन् सोमशर्म्मा कुसुमपुर् गाँव मे रहल् रहल्; उ अपन् बिबाह् देअस्थामी केह् अपने पहोसिया ब्राह्मन् को बिहिया से कैलेस्; से एक् दिन् की बात् हो कि दूनो पहानी थरारी पर सूतल् रहलै[5]; एतने मे एक् कौनो बिद्याधर् थोही थोर् से अकास मे बिमान् पर चढ़ल् चल् जात् रहल्; से थोकर् उठेह् थोहे मेहरारू पर पर् गइल्; उ, थोकरे सुन्दरताई से मोहित् होए्, नीचे उतर्, थोके उठाए् लेगयल्; सबेरा भयल्, तब् सोमशर्म्मा अपने बिहोना के सून देख् अपने स्त्री के चारो थोर् हेरे लगलै[6], लेकिन् पता न पौलै[7]; तब् तो ओहो के तरह् एहर् थोहर् घूमे लगलै[6] और् भुबैलै[7][1]; तब् केह् गिरस्थ[8] के घर् जाए् कहलै[6] कि हम् के कुछ् खाये के बदे प; उ अपने स्त्री से कहलेस् कि ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् बाए्, एकें कुछ् दे; उ रसोईं[9] मे जाए्, एक् दोना भर् खीर् ले थाए् के, ब्राह्मन् के दिहलेस्; ब्राह्मन् उ खीर् ले के एक् नदी के तीर् पर् जाए्, कौनो पेड़् के तर् पर् खीर् कै दोना धै के, हाथ् मुँह धोए् के बदे नदी मे गयल्; तब् ले एहर् थोहे पेड़् पर से एक् करइत् साँप् उतर् के, उ खीर् थोरेएकू[3] बैलेस्, खीर् खो मे अपने मुह् से तहर्[4] उगिल् के, फेर् थोही पेड़् पर् चढ़ गयल्; तब् ले उ बेचारा ब्राह्मन् भुखायल् तलही से थाये के थोहे दोना कै तब् खीर् खाए् गयल् और् थोरो बेर मे तहर् से बिथाकुल् होए् के मुइ[5] गयल्॥

अब् एह् कथा मे ई बिचारल् चाही कि थो करे मुअले के हत्या के के भइल्, थोहे गिरस्थ् के, कि थोकरे मेहरारू के, कि थोहे साँप् के॥

Notes: 1) 3. pl. 2nd pret. ind. of potent. pass. 2) for गइल्स्. 3) or थोरेकू, see § 291. 4) pers. زهر. 5) irregular conj. part. of the verb मर् *to die*.

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p. II. l. 20. extends *for* extents.
p. III. l. 22. Kachchh *for* Kachh.
p. III. l. 23. Kachchhí *for* Kachhí.
p. IV. l. 29. however *for* howerer.
p. VI. l. 2. eighthly *for* eightly.
p. VIII. l. 14. XXXVII *for* XXXV.
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p. 123. l. 34. चोलो *for* चोलो.
p. 124. l. 10. बेटा *son for* बेटो *son.*
p. 141. l. 6. चलिय or चलिअ *for* चलिय् or चलिअ्.

ADDENDA.

p. 67. rule 119, 2. W. H. होटा *three and a half* for Pr. अढोड़ै°, see § 416.

p. 88. rule 160. न्त् becomes न्द् in S., P., Mw. ग्रंदो for ग्रंतो suffix of pres. part., see § 301. Also P., S. पंज *five* for Pr. पंच, Skr. पञ्च, see p. 256.

p. 90. rule 172. W. H. होटा for *ग्रहोटा *three and a half*, see § 416.

p. 90. add rule 172[a]. उ is elided; rarely; E. H. छाहै or चाहै *he desires*, Pr. इच्छइ, Skr. *इच्छावति, see p. 389, footnote.

p. 113. rule 227. The forms त्र and तन are preserved in the O. H. of Chand; e. g. वृठत्र *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38; प्रीतत्र *friendship* Pr. R. 28, 56; कुसलतन *prosperity* Pr. R. 28, 38; वृठतन *old age* Pr. R. 28, 38.

p. 117. rule 239. In O. H. the suff. is एन; e. g. रुगतेन *bloody* Chand Pr. R. 28, 39.

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